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Arnold Bennett

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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEARS 1784 and 1785.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE backwardneſs, with reſpect to publication, which the heavy buſineſs of the late extenſive war, and its ſucceeding conſequences, occaſioned, excited us to make a vigorous, and, as we hoped, deciſive effort, for the recovery of our former ſituation in point of time. This was no leſs than to throw the whole buſineſs of two ſucceeding years into one volume; paying little regard to our own trouble, when put in competition with our engagements to the Public, the ſpirit of the undertaking, and the utility of the performance.

This experiment (for it was no more, and is not to be repeated) has by no means anſwered our expectation with reſpect to the ſaving or gaining of time. We have found the double work exceedingly heavy; and the buſineſs in its amount went far beyond our calculation. The critical circumſtances, the extraordinary claims, and the alarming change in connections and policy, which appeared, within that period, to be taking place in Europe, preſented an aſpect not a little ominous to its repoſe; and neceſſarily rendered our foreign hiſtory an object of much care, conſideration, enquiry, and reſearch. And however important foreign affairs were, our domeſtic concerns were not leſs ſo; and were ſtill more intereſting to Engliſhmen.

Within the period of which we treat, one parliament had been ſuddenly diſſolved, a new one ſpeedily called,

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and we had the hiſtory of three ſeſſions, filled with the moſt intereſting matter, to recount. In that time, beſides the change of one adminiſtration, and the appointment of another (meaſures which in both caſes were attended with new and extraordinary circumſtances) an unexpected and ſignal revolution took place in the ſtate of parties, intereſts, and public opinions, throughout the kingdom. In this courſe of things, ſome new, and many great conſtitutional queſtions were agitated.

The complex and intricate ſtate of Eaſt India affairs, and the long courſe of enquiry which they produced, were not the leaſt difficult or arduous parts of our taſk. In treating this ſubject, we were pledged, and indeed neceſſarily bound, to take a retroſpective view of the proceedings in parliament relative to the Company, from the time that the Secret and the Select Indian Committees were appointed by the Houſe of Commons in the year 1781, to the period which comes properly within the line of our narrative.

Whatever other effect our new experiment may produce, it will at leaſt afford a proof of our diſintereſtedneſs, and a teſtimony of the high ſenſe which we entertain of our obligations to the Public: Our Publiſher having liberally ſacrificed his own emolument in giving the double volume without any additional expence, and we having, no leſs chearfully, beſtowed our labour and time for the ſame purpoſe.

THE

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEARS 1784 and 5.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the general affairs of Europe from the year 1780. *Emperor. Great schemes of reform and regulation. Some general observations on them. Decree for extending the liberty of the press. Decree in favour of the Jews. Ordinances striking at the authority of the court of Rome. Ostensible causes, and political motives, for the Emperor's journey to the Low Countries in the year* 1781. *Ill consequences of the war in which Holland was engaged, and of the new political system adopted by that Republic. Resumption of the Dutch Barrier among the principal objects of the Emperor's journey. Observations on that measure. Barrier resigned, and the fortresses dismantled. Alarm occasioned thereby in Holland. Great benefits derived by the Austrian Netherlands, from becoming the medium of British Commerce, in consequence of the war between the maritime powers. Sudden rise of Ostend to commercial importance through the same cause. Great favours conferred by the Emperor upon the city and people of Ostend. Declares the port free; orders a bason to be constructed; grants ground for building to foreign settlers; and places of public worship to the Protestants. Emperor examines the obstructions to the navigation of the Schelde, and visits Holland. Returns to Vienna. Various wise and humane regulations adopted in the course of the years* 1781 *and* 1782. *Enlargement of religious liberty to the Protestants—of civil liberty to the peasants of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austrian Poland, who are discharged from their ancient slavery to the lords. Free exercise of their religion, with other advantages, granted by the Elector of Saxony to the Roman Catholics in his dominions. Inquisition abolished by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Universities reformed by the Emperor.*

Allots ſchools for the education of ſoldiers children. Meaſures for rendering the city of Trieſte a great commercial Emporium. Emperor lends four millions of florins to the merchants of that city. Suppreſſion of religious houſes in the Auſtrian dominions. Eccleſiaſtics in the Auſtrian Netherlands diſcharged from all foreign juriſdiction. Imperial reſcript, diſclaiming all ſubordination, in ſecular affairs, to the Holy See. Suppreſſion of religious houſes in the Duchy of Milan. Alarm at Rome. Correſpondence between the Pope and the Emperor. Journey of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius the Sixth, from Rome to Vienna. Received with great honours by the Emperor and Court; but fails in the objects of his journey. Returns to Rome. Reform of the religious orders continued; and extended to the Hierarchy, and ſecular Clergy, as well as to the Regulars. Commiſſion for adminiſtering the ſequeſtered eſtates; the produce deſtined to public purpoſes. Obſervations and ſtrictures of foreigners on ſome of theſe tranſactions.

WHILE the four great maritime powers of Europe were exhauſting their ſtrength and ſacrificing their ſubjects in that war, to which the revolt of the Britiſh colonies in America gave riſe, and which in its progreſs ſpread ſuch deſolation through both the Old and the New World, the emperor of Germany was more happily employed, in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of his widely-extended dominions, and in eſtabliſhing upon ſure and permanent foundations the power, and conſequently the ſecurity, of his empire.

In the laudable purſuit of theſe objects, he was not contented with adhering to the beaten track marked out by others, or of waiting the diſtant effect of ſlow and progreſſive ſchemes of improvement. The fertile and active mind of this prince, embracing at once a multitude of objects, would carry every thing directly to that ultimate point of perfection which it held conſtantly in view; as if, ruminating on the ſhortneſs of human life, he had determined to eſtabliſh his deſigns ſo ſpeedily, as not only, if he ſhould himſelf be cut off, to place them out of the reach of future contingencies, but to obtain a probability, if he lived, of participating in the benefits he intended for his country. He was accordingly inceſſantly occupied in framing, adopting, examining, or carrying into execution, numberleſs projects of regulation and improvement, of leſs or greater importance, but including ſome of ſuch magnitude, as went to the eſſential reform of the firſt departments of the ſtate and government, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. This taſk, ſufficiently arduous in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more difficult by the nature of his dominions, compoſed as they are of ſeparate kingdoms, and a number of diſtinct provinces, obtained by different means, and at different periods, ſubject to their own peculiar forms of government, and ſtill retaining many of their original rights and inſtitutions.

It would have been contrary to all experience, and conſequently to human nature itſelf, (of which experience is our only evidence) if ſuch, and

and so many schemes of reform, militating with popular opinions, national practices, and tending directly to overthrow establishments now venerable by their antiquity, and which had been considered as sacred in their institution, could have been carried into effect, without at least exciting much dissatisfaction and complaint, and without winging the shafts of censure, and giving energy to them, if not to more dangerous weapons. All these effects, except the last, the pursuit of these measures indeed produced: nor were the terrors of punishment, the dangers of which were multiplied by the great rewards held out for the discovery of offenders, sufficient to prevent the bittereſt libels upon the emperor from being circulated even in his capital. But the mischief went no farther; and this prince proceeded in the establishment of his new regulations, with unexampled facility and success.

Nor indeed was observation confined to the harsher part of criticism. Foreigners, being under no restraint, have been equally free in both respects; but it may be supposed, that religious and political prejudices have had some share in dictating both their praises and their strictures: for who, in the great European republic, can be totally unconcerned in these subjects?

It has been urged, on one side, that the spirit of reform is too violent in this prince: and that, though in some instances it might have been directed to proper objects, yet, that in general it seemed rather to degenerate into a passion for innovation, than to be the cool result of a comprehensive knowledge and due consideration of things, guided by prudent and practicable views of improvement. They said, that he set out too rapidly to be able to maintain his career. That his hasty, indigested schemes, involved in their formation the principles of dissolution; that they militated with each other; were in many respects contrary to natural justice, and highly oppressive; that some of them warred so directly against the opinions and feelings of mankind, that they were already of necessity abandoned. Nor did even the measures which he pursued in the regulation and conduct of his vast armies, and on which he was supposed particularly to rest his fame, escape the censure of military critics, either at home or abroad.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the Herculean task of reformation requires very peculiar properties and qualities. That the degrees of fervour, zeal, and fertility of design, essentially necessary to constitute a reformer, frequently lead him to overshoot his objects; but that without these, and other corresponding dispositions and propensities, he seldom or ever could reach them. That nearly all successful reformers have accordingly erred in the same manner, and fallen into a similar excess. And, with respect to military affairs, it is to be observed, that it is of the very nature of discipline, to produce a tenacious adherence to forms, and of course an animosity to innovation. To which it may be added, that the dissatisfactions inevitable in all armies, and more particularly in such vast hosts, from the great variety of tempers and characters they include, must throw many impediments in the way of reformation.

Upon the whole it may be sus-

pected, that the too hasty adoption of his projects, the multiplicity of them, and the endeavour to carry them at once into execution, were among the principal errors of this prince. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, even supposing the justness of these and other objections admitted, that the emperor has, within the small number of years that have elapsed since he arrived at undivided power by the death of his mother, made wonderful advances towards the improvement of various parts of his dominions; that he has done great and praise-worthy things for the benefit, security, and happiness of his subjects in general, as well as of particular classes and orders; and that he has made great and essential reforms in several departments of the state and government, however the utility of some of his regulations may yet be thought questionable.

A liberal disposition with respect to religious toleration was early to be expected, from the character and general conduct of this prince; and little doubt was accordingly entertained but that it would be freely displayed, whenever the power was lodged solely in his own hands. Other parts of his disposition and policy, particularly with respect to ecclesiastical matters, continued yet unknown and unsuspected, even for some time after the demise of the empress queen. But the years 1781 and 1782 removed the veil that covered his designs in this respect; and it soon became apparent, that the reducing the exorbitant power of the clergy within his own dominions; the severing and emancipating them from all dependence on the court of Rome; with the suppression of the religious orders, and the appropriation of their property, were among the great and determined objects of the emperor's policy.

A liberal extension to the liberty of the press, which had hitherto been much circumscribed in the Austrian dominions, seemed in some degree an opening to succeeding events, and might be considered as throwing some light upon views which were not otherwise revealed. The order or decree for this purpose was all written by the emperor's own hand, and was published early in the year 1781. By one of the articles he allowed a free circulation, without examination or licence, to all those literary reviews of various publications, with which Germany, from the number of its states, of its public schools and universities, and the great differences with respect to religious and political principles or opinions, more particularly abounds than any other country. Even the subject of ecclesiastical history is left open by this article. By another, he permits that all strictures upon the conduct of the throne itself might be published with full security; providing only, that they do not descend to the character of pasquinades or absolute libels. Upon this subject he expresses himself with a noble magnanimity—"If there be "any thing just in them, (he "says) we shall profit by them; "if not, we shall disregard them." —He likewise permits the free publication of all political news-papers and pamphlets without exception; and the discussion even of religious subjects is admitted, with only this reservation, that such writings should not attack, in any of their funda-

fundamental principles, the three eſtabliſhed religions of the empire, being the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calviniſt.

Though this laſt clauſe, which went to the protection of the two reformed religions as well as the catholic, might ſeem virtually to include a toleration to the proteſtants within the emperor's own particular dominions, yet the decree for that purpoſe did not appear until about the cloſe of the year.

The Jewiſh nation or people, who through a long courſe of centuries had ſo often been doomed to lament the caprices or rapacity of monarchs, and to become victims to the revolutions of ſtates, were now among the firſt to experience the benefit of living under a government, where the prince has ſufficient comprehenſion to diſcover that his own intereſts are, in a leſs or greater degree, inſeparably connected with the ſecurity and proſperity of every claſs and order of his ſubjects. Among other immunities and privileges now granted by the emperor to that people, they were particularly admitted to the right of exerciſing all kinds of arts and trades, of applying themſelves to agriculture, and to the invaluable privilege of freely purſuing their ſtudies in the univerſities, without any impediment whatever on the ſcore of religion: ſo that, upon the whole, they ſeem now to poſſeſs in general the ſame advantages with other citizens.

This decree in favour of the Jews, was ſoon followed by two unexpected ordinances, which ſtriking directly at the power and authority of the court of Rome, afforded a moſt alarming preſage of what it had farther to apprehend. By the firſt of theſe, all the religious orders within the royal and imperial dominions, (but confined, we apprehend, to Germany and Hungary) were ſtrictly prohibited from holding any correſpondence, on ſpiritual or temporal ſubjects, with their reſpective chiefs, while theſe were reſident in any foreign parts; and farther preſcribing, that under ſuch circumſtances, they ſhould be governed entirely by their provincial ſuperiors: who were, however, to be at all times ſubject to the controul and authority of the epiſcopal power in the reſpective dioceſes, and even to the temporal governors of provinces. By the other ordinance it was enacted, that no bull, brief, or other inſtrument, iſſued by the apoſtolic ſee, ſhould be received, or have any effect whatever within the imperial dominions, until it was rendered valid by the ſanction of the ſovereign.

Theſe decrees were iſſued at Vienna, in the latter end of March, 1781; and it may be eaſily ſeen, that the court of Rome could ſcarcely have received a greater ſhock. For the reſidence of the generals or chiefs of the principal religious orders at Rome, was the link, which immediately united their reſpective communities, however widely diſperſed, to the papal chair, and which afforded the means of maintaining a ſubordination and diſcipline unexampled in its nature and extent; while that edict, by cutting off the intercourſe, muſt, in its effect, if not entirely diſſolve the connection, at leaſt render it uſeleſs with reſpect to its deſtined purpoſes.

Other great political objects, together with a long journey, in conſequence of them, which the emperor was then upon the point of undertaking, and in the courſe of which he viſited the Low Countries, Holland, and France, ſerved to draw off his farther immediate attention to eccleſiaſtical affairs, and afforded time for the court of Rome to recover from its firſt aſtoniſhment; and to deliberate upon and purſue ſuch meaſures as might poſſibly mitigate the effects of the late unexpected blow, or at leaſt ward off ſuch evils as were farther to be apprehended.

He had ſufficient oſtenſible motives, if any ſuch were wanting, for undertaking this journey. He had to take perſonal poſſeſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands; to be inſtalled in his dukedom of Brabant; to regulate the public affairs at Bruſſels, preparatory to the arrival of his ſiſter the arch-ducheſs, and her huſband, the duke Albert, of Saxe-Teſchen, on whom the government of theſe provinces was beſtowed on the death of prince Charles, of Lorraine, and who were now far advanced in their way thither; to all which may be added, the natural deſire of wiſhing to ſee his new ſubjects, and being ſeen by them; beſides the opportunity which this tour would preſent, of viſiting his ſiſter the queen of France, and of ſeeing parts of that country on his return, which he had not hitherto an opportunity of obſerving.

But there were other matters, of much greater political moment, which operated upon this prince in undertaking the journey. The ruinous and unfortunate war, into which the prevalence of the French and republican faction in Holland had precipitated that country with its old and natural ally, among its other irreparable ill conſequences, was the means of unveiling the nakedneſs of the republic, and, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, preſented ſuch a view of diſorder and imbecility in the government, and of radical weakneſs in the ſtate, as had not before been ſuſpected, even by its neareſt and keeneſt-eyed neighbours. The impreſſions made by this diſcovery were continually increaſing, as almoſt every day of the war was marked with ſome new circumſtance of misfortune or diſgrace. While they were thus expoſed to danger from without, the ſtate and the public were convulſed and torn to pieces by inteſtine diſſenſions, the ſeeds of which were ſo numerous, and ſo deeply laid, as ſcarcely admitted the hope of any effective remedy. The differences between the prince ſtadtholder and the ſtates were multiplying ſo faſt, and increaſing ſo much in degree and virulence, as to indicate a ſpeedy and moſt alarming criſis; while the violence and animoſity of the French and Orange factions, which included between them the whole body of the people, and all the departments of government, whether civil or military, by ſea or by land, ſeemed deſtined to harrow and tear up the very foundations of the republic. Upon the whole, it ſeemed clear to all obſervers, that the reſtoration of the republic, in any degree, to its former power and ſplendor, was a circumſtance which would not admit of a moment's ſpeculation; and that ſome conſiderable revolution was neceſſary, to preſerve the union of its parts.

It could not be expected, upon

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any foundation of political knowledge and experience, that the unexpected diſcloſure of ſuch a ſcene, with the magnitude of the objects which it exhibited, and the proſpects of advantage it held out, ſhould not attract the views, and excite the ambition, of a powerful, active, and neighbouring ſovereign, whoſe enterpriſing diſpoſition, tho' hitherto a good deal reſtrained, had however been apparent in other inſtances.

The reſumption of the Dutch barrier was among the firſt advantages he propoſed to draw from the preſent forlorn ſtate of their affairs. Few are ignorant that the principal fortreſſes of the Auſtrian Netherlands, including ſeveral of their moſt conſiderable cities, had, ever ſince the concluſion of the ſucceſſion war, been depoſited in the hands of the Dutch, for the mutual benefit and ſecurity of the court of Vienna and themſelves; for, at the ſame time that they formed a powerful barrier to cover the territories of the ſtates, they were to be garriſoned and defended by them; and thus ſerved to obviate the dangers apprehended by both from the power and ambition of France.

During the long ſucceeding depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, the advantages of this arrangement were repeatedly and fully experienced; and occaſions offered which made it evident, that nothing leſs could have prevented the Netherlands from being long ſince wreſted out of their hands. But in the extraordinary degree of power and greatneſs to which that houſe has, within the memory of man, riſen, and in the uſual viciſſitude of things, what had before been underſtood and felt as a ſubſtantial benefit, came at length to be conſidered as a ſtigma, and a grievance. The preſent emperor felt his own power to be fully competent to the protection and defence of his dominions. With the great armies he poſſeſſed, he could not conceive that he wanted the cover of fortreſſes to prevent the progreſs of an enemy. He conſidered, that it was exceedingly expenſive to keep them in repair; that being accordingly neglected in ſeaſons of peace and ſecurity, they generally fell, with little trouble, into the hands of an invader at the commencement of hoſtilities; when, beſides the loſs of their garriſons, and the great preſent advantages which they afforded to the enemy, their recovery frequently became among the moſt difficult and arduous taſks of the war.

He, beſides, thought it derogatory to his own honour, as well as to the dignity and power of the empire, that a number of his principal cities and fortreſſes ſhould be garriſoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners. He conſidered it as no leſs than paying a ſhameful and ignominious tribute for protection and defence; and that it would be in the laſt degree perſonally ſhameful and degrading to himſelf, if now, when the occaſion ſo opportunely offered, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch a ſtanding monument of paſt weakneſs, dependence, or even obligation, any longer to continue.

Nor were ſeveral colourable arguments wanting, to juſtify to the Dutch, and to the world at large, the intended meaſure of taking the barrier into his own hands, and of diſmantling the fortreſſes. It was ſtated, that the revenues drawn from theſe cities and their diſtricts were miſapplied; that the fortifi-

cations were falling to decay, and the garrisons defective; and that the shameful manner in which they were lost by the Dutch, in the war of 1741, was a sufficient evidence of their incapacity to maintain and defend the barrier. But that, independent of all complaints with respect to the discharge of their trust, the circumstances of things, and the state of affairs on all sides, were now so entirely altered, that none of the causes or motives, which originally operated to the establishment of the barrier, were any longer in existence. That France, instead of being the common enemy, as then, was now the common friend of both parties; that her ambition was no longer dangerous, and if it were, was directed to other objects; that the emperor and she were mutually bound, in the strictest and dearest ties of alliance, friendship, and blood; and, even admitting the possibility of any change in this state of connections, his territories would at all times be an effectual barrier to Holland, and would afford much greater security to them by being in his hands than in their own.

Much was, however, to be said on the other side. The immense expence, in blood and in treasure, which Holland, through a long course of successive wars, had endured, for the attainment, the establishment, and the preservation of this very barrier, was known to all the world. Nor was it to be forgotten, that the emperor owed to the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain and Holland his now holding any territory or possession whatever in the Low Countries. That they had the principal share, through a long war, and a series of the most glorious successes, in wresting by piece-meal from the house of Bourbon, these provinces, thick sown as they then were with the strongest fortresses in the world, and defended by those numerous and veteran armies which had so long been the terror of Europe. That as they were the great leaders in the war, so they compelled France and Spain, by the peace, to submit to the transfer of the Netherlands to the German line of the house of Austria; and had since been the means of securing and preserving them to that family. That the settlement of the barrier was the only return to Holland for all these services, and for the immense expences she had been at, not only in that part of the war, but in her arduous endeavours to place the ancestor of the present emperor upon the throne of Spain. That the proposed measure, besides being a direct breach of treaty, and violation of faith, would be a shameful dereliction of every sense of past service and obligation; and that the season chosen for its accomplishment, under the present embarrassed and depressed state of the republic, would render it still more disgraceful.

Much more might have been said; but arguments are of little avail, and treaties weak obligations, any longer than the equal strength, or mutual convenience of the parties, shall give weight to the one, or validity to the other. Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was now (unfortunately to both) an enemy to Holland.

As an opening to this design, the emperor had, in the beginning of the year 1781, and some months before he set out on his tour, peremptorily demanded from the States General precise accounts of the

revenues

revenues which they had drawn from the barrier, and of the ſums which they had expended in the repair or improvement of their fortreſſes. This ſudden and captious demand, of coming to a ſettlement upon ſuch old, intricate, and long-neglected accounts, and made at ſo very peculiar a ſeaſon, ſeemed to augur very different diſpoſitions from thoſe of friendſhip or good-will to the ſtates; and probably inſpired them with other apprehenſions beſides thoſe which related to the barrier. Circumſtanced, indeed, as they were, it may well be ſuppoſed, that this demand contributed not a little to facilitate their ſubſequent compliance with the ceſſion of an object, ſo long held dear by them, and which involved in it the immediate ſecurity of their country. However that was, the buſineſs was ſoon decided; and it ſeems probable that many words were not uſed in its proceſs, for the negociation was ſcarcely heard of, when, towards the cloſe of the year, the Dutch garriſons and artillery were almoſt ſilently withdrawn from the barrier, and the emperor's order for diſmantling the fortreſſes, and ſelling the materials, ſeems to have been the firſt public annunciation of the event.

Never was a meaſure of ſo much importance, and on which ſo much depended, carried into effect more ſmoothly; but notwithſtanding this facility, it was eaſily ſeen, that the ſtates were fully aware of its dangerous tendency, although the unfortunate ſituation in which they were involved compelled them to an eaſy ſubmiſſion. In fact, a general alarm was ſpread through the United Provinces; and the great number of hands that were directly employed, and the correſponding meaſures adopted, for putting their own fortreſſes on the frontier, particularly thoſe along the Schelde, in an immediate ſtate of defence, ſufficiently ſhewed, that government was no leſs affected than the public upon this occaſion. Thus was Holland ſtripped of its hard-earned and dearly-purchaſed barrier, and by the revolution of politics laid open to the views of a not leſs ambitious, and more dangerous, as being a nearer neighbour, than France.

The buſineſs of the barrier was not, however, the only conſiderable object which the emperor had at this time in view, and which drew his attention ſo much to the affairs of the Netherlands. The rupture between the maritime powers had been the means of transferring from Holland to the Auſtrian Netherlands the courſe of that vaſt commerce, which, through the medium of the canals and great German rivers, England carried on with that and other Eaſtern and Northern continental countries. The benefits which the Netherlands derived from this tranſit of ſo great a commerce, were ſtill farther increaſed by the peculiar circumſtances of the naval war in which Great Britain was involved. Attacked, at once, in every part of the world, and nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of her enemies, ſhe was under a neceſſity of abandoning, in a great meaſure, the protection of her home commerce, and even, at times, the ſovereignty of her own ſeas, in order that her foreign fleets might be ſufficiently powerful to cover her very numerous diſtant poſſeſſions. This new and untoward ſtate of things, reduced the Engliſh merchants to difficulties and diſtreſſes, with reſpect

ſpect to the means of carrying on their trade, which they had never experienced in any other war. Foreign veſſels were uſed for the conveyance of their goods; and the protection of foreign flags, for the firſt time, ſought by Engliſhmen. In a word, no ſhift that ingenuity could hit upon was left untried, in order to evade the peril of the ſeas.

From the operation of all theſe cauſes, Oſtend became a general mart to all the neutral, as well as the belligerent ſtates; and ſuch an influx of trade was carried into that city and port, that it arrived, even early in the war, at a degree of opulence and commercial importance, which it never before enjoyed, or was expected to attain. The imperial flag, ſo little thought of before among maritime nations, was now conſpicuous in every part of the world, and the ſeas covered with ſhips under its protection; thus giving an example, how great power on land might command reſpect at ſea, without any naval force for its ſupport. Independent of the foreigners who had benefited by this protection, the ſhipping really imperial became numerous in a degree, that could before have been little expected: one mercantile houſe was ſaid to have 60 ſhips at ſea. The ſpirit of commercial adventure ſpread with the utmoſt rapidity through every part of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The deſire and hope of acquiring great and ſudden wealth, ſeemed to operate more or leſs upon every body. Even the city of Bruſſels, notwithſtanding the habitual eaſe and love of pleaſure incident to its ſituation, and the long reſidence of a court, could not eſcape the infection; and many of its inhabitants, who had never before engaged in or thought of commerce or trade of any kind, now laid out all their ready money in the building of ſhips. It is not then to be wondered at, that the citizens of Antwerp ſhould look back with a ſigh to their former commercial opulence and ſplendour; or that they ſhould even form hopes of being able, in ſome degree, to recover them. Indeed the ſpirit now excited was ſo prevalent, that the ſtates of the Netherlands preſented a memorial to the emperor, requeſting that he would take meaſures for the opening and re-eſtabliſhment of that port.

In the mean time, the growing opulence of Oſtend exceeded all belief. The limits of the city became too narrow for its inhabitants, and the buildings were not ſufficient to cover the immenſe quantities of merchandize, of which it was become the temporary depoſitory. Commercial adventurers and ſpeculators were continually arriving from different countries, to partake of benefits ſo unexpectedly held out. The rage for building ran high, while there was any ground left to build on. In this tide of good fortune, the ſingular circumſtances that produced it were not much conſidered; and it ſeemed to be forgotten, that as the cauſe was tranſitory, the effect was not very likely to be permanent.

It was little to be ſuppoſed, that ſo novel and pleaſing a ſtate of things could have eſcaped the notice of the emperor; who, independent of theſe circumſtances, was known to entertain ſuch an eager deſire for maritime and foreign commerce (ill calculated though his dominions were for that purpoſe) as ſeemed to carry more the appear-

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ance of a paſſion, than even of a ſtrong predilection.

Upon his arrival at Oſtend, in the beginning of June 1781, this prince ſhewed every mark of the greateſt poſſible attention to the people and place, and every degree of favour and regard to the merchants. He ſummoned a committee of thoſe who were eſteemed among the principal, and the beſt informed of the latter. Of theſe were ſome Engliſh gentlemen of high conſideration for their mercantile knowledge and abilities; and after holding a conference with them, he deſired their ſeparate opinions in writing, as to the beſt means which could be deviſed and adopted for the improvement, enlargement, and benefit of commerce, not only with reſpect to that port in particular, but to the Low Countries in general.

Every moment of the emperor's ſhort reſidence at Oſtend was diſtinguiſhed by particular favours and benefits; nor were theſe diſcontinued during his ſtay in the Netherlands. He declared their port to be free: and in order to ſupply the defect of nature, by enlarging their accommodation for ſhipping, he gave directions for the conſtruction of a conſiderable baſon, at his own expence. To render theſe favours more complete, and to gratify the wants or wiſhes of the inhabitants in every reſpect, as the ſituation of Oſtend, in a deep moraſs, cramped them no leſs on the land ſide for room to anſwer the purpoſes of building, than they were on the other, through the narrowneſs of their harbour, for thoſe of trade, the emperor determined to obviate that difficulty likewiſe. He accordingly granted them liberty to cover the old ramparts and works of the town with buildings; which afforded an enlargement ſufficient, at leaſt, to ſupply their preſent wants.—At the ſame time, his encouragement to foreign ſettlers, in the commercial line, was highly munificent and liberal. He allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and places of public worſhip to the proteſtants of all denominations at Oſtend. He invited people of all countries and perſuaſions thither to ſettle, to erect warehouſes, and to carry on merchandize. He granted them the land on which they built in perpetuity, ſubject only to a nominal ſmall rent, as an acknowledgment that it was held from him. The erection of ſeveral new ſtreets, and a ſquare, was accordingly carried on with great rapidity; the hurry of building interfered with that of commerce, and crowds of people thronged in from every quarter.

Short though the ſtay was which this prince made in the Low Countries, it was ſufficient to excite the admiration, and, in the higheſt degree, to acquire the affection of his ſubjects. The free audience, without ſtate, difficulty in the approach, guards, or witneſſes, which he afforded to all manner of perſons who deſired it, gained equally the hearts of thoſe who applied, and of all who heard of their reception; while the patience with which he heard, examined, and ſifted into, their often tedious complaints and involved relations, was no leſs aſtoniſhing than his affability was captivating to the people.

It did not eſcape obſervation, either in Holland or Flanders, that when this prince was at Antwerp, he went down the Schelde in a boat, as far as to the firſt of thoſe Dutch forts,

forts, which have been erected to guard the paſſage, and to ſecure to the ſtates the excluſive navigation of that river; that he had the depth of the channel taken in ſeveral places; and that he ſtrictly examined all thoſe obſtructions of art and nature which tended to impede its navigation, and to ſhut up the port of that city. From thence he paſſed into Holland, and among other places particularly viſited Rotterdam.

An opinion had for ſome time prevailed, with ſeveral perſons in England, that means might have been ſucceſsfully uſed for renewing the ancient ties of friendſhip with the houſe of Auſtria, and for drawing this prince into ſuch a ſyſtematic league of alliance (founded as well upon general political principles, as upon immediate and mutual intereſts, and calculated to extend to future contingencies) as might be ſufficient effectually to counteract that moſt dangerous combination of the houſe of Bourbon, ſupported by Holland and America; which, though confined in its direct object to the ruin or total annihilation of the Britiſh empire, would, if ſucceſsful in that, prove no leſs dangerous to the reſt of Europe. The near approach of the emperor, at this time, to England, along with the particular favour which he ſhewed to the Engliſh, induced the warm partizans of this notion to imagine, that it was among the principal objects of his journey: but when the duke of Glouceſter was ſeen to depart ſuddenly for Oſtend, in order to viſit this prince, that, and the long conference which took place between them at Bruges, occaſioned numbers, who had paid but little regard to the original opinion, to imagine, that ſomething of the ſort was now really in agitation. The event, however, did not juſtify any of theſe expectations; and, as no fruits of the conference have appeared, and that the duke of Glouceſter returned immediately afterwards to England, it may well be ſuppoſed, that the meeting between theſe princes was merely a matter of perſonal attention and courteſy. It was, indeed, not the leaſt among the many heavy misfortunes which, through that period, hung ſo heavily over England, that her government, whether it proceeded from an overweening confidence in native ſtrength, or from whatever other fatal error of policy, ſeemed for ſeveral years to have totally turned its back upon the reſt of Europe; and, loſing the due national weight and influence in the general political ſyſtem, moſt unaccountably neglected all uſeful continental friendſhips, connections, and alliances.

The emperor did not return to Vienna until about the middle of Auguſt, 1781. He ſoon after reſumed his eccleſiaſtical reforms; but as that year and the following were likewiſe the great ſeaſon for civil regulation, we ſhall, before we enter upon that ſubject, bring together, in one point of view, ſuch of thoſe meaſures as tended moſt to the benefit of different claſſes, orders, or communities of the people, or were remarkable for their liberality and munificence.

Of theſe, the firſt in order of time, as well as in importance, was the toleration granted to the proteſtants. A general outline of the nature and extent of this plan, with a promiſe of its being ſpeedily perfected and promulgated, was publiſhed, by authority, in the Vienna papers,

papers, before the close of the year 1781. This was soon followed by letters patent in form, by which the free exercise of their religion was granted and confirmed to them, in every part of the Austrian dominions. A notification was also published in the Vienna Gazette, recalling all the emperor's subjects who had quitted their respective countries on the account of religion, discharging them from the effect of all former prosecutions, and restoring them to the full possession of their rights and immunities.

This measure of religious, was followed by a signal enlargement of personal, liberty. The peasants in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had long languished in a state of vassalage and slavery to their lords; the cruelty of whose oppressions had frequently driven these unhappy people into the madness of insurrection, without the hope or possibility of success; a short career of fury and revenge (in which the country was desolated, much blood shed, and great barbarities committed) on their side, being always terminated by nearly their total destruction. Several attempts had been made in the late reign (and they were probably the first endeavours of the sort that had ever been used) to restrain the oppression of the lords, and to better the condition of these people. Yet much remained to be done, and the glory of their entire emancipation was reserved for Joseph the Second. He, confident in the secure greatness of his power, and confirmed in all his designs, as well by his intimate connection and friendship with Russia, as by the general state of affairs in Europe, published two edicts, towards the close of the year 1781, by which slavery is for ever abolished in those three countries. A measure, though exceedingly grievous to the nobles at present, and perhaps attended with some immediate detraction of their revenues, as well as their power, which will, no doubt, in its consequences, be found not more beneficial to the peasants, than to their own posterity, and even to many of themselves.

The same spirit of humanity and true policy directed its operation, a few months after, to the relief of the peasantry in Austrian Poland.

These were glorious and lasting monuments of humanity and wisdom; the merits of which, and their benefits to mankind, are too conspicuous and self-evident to be detracted from by too minute a disquisition, relative to motives, policy, or collateral effects.

This prince had the high satisfaction, within a very few months after it had taken place, of perceiving the happy result of one of his measures, that of religious toleration and indulgence to the protestants in his dominions. The elector of Saxony, struck with so illustrious an example, and that protestantism might not be outdone in liberality, about the middle of the summer of 1782 issued an ordinance, by which he not only granted to the Roman catholics throughout the electorate the free exercise of their religion, but admitted them to the purchasing of houses in the towns and cities, to a right of acquiring the freedom of commercial and manufacturing companies, and to several other valuable privileges, from all which they had hitherto been secluded on account of their religion. Such an opening to the removal of bigotry and prejudice, and to the establish-

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ing of mutual forbearance and brotherly love between Chriſtians of all denominations, was a bleſſing, which, within a very few years, it would have been deemed too ſanguine to hope could, at leaſt within our times, have been brought to maturity. It is remarkable, that the repreſentatives of the two great houſes, one of which was the powerful oppugner and perſecutor, and the other the ſupporter and defender, of the reformation in Germany, ſhould themſelves have ſet this laudable example. The ſame liberal diſpoſition with reſpect to religious affairs appeared likewiſe in Italy, where the grand duke of Tuſcany, about the ſame time, entirely aboliſhed the inquiſition in his dominions.

As the emperor had before ſhewn his regard to the intereſts of literature, by enlarging the liberties of the preſs, ſo, in the year 1782, he entered upon ſome reform of the univerſities: we are not informed of the particulars. It however appears, that he reduced their number to ſeven; and that he placed that of Loyburg upon the ſame footing with the proteſtant univerſity of Gottingen in Hanover; the members of it being not only permitted to think and debate freely upon all ſubjects, but to publiſh their opinions to all the world.

It would have appeared ſtrange, among ſo great a number of regulations, if he had entirely overlooked the intereſts of the military part of his ſubjects. Of 50 regiments of infantry, which were diſperſed in Germany and Hungary, he allotted the annual ſum of 2,000 florins to each, which was to be expended in the education of forty-eight boys, the ſons of ſoldiers in the regiment. The object of this meaſure, beſides the encouragement which it afforded to the ſoldiery, was to breed and train up a brave and hardy ſucceſſion of ſubalterns for the Auſtrian ſervice, and theſe ſo conſiderable in number, as not to be eaſily exhauſted. The education of the boys was to be very ſimple; including nothing more than what was neceſſary for the military life (and poſſibly rank) to which they are deſtined. We cannot help expreſſing our ſurprize at the ſmallneſs of the ſum allotted to this uſeful purpoſe; which, at this diſtance, ſeems ſo very inadequate to its object. Perhaps the cheapneſs of living, the high value of money in thoſe remote inland countries, with the peculiar advantages poſſeſſed by the ſoldiers in quarters, may ſolve this difficulty.

We have already taken notice of the emperor's eager deſire to reſtore the commerce of his poſſeſſions in the Low Countries. There, nature and ancient experience concurred in admitting at leaſt the poſſibility of ſucceſs to the project. But the ſame paſſion was no leſs directed to the only other maritime nook and extremity of his dominions, which lies ſequeſtered in the bottom of the Adriatic.

The ancient city of Trieſte, after having been, for ſeveral hundred years, a neſt of pirates, and afterwards ſunk almoſt into oblivion, was firſt brought into political notice, and conſidered as an object of importance, by the late emperor Charles the Sixth. That prince having, in the courſe of his adventures, voyages, expeditions, and wars, ſeen the great effects of maritime power and commerce, and having no other ſea-port in all his dominions, until the event of the

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ſucceſſion war had thrown the Netherlands and both the Sicilies into his hands, adopted the idea of ſupplying the defect, by that of Trieſte alone.

He embarked warmly in this ſcheme, ſparing neither pains nor expence in its proſecution. He enlarged the harbour, he declared the port free, he held out invitation and encouragement to the merchants and ſhips of all nations to trade thither, he propoſed its being the ſtation of a ſquadron of ſhips of war (which were to be there built) ſufficient to command reſpect both in the Adriatic and Mediterranean; and his ſanguine hopes ſaw it already riſing to be the grand emporium of Auſtrian commerce in both ſeas, and rivalling, if not obſcuring, the ſplendor of Venice itſelf.

In fact, the Venetians were not a little alarmed at theſe meaſures. But there are other things beſides ſea-ports and immunities neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of commerce; nor is trade eaſily debauched from its antient ſeats, or diverted from its uſual channels. The inhabitants of Trieſte were poor, and being ignorant of the principles of commerce, would not riſk the little money they had in adventures, which ſeemed the more hazardous from not being underſtood. There were other eſſential impediments to this deſign. The neighbouring countries of Friuli, Iſtria, and Carniola, are poor, thinly inhabited, exceedingly mountainous, and generally barren. The people are rude; and their genius, habits, and manners, conſequently adverſe to trade and manufacture. Their products and commodities for exportation were few, and of ſmall value; while the roads, by which they might have been brought from the interior countries, were at that time nearly impaſſable. Upon the whole, all thoſe ſplendid proſpects which had been at firſt opened to the view, in a little time fell to the ground: and the Venetians, who had ſettled for the purpoſe at Trieſte, obtained all thoſe fruits which the emperor had intended for his own ſubjects, but which they were incapable of gathering.

The late empreſs queen, however, reſumed the deſign, and ſupported it with greater vigour as well as ſucceſs. A magnificent road from Vienna to Trieſte, which would not have diſgraced the labours of the ancient Romans, was opened under her auſpices, and conducted at an immenſe expence over the ſteepeſt mountains of Iſtria and Friuli. The preſent emperor, with his uſual fervour, ſeconded the views of his mother, and even went beyond them, by the eſtabliſhment of his new Eaſt India trade at Trieſte. The city has not only been rebuilt, but a new one, much more magnificent, added. Large ſhips have been conſtructed there, entirely of domeſtic materials, and, within a few years, their population has increaſed, from about three thouſand inhabitants, to above four times that number; but there are ſtill many heavy clogs to prevent its riſing to that pitch of commercial eminence, which has been, and probably ſtill is, fondly imagined. Its remote and ſequeſtered port is too far out of the way to be much frequented, even from many parts of the Mediterranean; but voyages from the ocean are ſo long, intricate, and dangerous, as not to be often directly undertaken; of which a ſtronger inſtance needs not to be given, than that the Britiſh merchants at Trieſte find it more

more convenient to have their merchandize brought acroſs Germany by land from Hamburgh, than that courſe by ſea. But the great, and, in the preſent ſtate of things, ſeemingly inſurmountable obſtacle, to the growth of this place in the manner expected, is the paucity of native articles, whether of product or manufacture, for exportation; their imports ſtill nearly doubling, both in quantity and value, their exports. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that the Eaſt India trade, if it ſhould even proſper and continue, will be any longer carried on from ſo very inconvenient a ſituation, than until the emperor can find it convenient, either to transfer it to Oſtend, or has been able to procure ſome other port on the ocean for that purpoſe.

However that may be, ideas and ſchemes of commerce were now ſo prevalent, that early in the ſummer of 1782, the emperor lent four millions of florins to the merchants of Trieſte, for the increaſe (as it magnificently expreſſed) of their commerce, not only in Aſia, but in Africa, and alſo in America; accompanied with a promiſe of all future ſuccour and protection which their circumſtances might appear to require. A new company of merchants was ſoon after formed, who, it is ſaid, commenced their enterprizes with a capital of two millions of florins. The ſpirit of adventure was rapidly increaſing. New ports were eagerly ſought for on the neighbouring coaſts of Morlachia and Iſtria, and dock-yards were built, and the keels of large veſſels laid at one of them. A ſcheme was likewiſe adopted, of purchaſing fat oxen in Hungary, and ſalting them at Fiume, which was ſaid to have anſwered admirably.

No regular detail has been publiſhed of the meaſures purſued by the emperor, towards the cloſe of 1781, and the commencement of the following year, with reſpect to the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the reform of the eccleſiaſtics in general; for, notwithſtanding the extenſion of liberty granted to the preſs in other reſpects, it ſeems either to have been cautiouſly reſtrained on this occaſion, or that the directors of that powerful engine thought it prudent to lay the reſtraint on themſelves. Perhaps the virulent libels which were circulated on the ſubject, and the authors of which could not be reached, either by the dread of power, or the temptation of gold, might have occaſioned this reſtraint on the one ſide, or continence on the other. However that was, it is certain that the emperor has ſince afforded opportunities of ridicule to his enemies, which they have by no means overlooked, by contraſting with the boaſted liberality of his edict in favour of the preſs, thoſe ſevere reſtrictions and heavy penalties, with which, in certain caſes, it has ſince been ſhackled.

We find, however, by letters from Vienna, dated early in the year 1782, that the buſineſs of reform in Germany was then far advanced. One of theſe letters, dated on the 2d of February, ſtates, that the imperial decree, relative to the ſuppreſſion of the religious orders, had been carried into execution in Bohemia and Moravia, without any *conſequences*; and that the money ariſing from the confiſcation of their effects would be applied to public purpoſes. Information of a week later ſtated, that twenty-four Carthuſian monaſteries had been already ſuppreſſed

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in the Auſtrian hereditary countries, excluſive of the kingdom of Hungary. Another eſtimate, dated before the end of the month, without mentioning whether Hungary is included, ſtates the number of religious houſes then ſuppreſſed at fifty-five. The ſuppreſſion was not, however, general, being reſtricted to thoſe orders whoſe members, being charged with indulging themſelves in an idle and contemplative life, were conſidered as being of no real uſe to ſociety; while, on the other hand, protection and encouragement were afforded to thoſe inſtitutions, which had for their object the education of youth. The monks and nuns of the ſuppreſſed orders were abſolved from their vows, and ſome proviſion was made for their maintenance.

Previous to this period, and before the cloſe of the preceding year, an edict had been publiſhed at Bruſſels, by which all the religious houſes in the Auſtrian Netherlands, of whatever denomination, were diſcharged and exempted from every degree of foreign eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. This was followed by an imperial reſcript, which was circulated throughout all his dominions, ſtating the reaſons and principles which induced him to ſhake of the papal yoke; and totally diſclaiming all ſubordination whatever, in ſecular affairs, to the holy ſee.

Nor were the mountains of the Alps, nor the vicinity of the once-formidable thunders of the vatican, ſufficient to ſecure the eccleſiaſtical orders in the duchy of Milan from experiencing the fate of their German and Hungarian brethren. Two edicts were publiſhed at Milan in the beginning of the year 1782, for the ſuppreſſion of all thoſe orders in that duchy, which were under the circumſtances we have before recited, decreeing their eſtates to be ſold by public auction, and their value, excepting only the ſtipends allotted for the maintenance of the late poſſeſſors, to be applied to the exigencies of the ſtate.

Theſe meaſures excited the greateſt alarm at the Court of Rome. Council was held upon council, and congregation upon congregation at the vatican, while nothing was decided or propoſed, which ſeemed in any degree capable of reſiſting, or even mitigating the evil. In this ſtate of preſent diſtreſs, and apprehenſion for the future, the ſovereign pontiff, Pius the Sixth, notwithſtanding his great age, his infirmities, the badneſs of the roads, the length of the journey, and the extreme ſeverity of the ſeaſon, determined upon going to Vienna, and conferring perſonally upon the ſubjects of grievance or complaint with the emperor. It was in vain that his friends repreſented, and remonſtrated with him, upon the difficulties and dangers attending ſuch a journey, in his ſtate of health, time of life, and at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year; he reſolutely anſwered, that no obſtacles or perils ſhould deter him from the diſcharge of his duty; that, whatever he ſuffered in the attempt, or, if he was doomed to periſh in the execution, it would be no more than what he was bound to endure; that the event lay with God, but the fulfilling of his duty, ſo far as he was capable of doing it, with himſelf; and he continued inflexibly to adhere to his determination.

This was about the cloſe of the year 1781, and the pope having communicated his deſign through the nuncio at Vienna to the em-

peror, entered at the ſame time into the gentleſt poſſible expoſtulation with him upon the meaſures which he was purſuing. He reminded him that Benedict the Fourteenth had been his god-father; he recalled to memory the piety of his mother, and the conſtant regard of his family to the church; he requeſted and intreated, that he would not ſtrip the apoſtolic ſee of thoſe rights which it had poſſeſſed from time immemorial; he ſtated, that the object of his journey was to converſe in the moſt amicable manner with him, upon the ſubject of ſome late innovations which had taken place, relative to religious matters; and to endeavour to prevail with him not to invade the rights of the church, or to diminiſh the pontifical prerogatives, neither of which could be done, without deeply injuring the intereſts of religion itſelf.

The emperor, who had already taken his meaſures, would have been very well pleaſed to avoid the trouble and formality of this unexampled viſit. In his anſwer to the ſovereign pontiff he obſerved, that if his holineſs ſhould perſiſt in his deſign of coming thither, he ſhould certainly be received with all the reſpect and regard due to his high dignity; but that, if the object of his journey related to thoſe meaſures and regulations, upon which he had himſelf already decided, it would be totally ſuperfluous. That as to himſelf, he always conformed, in his determinations and meaſures, to the rules of reaſon, equity, humanity, and religion. That, before they were carried into execution, he always conſulted perſons of wiſdom, integrity, and knowledge, upon the affairs in which he engaged. He declared himſelf to be truly catholic and apoſtolic; and concluded, by beſeeching his holineſs to grant him his benediction. Such was the moderate language uſed upon this occaſion, through neceſſity on the one ſide, and proceeding from a cool and ſtudied policy on the other.

Notwithſtanding the little encouragement or hope afforded by this anſwer, the pope ſtill perſevered in his deſign. He probably relied a good deal upon the effects which his age, the ſacredneſs of his office and character, along with the novelty of the undertaking (ſtill rendered more ſingular by the difficulties of the journey, and the untoward ſeaſon of the year) might produce.

Under theſe, or other impreſſions or ideas, Pius the Sixth, the Roman pontiff, ſet out on his journey from Rome, within two days of the end of February, and arrived at Vienna on the 22d of March 1782. The emperor, accompanied by his brother, the archduke Maximilian, went to meet the holy father at Neukirken, and conducted him in his own coach to Vienna. Every poſſible mark of honour and reſpect was paid to him by that city and court at his arrival. *Te Deum* was performed before the whole court as a thankſgiving for that event, the hoſt being publicly expoſed during the time. A ſimilar courſe of honour and reſpect continued to be paid to him during the whole time of his ſtay in Vienna; and the very guarded and ſtrict precautions uſed by the police, were not ſufficient to prevent ſeveral legs and arms from being broken, through the eagerneſs of the people to receive his benediction, on his way to and from church on Eaſter-day.

But theſe were mere outward forms, which could have no connection

nection with the interior operations of the cabinet; and though frequent conferences took place between the emperor and pope, at the concluſion of which marks of the greateſt mutual ſatisfaction were always thought apparent; yet the event has fully ſhewn, that the latter did not gain any one material object of his wiſhes.

It was ſaid, that in one of theſe conferences, the pope delivered his ſentiments to the powerful ſovereign whom he was addreſſing in terms to the following effect:—"I have neither the power nor the will to defend by force thoſe rights which the ſovereign pontiffs, my predeceſſors, formerly enjoyed. I am far alſo from pretending to oppoſe the execution of thoſe ordinances, which the wiſdom of ſovereigns might find it neceſſary to preſcribe, for the ſecurity of government, or the benefit of their ſubjects. All I ſhall deſire and expect in return, is, that theſe potentates ſhould equally reſpect thoſe hitherto undiſputed immunities, prerogatives, and rights, which, without interfering with the rights of others, have through ſo many ages appertained to the holy ſee. What I therefore wiſh, and, in order to prevent the total degradation of the pontifical dignity will be found abſolutely neceſſary, is, that a congreſs of ambaſſadors from all the catholic powers in Europe ſhould be held, and that they ſhould determine upon, and irrevocably fix, ſuch parts of the ancient rights belonging to the holy ſee, as their ſovereigns were ſtill willing to continue in the hands of the pope."—Such was the language now held by the fallen repreſentative of that mighty power, which, through a long courſe of ages, had held the Weſtern world under a ſway, unexampled, "in its nature, riſe, duration, and extent."

We have no information of the anſwer made to that propoſition. It is not improbable that the pontiff was indulged in this ſpeculation, as ſome lenitive for the diſappointment which he experienced in every thing elſe. The pope continued a month at Vienna, and arrived in Rome about the middle of June; having met with every thing, in the courſe of his journey both outwards and homewards, that could be deemed pleaſing or flattering, excepting only ſucceſs in the object for which it was undertaken.

It ſeemed not a little remarkable, and as if the conferences between the emperor and the pope had produced perſuaſion where it was leaſt to be expected, that at a conſiſtory held in Rome, ſoon after the return of the latter, it was ſaid to have been determined to take meaſures for abridging by degrees the number of convents both for males and females throughout Europe; for reſtricting to a limited number the members of the remaining communities; and for preventing in future the admiſſion of novices under 25 years of age.

The viſit to Vienna occaſioned no intermiſſion whatever of the emperor's proceedings with reſpect to his eccleſiaſtical reforms; which were extended to the ſecular clergy and hierarchy, as well as to the religious orders, or regulars. A commiſſion was eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of the ſequeſtered eſtates and effects, which were ſo conſiderable, that the moſt moderate calculators ſuppoſed that the emperor would gain four or five

millions ſterling by the reform; while other, and probably leſs accurate eſtimates, went to double that ſum. Annual ſtipends were allotted for the maintenance of the reformed prelates, abbots, abbeſſes, canons, canoneſſes, monks, and nuns; which were, in ſome degree, proportioned to their reſpective rank or condition; but it was heavily complained that the portions were ſo ſcantily meaſured, as to be ſhamefully inadequate to the purpoſe.

This circumſtance afforded a handle for rendering the whole meaſure more particularly odious than it otherwiſe might have been: and whatever means were uſed at home to ſtifle complaint upon the occaſion, they could not reſtrain the cenſure of foreigners upon the conduct of this prince. It was held out, that the object of plundering the church, and the deſtination of its pillage, (inſtead of being applied to any uſeful or benevolent purpoſes) was intended merely for the ſupport of thoſe ſchemes of ambition, which had long poſſeſſed his mind, and which, in concert with Ruſſia, he was now endeavouring to bring to maturity. That though theſe ſchemes went only in the firſt inſtance to the overthrow of the Germanic conſtitution, and the ſubverſion of the princes of the empire, they were not leſs inimical in their more remote views to the intereſts, repoſe, and ſecurity of the European ſtates in general. That farther and more extenſive partitions of territory and power, including the ſea as well as the land, were already in their contemplation: and that ſuch proſpects and hopes could only in times of peace afford gratification to the inſatiate ambition of theſe two powers.

A celebrated French writer*, in touching occaſionally upon the queſtion of juſtice, with reſpect to the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtics, and the confiſcation of their goods, treats it in the following manner:—"I "prefer a convent of nuns to a "regiment of ſoldiers. If the firſt "oppoſe the intentions of nature, "they do not tear her to pieces: "if they violate her inſtitution, "it is in order to perpetuate their "ſpecies; whereas the latter take "an oath to deſtroy them upon the "firſt ſignal given by deſpotiſm. "The internal revolutions which "the emperor has effected in his "dominions have been greatly ap-"plauded; but what a number of "objections might be brought a-"gainſt theſe eulogiums; at leaſt, "the panegyriſts of Joſeph the "Second ought to tell us, what juſ-"tice they find in driving a citizen "from the profeſſion which he has "embraced under the ſanction of "the laws. I will tell them plain-"ly, that there is as much injuſtice "in expelling a friar or a nun "from their retreat, as in turning "a private individual out of his "houſe. Deſpiſe the friars as "much as you will, but do not "perſecute them, but above all "do not rob them; for we ought "neither to perſecute nor rob any "man, from the avowed atheiſt "down to the moſt credulous ca-"puchin."

Thus did the emperor ſmoothly purſue with little noiſe, without

* Count de Mirabeau. See his Doubts concerning the free Navigation of the Scheldt, &c. Engliſh tranſlation, note to p. 160.

even

even exciting much admiration or ſurprize, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, either foreign or domeſtic, and without in any degree forfeiting the name and character (which he ſeemed particularly fond of retaining) of a faithful ſon of the church, thoſe very meaſures which had drawn on Henry the Eighth of England, and on his kingdom, all the fulminations of the court of Rome; and which, at a ſtill earlier period, would have been the means of pouring down inevitable deſtruction on the one, and of involving the other in a diſmal ſcene of trouble and blood. Such are the wonderful changes which take place, not more in the affairs, than in the ideas, opinions, and principles of men, and ſuch the facility, which a fortunate coincidence of times and ſeaſons with circumſtances and events, and a wiſe or happy application of action to both, may adminiſter to the accompliſhment of the greateſt and moſt unexpected revolutions.

CHAP. II.

Retroſpective view continued. State of the great powers on the borders of Europe and Aſia. Ottoman Empire. Numerous ſources of diſcord with Ruſſia. Succeſsful endeavours of the captain baſhaw, notwithſtanding the unfavourable ſtate of public affairs, to quell rebellion and reſtore order. He reſcues the Morea from the Albanians; puniſhes the authors, and puts an end to the diſorders on the coaſts of Aſia; prevents the intended extermination of the Greeks. The Porte, after much conteſt, ſubmits to the receiving Ruſſian conſuls in the provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Beſſarabia. Troubles in the Crimea. Tartar Khan accepts a commiſſion in the Ruſſian ſervice. Dreadful Conflagrations in Conſtantinople. Forty thouſand houſes deſtroyed. Grand Vizir depoſed, and ſucceeded by Jeian Mehemet, a man of parts and ability. Ruſſian Khan depoſed by the diſcontented Tartars, and a new one elected, who is privately ſupported by the Porte. Great differences between the two empires on that account. Long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna on the point of expiring, which involves the former in new difficulties on that ſide. Divan ſit eight days debating on the queſtion of a war with Ruſſia. Pacific reſolutions adopted, through the influence of the captain baſhaw, grand vizir, and mufti. Popularity of the grand ſignior, and the firmneſs of his miniſters, prevent any dangerous effect from the violent ferment of the people, who are clamorous for war; and whoſe paſſions are not leſs agitated by the pacific conduct of the court, than by the contemplation of their ruined city. Emperor openly avows his determination of ſupporting the claims of Ruſſia, as well as his own. Strong memorials preſented, and harſh demands made, by the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna, toward the cloſe of the year 1782. Hoſpodar of Wallachia ſtrangled. Excellent conduct of the grand ſignior, with reſpect to the perſecution carried on by the Armenian patriarch. Vaſt preparations for war on all ſides in the year 1783. Treaty between the Porte and Spain. New Khan of the Tartars expelled by the Ruſſians. Former Khan abdicates his throne, and aſſigns his dominion and

country to the empreſs of Ruſſia; who iſſues a manifeſto, aſſigning the cauſes for her annexing the Crimea, Cuban, and iſle of Taman to her empire. Manifeſto from the Porte in anſwer. Notwithſtanding the immenſe preparations and immediate appearances of war, negociations for a peace are carried on at Conſtantinople under the mediation of France. In the height of the troubles the navigation of the Danube is opened to the emperor, two of whoſe ſhips are received at Belgrade, and proſecute their voyage to the Black Sea. Ottoman difficulties and enemies multiplying on all ſides. Appearances on the ſide of Venice. Troubles in Egypt. Perſians attack Baſſora. Prince Heraclius invades Natolia. Treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and the Porte, is followed by a new treaty of accommodation between the two empires, which is concluded at Conſtantinople in the beginning of the year 1784. Accommodation with the emperor. Spaniſh expedition againſt Algiers. Earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily.

THE diſorders of the Ottoman empire were too numerous and inveterate, to admit of any effectual remedy, within the few years of uncertain peace that had elapſed ſince the concluſion of the late unfortunate war with Ruſſia. So much was to be done, that it would have required many years of tranquillity, and an unremitted purſuit of the wiſeſt and moſt vigorous meaſures, to have accompliſhed the reforms that were wanting in ſo many departments of the ſtate, and which, to produce their full effect, ſhould have included the whole military and naval ſyſtem of that empire; the Turks having, partly through pride and bigotry, partly through native or habitual indolence, and ſtill more than all, through a ſucceſſion of weak and inactive governments, ſuffered the weſtern nations to leave them a full century behind, with reſpect to tactics, to the conſtruction and management of artillery, and to all improvements in the art of war. Their militia likewiſe, both of horſe and foot, which had been excellent in their inſtitution, and had been farther reformed and much improved by the wiſe regulations of their great emperor, Soliman the Magnificent, have ſince been ſuffered ſo ſhamefully to degenerate, that one highly and juſtly diſtinguiſhed order of them has frequently proved more dangerous to the ſtate than to its enemies, and a great part of the other has of late years been more an incumbrance and impediment to ſervice, than an arm of ſtrength and effect in the field.

But the treaty of Kainardgiac, in 1774, did not afford that ſtate of ſecurity which would have been neceſſary for the accompliſhment of ſchemes of great and general reform and improvement. No ſuch ſeaſon of quiet and leiſure has yet occurred; nor do the preſent appearances of public affairs indicate the near approach of it. The extraordinary ſucceſſes of Ruſſia in the late war, and ſtill more than theſe, the unexampled weakneſs and diſorder which ſhe diſcovered in her opponent, could not but enlarge her views to many new and before unthought-of objects. A wide field for enterprize and ambition was opened on the ſide both of Europe and Aſia. She granted preſent peace to her proſtrate enemy, for peace was then, from many concurrent cauſes,

cauſes, neceſſary to herſelf. She ſeemed to riſe from a banquet of victory, to which ſhe might return, whenever leiſure ſerved, and appetite invited. It was only her buſineſs to take care that the ſervices ſhould not be removed, nor the way barred againſt her return.

The peace was ſuch as was to be expected from the circumſtances on both ſides; and ſeemed to be founded on the principles we have ſtated. It ſowed ſuch numberleſs ſeeds of contention, that the ſucceſſion of the crops could ſcarcely fail under any management: and the fuel for lighting up future wars was ſo thickly ſpread, that it ſeemed as if nothing leſs than the inability of both parties, or the deſtruction of one, could ever bring them to a final concluſion.

The peace, however, ſuch as it was, was then indiſpenſably neceſſary to the immediate preſervation of the Turkiſh empire: but from the nature of its conditions, and the never-ending train of conſequences which they were capable of producing, could no longer be endured by the party aggrieved, than while ſome degree of ſimilar neceſſity was prevalent. We have accordingly ſeen, that within ſo ſmall a ſpace of time as five years from the concluſion of the former bloody war, and notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages under which one party ſtill laboured, a new war was juſt upon the point of breaking out between the two empires; and was only prevented by a new treaty of pacification, which took place on the 21ſt of March, 1779. Though France had the honour of bringing about that accommodation, and though her interference had undoubtedly great weight in the buſineſs, it is certain that Ruſſia was not at that time by any means fully diſpoſed to war: and that neither her own internal ſituation, nor the ſtate of public affairs in Europe, rendered it a ſeaſon favourable to the accompliſhment of her deſigns in any extenſive degree. But at all events ſhe would not give up any material part of what ſhe had gained; nor, to avoid preſent inconvenience, admit of any ſuch innovation, as might intercept her proſpects, and prevent, when the proper ſeaſon arrived, the further proſecution of her deſigns.

On the other hand, her adverſary, feeling himſelf wrung in every part by the conditions and conſequences of the late peace, and fully perceiving that the evils and dangers already produced would, inſtead of leſſening, every day increaſe, thought it better, without regard to comparative eſtimates of ſtrength and weakneſs, to put every thing to the hazard of war, than to ſubmit without an effort, for the ſake of a ſhort-lived ſecurity, to the ſilent but inevitable approach of ruin, under the inſidious cover of peace. The Porte accordingly captiouſly evaded, or peeviſhly refuſed a compliance, with many of the conditions, and things were proceeding faſt to the laſt extremity. Under theſe circumſtances, however, on both ſides, the opportune mediation of France could not be an unwelcome relief to either: mutual conceſſions were accordingly made, and the affair was patched up for the preſent.

But the great ſource of diſcord was ſtill left open. The pretended independency of the Crimea afforded ſuch an opening to Ruſſia into the very heart of the Turkiſh empire, and ſuch opportunities of

interference with the various Mahometan and Chriſtian ſtates which had been more or leſs dependant on the Porte in Europe and in Aſia, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for any laſting tranquillity to ſubſiſt between the two empires. Though the Turkiſh ſeas had at length been moſt unwillingly opened to Ruſſia, yet the mode and extent of that commerce, the regulations to which it was or was not to be ſubject, the double paſſage through the Boſphorus and Dardanelles, whether from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, or from the Baltic and Ocean to Conſtantinople and the Black Sea, with the trade to the Greek iſlands in the Archipelago, and the deſigned impediments thrown in by the cuſtom-houſes, afforded altogether (and all aggravated by the original ill-will which accompanied the conceſſion) inexhauſtible ſources of litigation and conteſt. A claim made and inſiſted on by Ruſſia, of eſtabliſhing conſuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Beſſarabia, was exceedingly grievous to the Porte; which, beſides conſidering them as licenced ſpies, was well aware that they would act as agents and negociators with the Greek princes and inhabitants of the two former, who would therefrom be in a conſtant ſtate of preparation for rebellion.

Under theſe circumſtances of continual embarraſſment and apparent danger from without, the celebrated Haſſan Bey, the captain baſhaw, (whoſe name we have heretofore had an opportunity of mentioning, with ſome part of that reſpect due to his character) was indefatigable in his endeavours to curb the violences, and to reſtrain the diſorders, to which the late war had afforded birth and nurture, and which had ſpread anarchy and deſolation through almoſt every part of the empire. He had ſucceeded in theſe attempts beyond whatever could have been expected, from the forlorn ſtate of the Ottoman affairs at the concluſion of the war. He reduced, and chaſtiſed, with a ſeverity which, conſidering their enormities, could not be deemed illaudable, the moſt powerful rebels of the empire: he reſcued the celebrated and beautiful province of the Morea, (the antient Peloponneſus) from the cruel invaſion of the Albanians; he cleared the coaſts of Syria and the leſſer Aſia of thoſe deſpots, whoſe petty wars and ravages had every where ſpread deſolation and ruin; and reſtored order, quiet, and ſecurity to thoſe commercial regions. But his moſt ſignal ſervice, and which abundantly ſhews (more eſpecially as he had not the fortune of being enlightened by a liberal education) his natural magnanimity, and the comprehenſiveneſs of his mind, was his over-ruling in council the deſign of exterminating the Greeks, which had been intended as a puniſhment for their defection in the late war, and to prevent ſimilar or greater dangers in future. Not ſatisfied with warding off that fatal blow, he obtained a general amneſty for that people; and has ſince taken care to have it ſo faithfully obſerved, as is ſuppoſed to have occaſioned no ſmall change in their diſpoſitions. But the abilities and exertions of that great commander and miniſter could only reach to the correction of ſome of the moſt glaring, and immediately dangerous enormities.

Notwithſtanding the treaty of pacification ſo lately concluded, differences

differences again ran high, ſo early as the commencement of the year 1781, between the Porte and the court of Peterſburgh, upon the ſubject of admitting Ruſſian conſuls in the three provinces already mentioned; the former indeed wiſhed rather to evade, than abſolutely to refuſe a compliance; and is ſaid to have deſcended ſo far as to write to count Panin, requeſting that his court would not inſiſt on a meaſure, which was ſo exceedingly irkſome to the grand ſignior himſelf, as well as to the divan. This ſolicitation did not produce the deſired effect; and M. de Stachief, the Ruſſian miniſter at the Porte, ſtill continued to inſiſt that that buſineſs ſhould be immediately ſettled; obſerving, that his court made no new claims, that they only demanded a compliance with a poſitive article of the late treaty, and with reſpect to that they would not relax a tittle.

The death of the grand vizir, in the month of February, 1781, afforded an opportunity to the captain baſhaw of ſucceſsfully urging his great influence with the emperor, in procuring Yſed Mehemet, the governor of Erzerum, whom he knew to be a man of ability, to be appointed his ſucceſſor. As it was about two months before the new grand vizir could arrive to take poſſeſſion of his office, it was filled up by the captain baſhaw in the interim.

After long diſputes, many peremptory demands, and ſome haughty anſwers, which ſeemed to indicate another termination, the Turkiſh miniſters, more from a ſenſe of the inability of the ſtate for war, than from pacific diſpoſitions, found it neceſſary, towards the cloſe of the year 1781, not only to give up the point of debate with reſpect to the conſuls, but to ſubmit to the degrading conceſſion of ſacrificing the Reis Effendi, who is the miniſter for foreign affairs, and on whom it was now thought proper to charge all paſt difficulties, as well as thoſe ſpirited replies which had given ſo much offence to Ruſſia. He being accordingly depoſed, a formal diploma was paſſed, acknowledging and receiving Mr. Laſkaroff as conſul general of Ruſſia, with liberty of reſiding (which had before been a matter of much debate) at Bucharеſt, Jaſſy, or whatever other part of the three provinces he might think it neceſſary.

This conceſſion, however mortifying, produced but a ſhort-lived effect. New troubles were continually breaking forth on the ſide of the Crimea, and the two courts of Conſtantinople and Peterſburgh were as conſtantly embroiled in their conſequences. Sabin Guerai, the khan who had been placed over the Tartars of that peninſula by the power and influence of Ruſſia, whether through defect of ſpirit, or exceſs of gratitude, made a more oſtentatious diſplay of his attachment, and even vaſſalage, than was ſuited either to his character as khan, or to that of the people whom he pretended to govern; nor was it entirely conſiſtent with the boaſted diſintereſtedneſs of that court, which had diſclaimed all views upon the Crimea, excepting the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment and ſupport of its independency. He even deſcended ſo far, as to accept a captain's commiſſion in the empreſs's body guards.

Theſe things were ill to be borne by a high-ſpirited people, who had

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in all ages conſidered liberty as the moſt invaluable of human bleſſings. The means uſed by Ruſſia to gain a ſtrong party in the country, to ſupport their khan, could only reach to a limited portion of the people; but a great majority were highly diſſatisfied at theſe proceedings, and wiſhed to be again governed by their own princes, in their own way. They likewiſe preferred a connection with the Ottomans, with whom they had been ſo long united, who were of the ſame religion, and in conjunction with whom they had partaken of ſo much glory and ſpoil in war, than with a nation, which, beſides being Chriſtian, they had been in the habit, through many ages, of regarding either with contempt or enmity.

The diſcontented party were encouraged and ſupported by the Tartars of the Cuban, as well as the Nogais, and even by ſome of the more diſtant nations or tribes of that people, who could not but be alarmed at the manner in which Ruſſia was ſpreading her influence and authority on all ſides, and apprehenſive of becoming victims to her power and deſigns in their turn. Nor will it be imagined that the Porte itſelf did not ſecretly encourage the ill diſpoſition of this people to Ruſſia and to her khan; eſpecially as ſhe did not prevent ſeveral of her Mahometan ſubjects, in the Aſiatic countries bordering on the Black Sea, from taking an open and active part in the enſuing troubles of the Crimea.

The devaſtation which the city of Conſtantinople ſuſtained by fire, in the courſe of the year 1782, has ſcarcely been equalled. Beſides ſeveral preceding loſſes, and being unuſually harraſſed by the plague, on the 23d of July in the evening a fire broke out in the quarter called Ballatta, which was moſtly inhabited by Jews, and a moſt populous part of the town. The wind being high, and the weather for ſome time preceding very dry, it ſpread with the utmoſt rapidity, and threatened the whole city with deſtruction. During ſeventeen hours that it laſted, the grand ſignior, the vizir, and other great officers of ſtate were conſtantly on horſeback, uſing every exertion to ſtop the progreſs of the flames, and to animate the people to their duty. The number of houſes deſtroyed was calculated at ten thouſand, beſides moſques, churches, and other public edifices.

But this fire, dreadful as it was, ſeemed only a preparatory notice to that unfortunate city of the calamity to which it was immediately deſtined. In ſomething ſhort of a month, about ten o'clock at night, on the 22d of Auguſt, a fire broke out in the quarter called Gibali, ſituated towards the middle of the harbour; and this being enraged by a high north wind, was ſoon extended to ſuch a degree, as baffled all efforts for its ſuppreſſion, and ſeemed to put an end to all hope. The violence and intenſeneſs of the fire were ſo great, that one of the largeſt and ſtrongeſt palaces, that of the aga of the janiſſaries, totally diſappeared in leſs than ten minutes after the flames had reached it.

The flames proceeded from ſea to ſea, and burned the interior of the ſeven towers, at the oppoſite extremity of the city. In that direction the fire raged three miles in length, through the richeſt and beſt inhabited ſtreets, carrying a front of

of ſometimes a mile broad, and ſometimes leſs, as the irregular hilly ſituation of the city would admit. It then branched out in various directions, ſo that there ſeemed at one time no leſs than eleven diſtinct conflagrations. Moſt of theſe were only ſtopped by the ſea, conſuming the very wharfs, and every thing to the water edge. A great but unknown number of people periſhed; one part being ſurrounded and intercepted by the flames, and the other, more happily throwing themſelves into the water, to eſcape a more dreadful fate.

This conflagration (which perhaps has not been exceeded by any recorded in hiſtory) continued to rage with unremitting fury for ſixty-two hours; the wind blowing fiercely almoſt the whole time. If the damage was not entirely irreparable, it was, however, impoſſible to aſcertain, in any degree, the amount of the loſſes. The ſufferings and diſtreſs of above two hundred thouſand people, involved at once in ruin and calamity, and left without refuge or ſhelter from the weather, would ſtill leſs admit of deſcription. It was ſuppoſed that about two-thirds of that vaſt and populous city had been deſtroyed by the late and the preſent fire; and that above 40,000 houſes then lay in ruins. The deſtruction of public edifices was proportioned to that of private buildings. All the chambers of the janiſſaries, above 50 moſques, 300 corn-mills, and 200 public ovens, were deſtroyed. The loſs of a number of great magazines ſtored with proviſions (a vaſt ſupply of which is always neceſſarily kept in hand to prevent the danger of a famine in that overgrown metropolis) was among the evils moſt ſenſibly and immediately felt.

The direction of the wind happened to be favourable to the ſeraglio, and to what might be conſidered as the government quarter of the city, which accordingly eſcaped the deſolation. The grand ſignior, and all the miniſters of the Porte, attended, and diſtributed money without count to the people. The faſt of the Ramazan was ſuſpended, and every ſubſequent meaſure purſued, which could afford relief, or even ſatisfaction to the people.

But the public fermentation was too extreme to be eaſily allayed. The repeated misfortunes and preſent miſeries of the people ſeemed inſupportable. A revolution had been the uſual conſequence of much leſs ſevere and afflicting trials; and though the good qualities and popularity of the grand ſignior, along with the firmneſs of the captain baſhaw, might poſſibly enable them to weather the danger, it was however neceſſary to hold out ſome object of blame to the people, on which they might vent their ill-humour. The ſacrifice of an unfortunate miniſter, however blameleſs or deſerving, is indeed the great reſource of deſpotic governments in caſes of great public diſcontent. Happy is it thought when the victim is accepted as a whole offering.

Yſed Mehemet was accordingly depoſed from his office of grand vizir, in two days after the fire had been ſubdued; and Jeian Mehemet, a man, at leaſt of equal, if not ſuperior abilities, and more fortunate, was appointed his ſucceſſor. The late miniſter paſſed through the ordeal of removal with more impunity, than had been uſually experienced in

in ſuch circumſtances. He was only ſent in exile to Demotica, without any mark of ill-will or reprobation whatever. Though we have no particular information on the ſubject, it ſeems highly probable, that the preſent appointment proceeded from the ſame influence which procured the former. The unuſual, and, perhaps in that court, unequalled cordiality which conſtantly prevailed between the new grand vizir and the captain baſhaw, and the equal part which they ever continued to take, in their endeavours to correct the abuſes, and to reſtore the affairs of the empire, ſerve ſtrongly to countenance this opinion.

The late calamity was little calculated to encourage the ſtate to undertake, or to enable it to maintain, a war; at the ſame time that the cauſes for war were multiplying, and its appearances, on more ſides than one, ſufficiently menacing. The troubles in the Crimea were riſen to their utmoſt pitch. The revolted Tartars had elected a new khan. A civil war enſued. That beautiful, and lately populous country, became a ſcene of deſolation and blood. Sabin Guerai was worſted, and his party at length reduced almoſt to nothing. This was the very ſtate of things which Ruſſia undoubtedly wiſhed, and had all along fought for. She had now a pretence for ſending her forces into the Crimea, to ſupport what ſhe repreſented as the real prince, againſt rebels and an uſurper. The conſequences were eaſily foreſeen. The Tartars, torn to pieces among themſelves, notwithſtanding the aid they received from without, were little able to withſtand the regular forces, and unabating exertions of the Ruſſians. In theſe circumſtances they turned their eyes, and directed all their hopes to the Porte, as their laſt refuge.

At the ſame time, the court of Peterſburgh highly reſented the conduct of the Porte, to which it attributed all the troubles of the Crimea. It charged them with fomenting the diſcontents, and being the author of the revolt in that country; with ſuffering and encouraging their ſubjects in Natolia to take a direct and active part in the war; and with inſtigating other Tartar tribes and nations, both to an interference in thoſe troubles, and to commit many irregularities elſewhere, particularly on the ſide of Caucaſus. Strong remonſtrances on theſe ſubjects were backed by the march of Ruſſian armies towards the frontiers, by the forming of magazines, and by all the preparations for war. Similar meaſures were neceſſarily adopted on the other ſide, ſo that a rupture between the two powers ſeemed inevitable.

But another great neighbour, who could ſcarcely be deemed leſs dangerous, and was not much diſpoſed to be leſs troubleſome than Ruſſia, was deſtined to involve the Ottoman empire ſtill deeper in embarraſſment and difficulty. The emperor of Germany, at the ſame time that he was diſmantling the celebrated fortreſſes on his weſtern borders, was aſſiduouſly engaged, without ſparing labour or expence, in enlarging and increaſing thoſe on his eaſtern frontiers. Every thing military, all the dreadful apparatus of war, were tranſferred to the Drave, the Save, and the Danube. The garriſons were repleniſhed, lines formed and filled with troops, and theſe great rivers

rivers covered with artillery, ammunition, and proviſion for the magazines.

The long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna was on the point of expiring; and, in the preſent ſtate of their affairs, there was nothing the former wiſhed for more than a renewal of the truce, excepting only the concluſion of a ſolid peace, upon ſuch conditions as might be capable of preventing future differences, and of ſecuring for a long time their tranquillity on that ſide. They accordingly propoſed ſending an extraordinary embaſſy for this purpoſe to Vienna; but the emperor, who had other views, found means to evade the propoſal. That politic prince, determining to be governed in his conduct by future contingencies, was not at all diſpoſed, for preſent moderate advantages, to give up the proſpect of obtaining much greater, when a proper time and ſeaſon might arrive. He was beſides ſo cloſely linked with Ruſſia, and their views being directed to one object, which was, however, of ſo vaſt a magnitude, as to afford full room for the enterprize and ambition of both, little doubt can be entertained, but that plans of future operation and arrangement, ſuited to probable contingencies and circumſtances, had already been mutually concerted.

However that was, the emperor kept the buſineſs of renewing the truce, or concluding a treaty of peace, at a diſtance. It was held out in general terms by his miniſters, that for that purpoſe a new demarcation of limits would be indiſpenſably neceſſary; that a reſtoration of the whole or a part of the ceſſions made by the court of Vienna, in the treaty of Belgrade, would be expected; and that the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Black Sea, were objects ſo much at heart, that they could not by any means be overlooked. In the mean time, preparations for war were carried on with as much vigour in Hungary, and the adjoining countries, as if it had been a matter determined on; and no doubt could remain on the ſide of the Porte, but that a rupture with Ruſſia muſt inevitably be attended by a war with the emperor.

Under theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, and the fate of the empire ſeeming to hang upon the reſult, the Divan ſpent eight ſucceſſive days, in the month of September 1782, debating on the queſtion of a war with Ruſſia. The ruinous conſequences of that power's ſucceeding in her deſigns upon the Crimea; of the naval ſtrength which the excellent harbours, and the commerce of that peninſula, would place in her hands; of the prodigious addition to her power by land (already too great) which her ſwallowing up all the nations of Tartars between the Caſpian, the Black Sea, the Boriſthenes, and the Danube, and their being involved in the common maſs of her ſubjects, would occaſion; were all fully underſtood, and ſtated, as well as many other evils and dangers.

The temper and diſpoſition of their own people were likewiſe matters of conſideration. The Turks in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of the metropolis, incapable of knowing or comprehending the true ſtate of public affairs, and the real ſituation of the empire, attributed all that apparent degradation, of which they were too ſenſible,

ſenſible, to the want of ability or ſpirit in their governors. The ſight of the Ruſſian flag flying in their narrow ſeas and channels, was as grievous as it was novel; the haughty commanding language held upon every occaſion by the miniſters of that power, was intolerably galling to the Turkiſh pride; and as they felt greatly for the ſufferings and oppreſſion of the Tartars, they were exceedingly intereſted in the affairs of the Crimea, and in behalf of the new khan. The great marine which Ruſſia was forming at Cherſon (a new port near the mouth of the Boriſthenes, on the Black Sea) was likewiſe among the cogent reaſons for immediate war; that event, it was ſaid, muſt, at no great diſtance of time, inevitably take place; and it was better to encounter the danger while the enemy continued weak on one element, than to wait till he became irreſiſtible both by ſea and land. The public, accordingly, loudly cried for war; and it has ever been dangerous to government, in that country, to oppoſe the general ſenſe of the people.

To all theſe powerful motives and reaſons for entering into a war (the validity of which could not be diſputed) one ſhort but irreſiſtible argument was to be oppoſed. This was the unfortunate ſituation of public affairs, which rendered the ſtate ſo far incapable of entering into a war (even with one of her formidable enemies) upon any rational ground of advantage, that ſhe would, on the contrary, ruſh into it under the diſmal impreſſion of inevitable ruin. That neither their naval nor land forces were yet in a condition, in any degree, to warrant ſo dangerous a trial. That although the captain baſhaw had with wonderful perſeverance and induſtry, in ſome degree, created a new marine, and had made great improvements, as well in the conſtruction of the ſhips, as in the manner of working and fighting them, and in the nature and management of their artillery, yet that great work was ſtill far from being brought to perfection, and would require farther time, along with all his application and abilities, for its accompliſhment. That ſimilar objections, but with much greater force, were applicable with reſpect to the ſtate of their armies. That the great reforms in the diſcipline of the troops, which were now in act as well as in proſpect, though conducted under the auſpices of the grand ſignior himſelf, and ſupported by all the powers of government, were yet of a nature which forbad their being compaſſed of a ſudden. That improvements of ſuch magnitude, with ſuch numberleſs difficulties to encounter, and in the execution of which they muſt rely entirely upon the aſſiſtance of foreigners, muſt require long time and long patience for the accompliſhment. And that ſurely they did not want ſore and recent experience to be informed, that no valour could enable their armies, in the preſent ſtate of their arms and diſcipline, to withſtand European forces in the field. That it was therefore more wiſe and eligible to ſubmit to preſent loſs, and even diſgrace, however grievous that was, under the hope of the future good effect of theſe meaſures, and of a more fortunate conjunction of things, than in a fit of mad and impotent vexation to precipitate the empire into deſtruction. That the Tartars were a people eaſily ſubdued; but that it had ever been found

found exceedingly difficult to retain them long in ſubjection; and that whenever the proper and fortunate ſeaſon arrived, they would return with the greateſt joy, and with renewed zeal and affection, to the arms of their old and natural friends and protectors.

Theſe arguments being firmly ſupported by the grand vizir, the captain baſhaw, and the mufti, they at length brought over the greater number, who had been advocates for war, to their opinion. It was accordingly determined to leave the affairs of the Crimea to take their own courſe; to diſavow any paſt interference of government in that buſineſs; and to attribute to the zeal of individuals for their religion, and a ſtrong attachment to the Tartars, whom, from long habits of connection, they conſidered nearly as the ſame people with themſelves, the conduct of ſuch of their Turkiſh ſubjects, whether in Natolia, or elſewhere, as had taken any part in the troubles: but while theſe inſtances of condeſcenſion, and a love of tranquillity, were given on their ſide, fully to repreſent the impropriety in the conduct of Ruſſia, and to ſhew that the Tartars, having been declared independent by the late treaty, were to be conſidered as abſolute maſters of their own conduct, with reſpect to the electing or depoſing of their ſovereigns; that no neighbouring power could have the ſmalleſt pretence of right for interfering in either caſe; but that if the reverſe were even admitted, the conduct of the depoſed khan, in endeavouring to overthrow the laws and conſtitutions of his country, could not be ſupported upon any principle of juſtice. It was at the ſame time determined, that the Porte ſhould, by the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances, and by every other meaſure ſhort of war, endeavour to prevent Ruſſia from making any permanent ſettlement in the Crimea, and from converting, under the pretence of garriſons, any of the principal harbours and fortreſſes to her own uſe. It was likewiſe agreed upon to make a propoſal to the court of Peterſburgh, of referring all matters of difference between the two empires, including the affairs of the Crimea, to the arbitration of ſome Chriſtian power, who ſhould be mutually choſen by the parties, and whoſe determination ſhould be concluſive.

Though theſe pacific meaſures were directly contrary to the wiſhes of the public, and that the continual ſight and contemplation of the ruins of their houſes would have been ſufficient alone to have excited the higheſt ferment among the populace; yet through the popularity of the grand ſignior, with the vigour and firmneſs of his principal miniſters, not only no convulſion whatever took place, but a degree of quiet and order was preſerved, unexampled in that city, under any circumſtances of irritation and diſcontent, approaching even in a remote degree to thoſe which prevailed at preſent.

In the mean time, the fury of the plague, which, through the ſummer and autumn of the year 1782 had moſt cruelly ravaged all the Tartar and Turkiſh countries on the frontiers of Ruſſia and Poland, had ſerved to reſtrain the no leſs cruel ravages of war; and in particular had greatly checked the operation of the Ruſſian armies, who were much more intent on guarding againſt the approaches of that fell enemy, than on

on gratifying ambition at the expence of any other.

Before the effect of the late pacific counſels could be known, the Porte had the mortification to diſcover, that the impatience and haughtineſs of its great neighbours were too extreme, to admit of their liſtening to arguments, or waiting the ſlow reſult of negociations. The Emperor of Germany now pulled off the maſk, and avowed his determination of ſupporting all the claims and pretenſions of Ruſſia, as well as his own; and the engagements between both were declaredly reciprocal. Towards the cloſe of the year 1782 two very ſtrong, and, as they were called, ſpirited memorials, were preſented from the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna; in which, beſides other things, it was peremptorily inſiſted, that the Porte ſhould not in future, under any pretence, intermeddle in the affairs of the Tartars; that the privileges of the two provinces of Moldavia and Walachia ſhould not be infringed; and that the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Archipelago ſhould not in any manner be obſtructed. The conſequences of a failure with reſpect to theſe demands could not be more fully explained than they already were, by the appearance of the armies on the frontiers, and of the vaſt preparations for war which had been made by both the parties.

The part which neceſſity compelled the Porte to take had been already decided in her own councils; but it was neceſſary to preſerve ſome appearances of dignity. Every preparation was made as if war had been determined upon; and ſome of the Turkiſh officers upon the emperor's frontiers, in their eagerneſs for that event, and perhaps miſtaking theſe appearances for realities, committed ſome irregularities which afforded room for complaint. The Porte likewiſe, deſperate as its circumſtances were, gave an immediate inſtance of ſpirit, in the puniſhment of one of its officers or vaſſals. The hoſpodar of Walachia was long known to be ſtrongly attached to the Ruſſian intereſt; and was likewiſe ſuſpected, probably with juſtice, of keeping up a private, but conſtant correſpondence with that people. Two of his ſons, ſome time before, had made a ſeeming eſcape, as if purſued by enemies, from their father's court, and fled to Vienna. With all theſe unfavourable circumſtances, the propoſition in the late memorials, relative to the privileges of that province, was ſuppoſed to originate from, and partly to relate to this man. However theſe things were, the hoſpodar was condemned to the bow-ſtring, in a few days after the memorials had been preſented. It is little to be doubted but that he hoped, in caſe a new arrangement of territorial dominion ſhould take place, that the principality might, upon certain conditions, be rendered hereditary in his family. An idea probably as problematical, as any he could poſſibly have entertained.

This act of ſeverity was ſucceeded by one, which, with regard to juſtice, humanity, and benevolence, did great honour to the perſonal character of the grand ſignior. The numerous proſelytes from the Armenian profeſſion of Chriſtianity, which the induſtry of the clergy and miſſionaries of the Latin church conſtantly made, had ever been conſidered as an intolerable grievance

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by the bigotted members, and particularly the metropolitans of the former; who regarded the Chriſtians of the Catholic communion with much greater abhorrence than they did the Mahometans, or any race of infidels, among whom they were ſcattered. The effects of this mortal antipathy have ever been diſplayed, in every part of Aſia, even to the remoteſt Eaſt, where the Armenian clergy had ſufficient influence with the government, either to raiſe a perſecution, or to procure any other means of obſtructing the progreſs of their fellow Chriſtians.

The preſent patriarch of that church, beſides being blinded by his fanaticiſm, being by nature exceſſively cruel, carried on a perſecution againſt his unfortunate countrymen, the Catholic Armenians, which ſerved, in ſome degree, to recal the memory of thoſe that had diſtinguiſhed the early ages of Chriſtianity. It ſeems that this man, being enabled to make large preſents to ſome of the miniſters, had acquired ſuch intereſt at court, that his wretched countrymen, being no objects of concern with them (and it being beſides a general maxim of that government, never to interfere in the religious diſputes of Chriſtians) were abandoned entirely to his mercy. The gallies, and the moſt infectious dungeons, were filled with theſe miſerable people; where his influence ſtill following them, they were continually beaten and tormented by their inhuman maſters or keepers, who were happy to be paid for gratifying their native and habitual cruelty: at the ſame time, that thoſe of condition and opulence were glad to fly their country, and abandon a great part of their effects, in order to eſcape the perſecution.

One of the Chriſtian miniſters reſident at the Porte, touched with the calamities of theſe people, thought theſe tranſactions ſo inconſiſtent with the natural beneficence of the grand ſignior's mind, and his abhorrence of all manner of cruelty, that, well judging the perſecution was carried on without his knowledge, he took an opportunity of laying a full ſtate of all the particulars before him. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment and regret ſhewn by the emperor upon this information. He immediately iſſued an order, that the unhappy victims ſhould be reſtored to their liberty, and ample ſatisfaction made for their effects; and, not ſatisfied with curing the preſent evil, he iſſued an ordinance, forbidding that any perſon whatever ſhould in future be perſecuted, in any part of the Turkiſh empire, on account of religious principles; and declaring that he would have the Roman Catholics particularly reſpected, and that they ſhould enjoy in the fulleſt manner the liberty of exerciſing their religion.

The pacific diſpoſition of the Porte, and the terms propoſed in conſequence of it, were of no avail in bringing about an accommodation with her two great and ambitious neighbours. Their demands appeared ſo exorbitant, that it became a queſtion, even with the wiſe and moderate, whether it were not better at once to put every thing to the hazard, than to be trained on through degrading conceſſions to a ſtate of imbecility, which would not leave them the means or power of even rendering their fall glorious. The demands made by Ruſſia were

ſaid to be no leſs than the full poſſeſſion of the Crimea, the iſle of Taman, the Cuban, and Budziac Tartary, with the fortreſs of Ockzacow, and other ceſſions of leſs importance. On the part of the emperor, beſides ſmaller matters, was required the full reſtitution of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, including that city itſelf, with a conſiderable part of the provinces of Walachia, Servia, and Boſnia: theſe ceſſions to be followed by ſuch a demarcation of limits, as would afford a ſatisfactory frontier for their future ſecurity; the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Turkiſh ſeas, being in all caſes to be conſidered as a preliminary, from which there was no receding.

All ſides prepared for the moſt decifive hoſtility, and the preparations were immenſe on all. The year 1783 accordingly exhibited ſuch an apparatus of war on the northern and eaſtern borders of Europe, as had never before been beheld, even in thoſe martial regions. The Danube groaned, through the better part of his courſe, under the weight of the prodigious artillery, and the immenſe quantities of ammunition and proviſion, which the emperor forwarded from his hereditary ſtates to the frontiers. The troops which he had already in Hungary, and the adjoining provinces, were eſtimated at more than 130,000, and others were advancing from different quarters. The artillery which he now ſent to frontiers that were at all times well provided with that article, was eſtimated at more than 1500 pieces. Indefatigable in all his purſuits, he viſited Hungary and the adjoining provinces early in the ſummer, and examined perſonally the ſtate of the garriſons, magazines, lines, and armies.

The Ruſſian forces were at the ſame time advancing through different parts of Poland, and through all the countries from the Don to the Nieper, towards the ſcene of action. Their preparations were, as uſual, immenſe; that government never heſitating at any expence, with reſpect to labour, men, or the means of ſupply in war.

On the other hand, the Porte had drawn great bodies of their Aſiatic troops into Europe; ſo that their armies on the frontiers, or the approach to them, already exceeded 150,000 men. Their Janiſſaries and European troops were in good condition; and their armies in general were better provided, and upon a much better footing, than they had been in the late war. They had procured a great number of European officers, particularly French, to come into their ſervice; among theſe were ſeveral engineers, and they were indefatigable in the improvement of their artillery, and in endeavouring to introduce the European modes of diſcipline, cloathing, and arms, in their armies. The Janiſſaries and ſoldiers ſhewed, upon this occaſion, a docility which had never been expected from them: indeed the bigotry and prejudices even of the common people were viſibly wearing away; ſo powerful are the effects which misfortunes, joined with the example of their rulers, can produce in the manners and tempers of men.

The captain baſhaw, who was the life of all their military improvements, as well by land as on his own

own element, had formed such a marine on the Black Sea, as to be far superior to the Russian naval force in that quarter. He had likewise a considerable fleet for the Archipelago and Mediterranean service; but that was the Ottoman weak side; and they seemed to dread Russia more there than on any other.

A treaty of some sort or other, but whether of commerce, alliance, or both, we are not well informed, was about this time concluded between Spain and the Porte. It was, however, strongly reported, that the great object of this treaty on one side, was an engagement entered into by the other, that no Russian fleet, beyond a certain specified number, should in future be permitted to enter the Mediterranean on terms of hostility. However this may be, the Porte, surrounded almost as she was by her formidable enemies, had still one consolation in reserve. She knew, that as France was now disengaged from the war with England, she would not be abandoned to absolute destruction by all the western powers. Nor was it to be supposed, that the king of Prussia, or even Sweden, could have been silent or inactive spectators of so great an accession of power, as the spoils of the Ottoman empire would afford, to their already too formidable neighbours. At all events, the Porte prepared vigorously for war.

No details being given by those who have the only means of accurate information of the transactions on the side of Crimea, and the different Tartaries, it is exceedingly difficult to form any thing like a connected narrative, from scraps of information occasionally picked up, and where, being frequently left entirely in the dark, the events can only be explained by their more striking and public consequences.

It appears upon the whole, from this sort of lights, that the Russians had, in some part of the preceding year, entirely defeated the new khan of the Crimea, and obliged him to abandon the peninsula; that his party were either dispersed or subdued; and that the conquerors had made themselves masters of all the considerable fortresses and ports of that country. That, besides subduing the Cuban, and other neighbouring Tartars, they had extended their power over no small part of the mountains of Caucasus, towards the borders of Georgia and Armenia, the petty states in those parts becoming their vassals, under the name of receiving their protection. That Solomon, the Christian prince of Mingrelia, being restored to his principality by their assistance, submitted to the same state of vassalage; which, in fact, was no more than changing his masters; his country having been, from time immemorial, under a similar subjection to the Turks. The prince Heraclius of Georgia, ever watchful of occasions of advantage, having, during the late war, seized the double opportunity of the troubles in Persia, and the weakness of the Porte, to renounce his fealty to both powers, had of course entered into a strict alliance with Russia. It is to be observed, that the Russian accounts have constantly misrepresented this business, they stating, that the prince Heraclius, as well as Solomon, had, at his own desire, become a vassal to the empress. The fact is however otherwise. Heraclius was too strongly fortified in the fastness of his country, and at too far a dis-

tance, to be compelled to ſuch a meaſure; and he was too proud and too wiſe to become a ſlave without occaſion. He had, through the courſe of no ſhort life, bravely encountered, and fortunately ſurmounted, many and great dangers, to ſave or to free his country from the loweſt degradation of abject vaſſalage. He has happily ſucceeded in obtaining for it, and for himſelf (though by a precarious tenure) a freedom as perfect as unexpected. He could be little diſpoſed to reſign it now, who, through the weakneſs of his two ſuperior lords, even while he acknowledged their dominion, had for many years been in the habit of letting his fealty and allegiance hang very looſely about him.

This war in the Crimea had not proceeded without difficulties, although the particulars of them are not publicly known. The Ruſſian manifeſto, which was publiſhed as a juſtification to the world of her conduct in taking poſſeſſion of the Crimea, ſtates the expences of the war at twelve millions of roubles, (which does not fall far ſhort of three millions ſterling) and ſeems to conſider that expence as a foundation for one of the empreſs's claims upon that country. The ſame piece, in ſtating the loſs of lives upon the occaſion, obſerving that their value is ineſtimable, refrains accordingly from giving an account of the number.

In the mean time the Ruſſian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the ſuppoſed right to the dominion of his country to the empreſs. This was no leſs than an abſolute ſale of a people and their country, the khan receiving conſiderable eſtates in Ruſſia for the purchaſe. It ſeems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchaſe are ſpecified as affording any title or claim to Ruſſia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifeſto.

In that piece, which is ſigned by the empreſs, and dated at Peterſburgh on the 8th of April 1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the ſummer) the Crimea, the Cuban, and the iſland of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It ſtates, that the great ſucceſſes which enabled Ruſſia to ſubdue the Crimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if ſhe had ſo choſen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other conqueſts, were ſacrificed to her deſire of eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, and the friendſhip between the two empires, upon the moſt permanent foundations. That theſe motives had induced her to ſtipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every poſſible cauſe of future diſſenſion.

The failure of this deſign, and all the ſubſequent troubles of the Crimea, are partly attributed to the ſecret inſinuations and conduct of a certain unnamed (but well underſtood) power, in fomenting the diſcontents, partly to the reſtleſs temper of the Tartar nation, and partly to their being ſo long accuſtomed to ſervitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of underſtanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence, which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Ruſſia for the expence of money and blood ſhe had already been at, to prevent ſimilar conſequences

quences in future, for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all cauſes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the preſent meaſure. The Tartars were aſſured that they ſhould be placed upon an equality with the ancient ſubjects of Ruſſia, and that they ſhould enjoy the moſt abſolute liberty of conſcience, with the full exerciſe of their public worſhip and religious ceremonies.

This manifeſto was anſwered by the Porte in ſo maſterly a manner, both with reſpect to ſtyle and matter, that it might be conſidered as a model for ſuch documents. After pointing out, and ſeverely animadverting upon, the encroaching diſpoſition, and the over-ruling ſpirit, of the court of Peterſburgh, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Crimea, it proceeds to expoſe, in a very ſtriking point of view, that wantonneſs of power, and inordinacy of ambition, which could extend them to the Cuban, to the iſle of Taman, and to the ſovereignty of the Black Sea. It puts the queſtion, What pretenſion of right can Ruſſia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the Porte? Would not ſuch claims on any part of the Ruſſian empire be inſtantly repulſed? And can it be preſumed that the Sublime Porte, however deſirous of peace, will acquieſce in wrong, which, however it may be diſguiſed by ambition under the colour of policy, reaſon and equity muſt deem abſolute uſurpation? What northern power has the Porte offended? Whoſe territories have the Ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the Turkiſh ſtandard diſplayed? Content with the boundaries of empire aſſigned by God and the Prophet, the wiſhes of the Porte are for peace; but if the court of Ruſſia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquiſitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the juſtice of its proceedings, the Sublime Porte muſt prepare for war, relying on the decrees of Heaven, and confident in the interpoſition of the Prophet of Prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

In the midſt of all theſe appearances of war, and preparations for it, negociations for a peace, under the mediation of France, were continually carried on at Conſtantinople; and the people of that capital were forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, from holding any diſcourſe whatever upon the ſubject or deſign of the vaſt armaments, by ſea and land, which were inceſſantly making or paſſing before their eyes. It was obſervable, that although the preparations for immediate war made by the emperor, at leaſt equalled, if they did not exceed in magnitude thoſe of Ruſſia, yet the apprehenſions of the Porte ſeemed principally to lie the other way, and their greateſt efforts were directed to that ſide. It is not impoſſible but they retained hopes, that if things proceeded to abſolute extremity with the one, means might be uſed to mollify the other, by ſuch large conceſſions as neceſſity might then dictate, and it would be their intereſt to make. The baſhaw of Belgrade, and their other commanders on the frontiers, were accordingly inſtructed, not only to refrain from all things which

could give umbrage to the court of Vienna, but to purſue the moſt conciliatory meaſures in all their tranſactions with the Auſtrian ſubjects; and particularly, to pay the moſt marked perſonal attention to the emperor himſelf when he approached the borders. This diſpoſition was ſo prevalent, that in the height of the troubles, when nothing leſs than war and deſolation ſeemed on all ſides at hand, the Danube was, for the firſt time, opened to the imperial ſhips; two of which, with their proper colours, were received in the moſt friendly manner at Belgrade, where they were furniſhed with paſſports to enable them to paſs the other Turkiſh fortreſſes in their voyage to the Black Sea.

In the mean time the troubles and enemies of the Ottomans were multiplying on all ſides. The republic of Venice was cloſely engaged with Ruſſia, and her countenance and diſpoſitions, notwithſtanding her pacific ſyſtem and character, fully indicated that ſhe hoped to come in for a ſhare of the expected ſpoil; nor could it be ſuppoſed a ſmall one, conſidering the number and extent of her claims, along with the ſingular benefits which that power would derive, from the uſe of her ports, and the aſſiſtance of her naval force, in the proſecution of the war. New troubles were broken out on the ſide of Egypt; where the turbulent beys were engaged in a civil war, and the whole country was thrown into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. Thus ſurrounded, involved, and diſtreſſed in Europe and Africa, their mortal and hereditary enemies the Perſians attacked them in the eaſt, and had commenced a war on the ſide of Baſſora.

To profit the more effectually of theſe embarraſſments and difficulties, and, as it were, to complete the cycle of their troubles and dangers, the Prince Heraclius of Georgia was induced to invade Natolia; a diverſion, which if it produced no greater effect, might at any rate be ſuppoſed to prove a conſiderable check to the Porte, with reſpect to the forces which they intended farther to draw from Aſia to Europe. Whether it proceeded from the fault of the deſultory troops which he commanded, or from the effectual preparation made for his reception, however it was, Heraclius did nothing, in this expedition, at all anſwerable to his former reputation. Before he could even do any conſiderable miſchief, the baſhaw of Natolia marched againſt him at the head of 18,000 men; and, though the Georgians were ſuperior in number, obliged them to retire with precipitation to their own country. This, though not a great matter, if time, diſtance, and circumſtances are conſidered, will ſerve to ſhew, that vigour and reſource were not entirely defunct or exhauſted in that empire; and the more eſpecially, as the Georgians have ever been particularly diſtinguiſhed for their valour.

In the mean time the plague, which broke out at Cherſon, and other parts of the Ruſſian frontier, and penetrated even to the borders of Poland, threw no ſmall damp upon the military operations on that ſide, and afforded time for the progreſs of the negociations at Conſtantinople, before matters were precipitated to ſuch an extremity as would not admit of a ſtay or recal. It ſeemed ſingular enough, that at the time the flames of war were expected, and ſeemed ready to break

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out in every quarter, that a new treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and the Porte, ſhould not only be in train, but actually concluded at Conſtantinople. It will appear ſtill more ſingular, that the account of the abdication of the Tartar khan, with the ſeizure of the Crimea and Cuban by Ruſſia, and the annexing them to her own dominion, was received juſt before the treaty was ſigned, and yet the intelligence of this unexpected and extraordinary tranſaction did not prevent its execution: a circumſtance which fully ſhews the conſciouſneſs of the Porte, of its being totally unequal to the ſupport of a war. The mingled rage and anguiſh of the people upon this intelligence was never exceeded, nor perhaps equalled, upon any former occaſion; they cried loudly for vengeance, for the ſupport of the Ottoman dignity and glory, and for the reſcue of their injured and oppreſſed brethren; while their voice was rendered the more formidable, from its being ſupported by all the chiefs and men of the law. Nothing could afford a more ſtriking inſtance of the firmneſs of government, than its being able to withſtand the ſhock.

An acquieſcence in ſo important a revolution, and a ſubmiſſion under ſo ſevere a loſs, could leave no doubt that ſmaller matters would be much diſputed. On the other ſide, Ruſſia had now attained as much new dominion as ſhe was for the preſent, or could for ſome time to come, be well able to manage. And beſides the ill policy of too great an immediate extenſion of conqueſt, there were other cauſes which operated ſtrongly againſt her forcing a war. With reſpect to the loſs of men, foreign wars are (from various cauſes, ſome of which could not eaſily be removed) more deſtructive to that country than to any other; at the ſame time, that from the vaſtneſs of the empire, and the thin ſtate of its population, that loſs is more peculiarly felt. With reſpect to her finances alſo, foreign war, from the great quantities of caſh which it neceſſarily draws out of the country, is exceedingly pernicious to Ruſſia, which can by no means well ſpare ſuch a drain from her circulation; nor were the effects of the extraordinary expences incurred in the laſt war yet entirely done away, and the accumulating of a new debt could not but be a matter of ſerious conſideration. The mediation of France had likewiſe its weight on all ſides; and the part which the houſe of Bourbon, and perhaps other powers, might take in a war of conqueſt, wantonly entered into, and rendered peculiarly odious, by a pertinacious rejection of all equitable terms of accommodation, was a matter that demanded attention.

Under all theſe circumſtances, the negociations at Conſtantinople were carried on with great facility towards the cloſe of the year; and early in the following a new treaty of accommodation was concluded and ſigned between the two empires. By this treaty Ruſſia retains the full ſovereignty of her new acquiſitions; and the only object of conſideration gained by the Porte, was the aſcertaining of fixed limits to her claims in Aſia; the river Cuban being made the boundary on that ſide, and Ruſſia renouncing all pretenſions upon the Tartar nations beyond it. All mat- January 9th, 1784.

ters relative to trade, ſhipping, tolls, and duties, had been ſettled by the preceding treaty of commerce. The captain baſhaw's ſignature is the firſt, on the Ottoman ſide, to this treaty of accommodation.

Thus had the empreſs Catherine the extraordinary fortune and glory, not only to fill up and realize all the plans and projects of Peter the Great, with reſpect to the Palus Mæotis, the Black Sea, and the Crimea, but even to enlarge the ſcale, and carry his views to an extent, which ſeems to have ſurpaſſed, ſanguine as they were, that monarch's own hopes of attainment. A felicity the more peculiar, as the completion of the deſigns, and the immortalizing the name of that great founder and legiſlator of the Ruſſian empire, ſeems to have been the leading object of her government, and wiſh of her life; and that as ſhe has made his conduct, in all that was laudable, the conſtant model of her own, ſo ſhe ſeems to be the full inheritor of his ſpirit, with reſpect to magnanimity, and to the deſire of raiſing to the higheſt pitch the power and glory of her country.

As the recovery and reſtoration of every thing Greek, is the predominant paſſion of the court of Peterſburgh, ſo the Crimea, and its dependencies, are in future to be known by the name of Taurica; particular places are likewiſe reſtored to their antient appellations; and the celebrated port and city of Caffa, has now reſumed its long-forgotten name of Theodoſia. Since this acceſſion of dominion, new towns, with Greek or Ruſſian names, are riſing faſt in the deſarts, and are peopled moſtly by colonies of Greeks and Armenians. Neither has the empreſs ſpared any care or expence to procure emigrants of all nations to ſettle and colonize her wide and remote Caucaſean regions, which were once ſo prolific, in producing ſwarms to over-run and deſolate Europe. But the completion of this deſign muſt be a work of time indeed; and ſubjected to numberleſs hazards, as well as difficulties, in its progreſs.

It ſtill remains to be ſeen, whether the late treaty of pacification will be more laſting in its effects than the two former. Numberleſs cauſes of contention ſtill remain; and if there were none other, what greater need there be, than thoſe which are neceſſarily produced by unreſtrained neighbouring power, when oppoſed to weakneſs, and that weakneſs encumbered with the cuſtody of the richeſt and moſt deſirable poſſeſſions?

In fact, the equilibrium between the three great powers on the borders of Europe and Aſia has been ſo violently ſhaken, that nothing leſs than ſome very conſiderable change in their comparative circumſtances and ſituation, can in any degree reſtore the true balance, nor can any thing leſs afford a proſpect of permanent peace and ſecurity to the preſent weaker party. It was peculiarly unfortunate, if not fatally ominous, to the Ottoman empire, that the period of its degeneracy and decline ſhould have been that in which its two ancient rivals and neighbours have riſen to unexampled power and greatneſs. Their earlier riſe would have prevented that decline.

A new face of affairs is, however, appearing in that empire. Arts

and learning are encouraged, printing preſſes are eſtabliſhed by the emperor's order, and prejudices are wearing faſt away. If, then, the preſent ſultan and his miniſters ſhould be cloſely followed up by men of equal merit and ability, who ſhould complete and carry into perfection thoſe great ſchemes of reform and improvement in their forces by ſea and land, which are now in proſecution, and that the future prince ſhould inherit the warlike diſpoſition and military virtues of his anceſtors, it would by no means be impoſſible, that before many years were over, ſuch a change might take place in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, as would not a little aſtoniſh the world. They have the means of accompliſhing great things ſtill in their hands; and they have now a clearer view of the dangers of their ſituation, of the defects in their government and diſcipline, and of the cauſes of their declenſion and weakneſs, than they ever before had. They may poſſibly afford a new and memorable inſtance, that adverſity is the firſt of all ſchools for the inſtruction of mankind.

This treaty with Ruſſia was ſucceeded by an accommodation of ſome ſort, for the preſent, with the emperor; but leaving numberleſs matters open for future diſcuſſion, as time might ſerve, and occaſion offer. The Imperial miniſter demanded a participation of all the commercial advantages granted to Ruſſia, by the late and by former treaties, and the Porte found it neceſſary to comply. The Danube, and all the Turkiſh ſeas, were accordingly opened to the navigation of the Imperial ſubjects, with free ingreſs and regreſs to and from the Mediterranean, and commerce in the Archipelago; beſides great indulgences and advantages to the merchants, with reſpect to ſearching their ſhips, to tolls, duties, and cuſtom-houſes. A conſiderable part of Walachia was likewiſe ceded; and it was evident, that the Porte was not in a humour, or more properly in condition, to refuſe any thing.

Spain had no ſooner got diſengaged from the war with England, than ſhe began to prepare for new military adventure. Neither the general ill ſucceſs which had long attended her expeditions to the coaſt of Africa, nor the particular loſs and diſgrace ſuſtained by the grand armament which ſhe had diſpatched againſt Algiers in the year 1775, were ſufficient to deter her from another attack upon that piratical city. Her ſhips being in ſome degree ſtill manned in conſequence of the late war, and a great number of bomb-ketches, gun-boats, and other armed veſſels, which had been deſtined againſt Gibraltar, ſtill in readineſs, were undoubtedly incentives to this enterprize.

The marine force intended for this ſervice was conſiderable, and from its nature extremely numerous; no diſpoſition, however, appeared, to hazard another army upon that inauſpicious coaſt; the preſent deſign being entirely confined to a ſevere bombardment and cannonade by ſea. The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Don Antonio Barcelo; who, after a formal diſplay of ſome pious or religious ceremonials, intended to obtain a bleſſing upon the Chriſtian arms in their conflict with Infidels, proceeded with his armament from Carthagena, on the 2d of July, 1783,

1783. Through an unfortunate diſpoſition of the winds and weather, the fleet, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of the paſſage, was detained for 27 days at ſea; a circumſtance which, beſides the loſs of a month peculiarly choſen as favourable to the deſign, could not but be exceedingly untoward in many reſpects, encumbered as he was with a multitude of ſmall veſſels, and theſe crowded with men, and overlayed with artillery. The fleet did not arrive in the bay of Algiers until the 29th of July; and the ſea was then too rough to admit of immediate action.

He found the Algerines well prepared for his reception; and diſcovered every indication of a bold and moſt determined enemy. On the firſt of Auguſt the admiral formed his line of battle, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an attack; 18 bomb-ketches, with 13 gun-boats on their wings, compoſed the van; theſe were ſupported by a line of xebecs, bilanders, and other veſſels of war, moſtly peculiar to the Mediterranean; and theſe again intermixed with, or attended by, a number of boarding-boats ſtrongly manned, and ſome ſmall fire-veſſels, to prevent the approach of the Algerine gallies to the battering veſſels; the whole being covered by the ſhips of the line, and frigates of war. The cannonade and bombardment were commenced at half paſt two o'clock, and were continued, without intermiſſion, until ſunſet: 380 ſhells were thrown in that time, and about an equal number of ſhot ſent; the fire being fiercely returned by the Algerine batteries through the whole time, with near 1100 cannon ſhot, and about 30 bombs.

The attack was renewed on the following, and on every ſucceeding day, except one, until the 9th of the month. On that morning, a council of war being held by the admiral, the exhauſture of ammunition, and the growing lateneſs and danger of the ſeaſon, were found ſufficient reaſons for an immediate return to Spain. In the courſe of theſe attacks, which were not unfrequently repeated on the ſame day, 3,732 bombs, and 3,833 cannot-ſhot, were diſcharged by the fleet againſt the town; and theſe were returned by the Algerines, with 399 ſhells, and 11,284 cannon-ſhot. This vaſt expenditure of ammunition produced no correſpondent effect on either ſide; the town was indeed repeatedly ſet on fire, but the meaſures of preſervation were ſo well adapted, and ſo vigorouſly purſued, that the flames were ſoon ſubdued. The Algerines made ſeveral bold ſallies with their gallies and ſmall veſſels upon the Spaniſh battering line; but the ſuperiority of fire on that ſide was ſo great, and it played from ſuch various directions, that they were conſtantly repulſed. The example of Gibraltar ſeemed to have operated upon them in the uſe of red-hot balls; but they were not deſtined to produce a ſimilar effect. On the other ſide, the Spaniſh marine afforded evident proofs of the improvement it had received from the late war; ſhewing infinitely more courage, alertneſs, and firmneſs, than in the attack of 1775.

The year 1783 was fatally marked by the deſolation of ſome of the moſt celebrated, the moſt beautiful,

tiful, and the moſt fertile provinces of Europe. The two Calabrias, once the favoured ſeat of the muſes, and ſo long renowned under the diſtinguiſhed appellation of Magna Grecia, were now doomed, along with part of Sicily, to be the melancholy ſcene of the moſt tremendous, the longeſt continued, the moſt fatal with reſpect to mankind, and the moſt deſtructive to the face of the country, ſucceſſion of earthquakes, that had yet been known, even in thoſe volcanic regions. They were indeed ſo dreadful, that they ſerved rather to impreſs ideas of the final diſſolution of all things, than to induce any hope from analogy, founded on the experience of former convulſions of the earth.

The firſt ſhock, which happened about noon, on the 5th of February, 1783, was by far the moſt deſtructive, if not the moſt tremendous in other reſpects. Several cauſes concurred to render this ſhock particularly fatal. It came on ſuddenly, without any of the uſual indications; it was about the Italian time of dinner, when the people were moſtly in their houſes; but beyond all, the motion of the earth in that ſhock was vertical, riſing ſuddenly upwards from its foundations, and as ſuddenly ſinking again. By this fatal motion, the greateſt buildings, villages, towns, and entire cities, were inſtantaneouſly involved in one common deſtruction; nothing remaining to be ſeen, but vaſt heaps of undiſtinguiſhable ruins, without any traces of ſtreets or houſes. An inhabitant of Caſal Nuova, happening to be on a hill over it at the time of the ſhock, and looking eagerly back to the town, could ſee no other remains of it, than the appearance of a cloud of white ſmoke, occaſioned by the flying mortar, which had been diſſipated by the craſh of the houſes.

The Calabria Ultra, particularly that part on the weſtern ſide of the Appennines, was the peculiar victim of this firſt ſhock. Its dreadful effects were not confined to the deſtruction of mankind, and to little leſs than the annihilation of populous and flouriſhing villages, towns, and cities, but the whole face of that beautiful country was mangled and diſfigured. Mountains were rent; vallies cloſed up, the hills that formed them being thrown from their places, and meeting their oppoſites in the center; the courſe of rivers was neceſſarily changed, or the water, being entirely dammed up, was formed into great and increaſing lakes.

Of thoſe towns and cities where the greateſt deſtruction of mankind took place, we are not to paſs over Caſal Nuova, where the princeſs Gerace Grimaldi, with more than four thouſand of her ſubjects, periſhed in the ſame inſtant. At Bagnara, above three thouſand of the inhabitants were loſt. Radicina, and Palma, counted their loſs at about three thouſand each; Terra Nuova, at about fourteen hundred, and Seminari ſtill more. The inhabitants of Scylla thought they had reaſon to rejoice in eſcaping from their houſes, on the celebrated rock of that name, at the inſtant of the firſt ſhock; and following the example of their prince, deſcended to a little harbour at the foot of the hill, where getting into boats, or ſtretched upon the ſhore, they thought themſelves free from danger. But in the courſe of the night

night a ſtupendous wave, which is ſaid to have been driven furiouſly three miles over land, upon its return ſwept away the unfortunate prince, with 2473 of his ſubjects. It may not perhaps be entirely unneceſſary to obſerve, that the barons in the kingdom of Naples poſſeſs an abſolute ſovereignty over their vaſſals.

The country moſtly ruined by the firſt ſhock, and where the greateſt mortality took place, was the celebrated Sila, of the ancient Brutii. The north-eaſt angle of Sicily, including the city of Meſſina, were likewiſe in a conſiderable degree victims to that ſhock; but the greateſt violence of its exertion, and its moſt dreadful effects, were in the plain on the weſtern ſide of the Appennine. Several ſucceeding ſhocks, through the months of February and March, were little leſs tremendous, and extended their effects ſtill farther than the firſt. They included the Calabria Citra, and thoſe parts of the Ultra which had eſcaped the firſt miſchief. But notwithſtanding their violence, the deſtruction was by no means equal, and the loſs of lives happily bore no manner of proportion to the firſt dreadful mortality. The people, warned by that calamity, had every where abandoned their houſes, and lived in barracks; and the motion of the earth being ſomewhat different in the ſucceeding ſhock, though buildings were ſhaken down and ruined, yet they were not entirely involved, nor whole towns obliterated in one cruſh, as in the firſt.

The earth, in all that part of Italy, continued for ſeveral weeks, more or leſs, in a conſtant ſtate of tremor; and ſeveral ſhocks, with different degrees of violence, were every day felt; ſo that the unhappy people, already worn down with calamity and grief, through the loſs of their property, and of their deareſt relations, were ſtill kept in a continual ſtate of apprehenſion and terror.

The whole of the mortality, according to the returns made to the ſecretary of ſtate's office in Naples, amounted to 33,567. Theſe returns, drawn up in the confuſion and miſery that prevailed, could not be accurate; and it was ſuppoſed by the beſt judges, that the real loſs, including ſtrangers, amounted, at leaſt, to 40,000. Theſe eſtimates only take in the immediate victims to the earthquakes; thoſe who periſhed through want, diſeaſes, anguiſh, and every ſpecies of ſubſequent diſtreſs, not being included. Some idea of the general diſtreſſes may be gathered, from thoſe which were ſuffered by Don Marcello Grillo. This gentleman poſſeſſed great landed property, beſides 12,000 pieces of gold, which were buried under the ruins of his houſe in the city of Oppido. Yet, with all theſe advantages of fortune, he was for ſeveral days and nights houſeleſs and expoſed, without food or ſhelter, to the exceſſive rains which then conſtantly fell; and was in this courſe inſtructed in the relative duties of humanity, by being beholden to a hermit for lending him a clean ſhirt.

The king and government of Naples uſed all poſſible means for relieving the immediate diſtreſſes of the people, as well as for enabling them in ſome degree to recover from the ruin in which they were ſo calamitouſly involved: the conduct of the archbiſhop of Reggio upon

upon this occaſion cannot be too much praiſed, or too generally known. That excellent prelate immediately diſpoſed of all the ſuperfluous ornaments of the churches, and of his own horſes and furniture, the produce of which he applied to the relief of his diſtreſſed flock; and continued, through the whole courſe of the earthquake, chearfully to bear an equal ſhare in the inconveniences and ſufferings to which they were expoſed, and to ſympathize in thoſe calamities which he could not remedy. This admirable conduct was the more ſtriking, as the great men of the country did not in general exert a ſimilar ſpirit.

It was a curious obſervation made upon this unhappy occaſion, that the male dead buried in the ruins, were almoſt conſtantly found in an attitude of exertion, as if ſtruggling againſt the danger; while, on the other hand, the female attitude was, as generally, the hands claſped over the head, as giving themſelves up entirely to deſpair; excepting only, when there were children near them, in which circumſtance, they were always found, either claſping them in their arms, or in ſome other attitude no leſs expreſſive of maternal tenderneſs; and fully ſhewing, that the anxious care of their preſervation had in that dreadful moment baniſhed all fear and conſideration with reſpect to themſelves.

CHAP. III.

Recapitulation of the proceedings in parliament relative to the affairs of the Eaſt India company. Two Indian committees appointed by the Houſe of Commons in 1781. *Objects of the ſelect committee. Objects of the ſecret committee. The King's approbation of their proceedings. Reports of the ſecret committee brought to the houſe, April* 1782. *Account of Mr. Dundas's ſpeech on that occaſion. Lays three ſets of reſolutions on the table: Firſt ſet, relative to the general miſconduct of the company's affairs—poſtponed: Second ſet, relative to the conduct of the preſidency of Madras—voted: Third ſet, containing criminal charges againſt Sir Thomas Rumbold—voted. Bill of pains and penalties. Proceeding therein. Bill loſt. Conſideration of the firſt ſet of reſolutions reſumed. Reſolution againſt Mr. Haſtings voted. Conduct of the court of proprietors on that occaſion. Proceedings of the ſelect committee. Reſolutions voted. Vote againſt Sir Elijah Impey. King's ſpeeches at the cloſing and opening of the ſeſſions.*

THE ſeſſions of parliament, on which we are now entering, were diſtinguiſhed by a ſeries of political events of the moſt intereſting and important nature. The magnitude and diverſity of the objects they embraced, the means by which they were brought about, the perſons who acted in them, the great conſtitutional queſtions they involved, the manner in which they finally terminated, form together an aggregate of political matter, unparalleled in the annals of parliament.

The firſt, as well in magnitude as in order of time, was the bill for the better management of the affairs

fairs of the East India company. From the dangers that threatened the very existence of our empire in that part of the globe, and the fatal stroke our national credit might receive from the dissolution of the company, whose affairs were, by men of all descriptions, allowed to be in a most precarious state, the necessity of applying speedy and effectual remedies was universally acknowledged. Strong and vigorous measures were on all sides loudly called for; and the oppressed natives of India had at length a prospect of deriving from our fears the relief which a sense of justice and humanity had hitherto failed to procure them. During a rapid succession of ministers, every party, almost every individual of any weight or consequence in the country, had in turn pledged themselves to exert both their own and the whole force and power of government for the attainment of this important end. All palliatives were on the one side earnestly deprecated, and on the other anxiously disclaimed.

As the bill we have just mentioned was grounded on the reports of the committees which had now sat upwards of three years on the affairs of India, it will be necessary to resume our history of that part of the proceedings of parliament, which from the pressure of other matters we were obliged to postpone. This accidental delay will however be attended with some advantage to our readers. They will by this means have a general view of the whole subject at once before them. The principles and conduct of the leading public characters in different situations may be more easily compared, and the parties will come to a more fair and impartial trial, than during the heat and violence of political contests can possibly be obtained.

Early in the year 1781 two Indian committees were appointed by the House of Commons, on grounds which have been already stated in a former volume, to enquire into the mal-administration of the company's affairs both at home and abroad. All parties in the House appear to have concurred in these measures. The first, which was a *select committee*, was directed to "*take into* "*consideration the state of the ad-* "*ministration of justice in the pro-* "*vinces of Bengal, Bahar, and* "*Orixa*;" and was afterwards further instructed "*to consider how the* "*British possessions in the East In-* "*dies might be held and governed* "*with the greatest security and ad-* "*vantage to this country, and by* "*what means the happiness of the* "*native inhabitants might be best* "*promoted.*" The business of this committee was conducted by some of the most distinguished members of that side of the House which then opposed the general political measures of his majesty's government. The second was a *secret committee*, moved by the minister himself; and was under the management of persons either actually members, or known to be in the confidence of administration. It was directed "*to* "*enquire into the causes of the war* "*in the Carnatic, and of the con-* "*dition of the British possessions in* "*those parts.*"

Both committees continued to sit with unremitted application till the prorogation of parliament. On closing the sessions, the king expressed, in the strongest terms, his approbation of their proceedings, and his satisfaction in observing "that

"that their attention was not more "anxiously directed to the benefits "to be derived from the territorial "acquisitions, than to the happi-"nefs and comfort of the inhabi-"tants of thofe remote provinces." At the fame time he declared his expectation, that "at their next "meeting they would proceed with "the fame wifdom and temper to "provide for the fecurity of thofe "valuable poffeffions, and for re-"ftraining the abufes to which "they were peculiarly liable." Accordingly, in the fpeech from the throne at the opening of the next feffions, in November following, the Houfe was directed in nearly the fame words to refume the profecution of their important enquiries.

On the ninth of April, 1782, Mr. Henry Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, and chairman of the *fecret committee*, moved, that the reports of that committee fhould be referred to a committee of the whole Houfe. On this occafion Mr. Dundas, in a fpeech of near three hours length, entered very fully into the caufes and progrefs of the calamities of the Eaft. Amongft the former he infifted principally on the following;—the departure of the company's prefidencies from the line of policy prefcribed to them, of avoiding all offenfive military operations with a view to conqueft—the corrupt interference of their fervants in the domeftic and national quarrels of the country powers—their frequent breaches of faith, and difregard to treaties—their peculation and fcandalous oppreffion of the natives—and, laftly, the criminal relaxation which had prevailed on the part of the directors at home, in the exercife of their controlling power over their fervants, and their ready connivance at the groffeft mifconduct, provided it was attended with any temporary gain to the company *.

He then proceeded to trace the operation of thefe caufes in the feveral tranfactions of the company's prefidencies in the Eaft. As thefe facts were afterwards reduced into the form of refolutions, and agreed to by the Houfe, we fhall have occafion hereafter to fpecify them more particularly. At prefent, therefore, it may fuffice to enumerate a few of the moft flagrant acts of injuftice, violence, and treachery, by which, he afferted, that not only the company's affairs were brought to the very verge of ruin, but indelible difgrace entailed on the Britifh name and government in India. He inftanced the injuftice and cruelty of the Rohilla war; the fale of Kora and Illahabad; the ftopping payment of the ftipulated penfions to the king Shâh Allum, and to Nudjif Khân; the renewal of the war with the Mahrattas; the double dealing with Ragoba and the Raja of Berar; the proceedings relative to the Guntoor circars, and the pefcufh, or tribute, payable to the Nizam; the fufferings of the Raja of Tanjore; the arbitrary exaction of nazirs, or free gifts; the fraudulent grants of leafes; the harfh and unjuftifiable meafures

* This criminal connivance was attributed, by other members who fpoke in the debate, to the over-ruling influence which, by obvious means, the principal fervants of the company abroad had acquired in the courts at home; infomuch that the relation between them was entirely reverfed, and the latter had become the mere agents and inftruments of the former.

taken

taken relative to the Zemindars of the northern circars, and particularly the groſs ill treatment of the Raja Viſieram Rauze.

Laſtly, from this body of criminality he inferred the abſolute neceſſity of the interpoſition of the legiſlature, both for the purpoſe of puniſhing delinquents, and wreſting power out of the hands of thoſe who had abuſed it. The diſagreeable taſk of propoſing certain reſolutions to the committee with that deſign would fall, he ſaid, on him: and, painful and odious as the taſk might be, his duty to the public required he ſhould go through it. But this alone, he added, would not be ſufficient. He declared his conviction of the neceſſity of ſending out to India certain perſons, to be named by his Majeſty, or by parliament, armed with the higheſt authority of the kingdom. To ſome ſuch appointment he looked up for the preſervation of India, the reeſtabliſhment of our national character, and the deliverance of a moſt unfortunate and extenſive country from the miſeries of oppreſſion *; and he called on his Majeſty's miniſters either to ſupport him in carrying through the buſineſs, or to bring forward, without delay, any other meaſures they might judge more effectual for the accompliſhment of thoſe great and important objects.

Mr. Dundas was followed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, who, after congratulating the Houſe on the unanimity with which the great buſineſs they were entering on was likely to be proſecuted, declared their hearty concurrence with the learned member, in the mode of proceeding adopted by him, namely, that of making the removal and puniſhment of delinquents go hand and hand with meaſures of future regulation; and they pledged themſelves, in whatever ſituation they might be found, to ſupport ſuch plans as ſhould appear beſt calculated for purſuing thoſe objects with vigour and effect.

On the 22d of April Mr. Dundas brought forward the propoſitions which he had previouſly laid upon the table, and printed for the peruſal of the members. The firſt ſet, amounting to 45 in number, related to the general ſyſtem of the company's government, and the miſconduct of the ſupreme council and the preſidency of Bombay. Theſe, he obſerved, might require a further examination, and he ſhould therefore poſtpone them for the preſent. The ſecond ſet, conſiſting of 24, had for their object the conduct of the preſidency of Madras. On theſe, if adopted by the Houſe, it would be neceſſary to ground a criminal proſecution againſt the preſident, Sir Thomas Rumbold, a member of the Houſe, and other perſons concerned therein; and as he conceived the committee to be in poſſeſſion of all the materials requiſite for their conſideration, he ſhould proceed to move them without further delay.

The firſt four reſolutions ſtated, that, in a period of twelve years, from 1767 to 1779 incluſive, the

* It ſhould appear from the ſpeech of Mr. Fox, who, in the courſe of the debate, expreſſed his diſlike of the propoſition, that Mr. Dundas had mentioned with ſome degree of approbation, the idea of taking from the company, and placing under the direction of the crown, the entire management of their territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt.

ſurplus net revenues of the company, under the preſidency of Madras, had never, except in one year, been equal to the purchaſe of the inveſtment for Europe, and that in the whole period they had exceeded the charges in no more than 51,961 l. Theſe were agreed to without any debate.

The fifth reſolution ſtated, that the balances due by the Zemindars or renters of the company's lands in the northern Circars had very much increaſed *of late*; and that the Zemindars were much diſtreſſed. Sir Thomas Rumbold objected to the words "*of late*;" but the fact appearing to the committee to be ſubſtantiated by the evidence in the reports, the reſolution paſſed without a diviſion.

One of the principal cauſes of this diſtreſs was ſtated in the two following reſolutions, viz. "that it had been the practice for the chiefs of the ſubordinate ſtations to receive from the Zemindars certain large ſums of money, arbitrarily exacted, under the name of Nazir or free gift, and that the ſame had never been accounted for to the company." In the debate, the enormous height to which this practice had arrived throughout India, its baneful conſequences, the abuſes that were countenanced, and the horrible iniquities that were committed, all under the ſanction of theſe expiatory Nazirs, were fully ſtated by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Burke.—The reſolutions were agreed to.

The indigent circumſtances of the Nabob, and the enormous amount to which he ſtood indebted to ſeveral of the company's ſervants, notwithſtanding he had been indulged in the repeated plundering of the rich country of Tanjore and of the company's Jaghire lands, could not eſcape obſervation. It appeared indeed in evidence, that with reſpect to the latter he had been the higheſt bidder, and that actuated by principles of pride or motives of policy he become their tenant at a rent greatly beyond their value. This had been one cauſe of the encreaſe of his debt and the conſequent perplexity of his affairs and violence of his exactions. In the exerciſe of theſe oppreſſions he was ſupported by the ſervants of the company, who, in their turn, made him the victim of their rapine, by uſuriouſly ſupplying him with money at 24 per cent. and upwards.

The eighth reſolution therefore ſtated, "that the company's Jaghire lands, including almoſt the whole of the territory contiguous to Fort St. George, Madras, had been uniformly let to the Nabob of Arcot;" and the ninth, "that the ſaid Nabob was loaded with heavy debts both to the company and individuals; that his troops were ill paid, had deſerted in great numbers, and frequently broken out into dangerous mutinies on that account." The impolicy and danger of ſuffering the Nabob, under the circumſtances deſcribed in the latter reſolution, to rent territories, which had the actual command of Madras, were ſtrongly inſiſted on, as well as the ſuſpicious nature of his debts, and their influence in the general ſyſtem purſued by the preſidency with regard to the Nabob, by which the Carnatic had been brought into a ſtate of the moſt dreadful confuſion *.

* For a more particular account of the mode of contracting theſe debts, and of the proceedings of the then adminiſtration relative thereto, ſee debate in the Houſe of Commons, on Mr. Fox's motion, November 1784.

Both reſolutions paſſed.

The tenth and eleventh reſolutions related to the kingdom of Tanjore, and were alſo agreed to. In them it was ſtated, "that the revenues were greatly diminiſhed, and the country itſelf much on the decline; and that this was in a great meaſure owing to an opinion prevailing in the country, that the Raja's government would not be of long continuance, and that another revolution was approaching." On this occaſion Mr. Dundas deſcribed the country of Tanjore to be the garden of India, a ſpot where Providence ſeemed to have laviſhed its peculiar bounties. To this country the Nabob of Arcot had ſet up the moſt unjuſt and abſurd pretenſions, and had been moſt ſcandalouſly liſtened to by the ſervants of the company; by repeated invaſions and revolutions it had been abſolutely ruined, and the Raja, a ſovereign of an ancient and moſt honourable deſcent, had been treated with unheard of hardſhips. In theſe ſentiments Mr. Dundas was joined by the general voice of the whole committee, ſeveral of whom declared that this ſuffering prince ought to be taken under the protection of parliament, and ſecured in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions againſt the baſe and infamous arts of the Nabob and his abettors. As an inſtance of the deſperate lengths to which the Nabob had been encouraged to proceed, it was aſſerted, that it had appeared in evidence before the committee, that in order to make the members of that houſe a party to the Nabob in his deſigns on Tanjore, a ſcheme had been actually formed of bribing a majority in the repreſentative body of the nation with 700,000 l.

The committee having gone through theſe eleven reſolutions, agreed to defer the conſideration of the remainder till the Monday following.

On the 25th, Mr. Dundas laid upon the table forty-two additional reſolutions, reſpecting the miſconduct of ſeveral members of the preſidency of Fort St. George; and on the 29th they were voted, together with thoſe before deferred, in a committee, and the whole being immediately reported, were agreed to by the Houſe.

The twelfth and the ſeven following of the deferred reſolutions condemned the omiſſion of timely precaution, and the ſubſequent dilatorineſs and indeciſion of the preſidency at the time of the irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, notwithſtanding their early and repeated intelligence of his intentions; of theſe, the fifteenth ſtated the total inability of the Nabob of Arcot to contribute any thing towards the common defence, either in men, money, or influence; and that he attributed this inability to the weight of his debts and the loſs of Tanjore. On the other hand, the ſixteenth ſtated that the Raja of Tanjore was not found in a better condition; and that he attributed the inability on his part to the ſufferings which his country had endured under the oppreſſive government of the Nabob.

In the twentieth and twenty-firſt reſolutions, the indiſpenſable neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome new and effectual regulations in regard to the revenues, debts, and military eſtabliſhments of the Nabob, and of the Raja, was the more eſpecially inſiſted, becauſe it had appeared that the ſucceſs of Hyder Ally might in

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ſome meaſure be attributed to the great defects in thoſe particulars.

The twenty-ſecond reſpected the ſettlement of the matters in diſpute between the Nabob and the Raja, on a footing of juſtice and perpetuity, according to the arrangement carried into execution during the government of Lord Pigot.

The object of the 23d reſolution was, ſuch an eſtabliſhment of the nature and amount of the rents of the company's lands, and of the rights of the tributaries and renters; eſpecially by the abolition of all nazirs or gifts, as might tend to the preſent relief and future ſecurity of the company's dependents, and particularly the natives of every degree.

The 24th ſtated, that, in aſcertaining the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Raja of Tanjore, with a view to their diſcharge, all juſt diſtinctions ought to be made between the claims of the different creditors, and the utmoſt attention paid to the diſcovery and puniſhment of peculation by any of the company's ſervants, and to the prevention of it in future.

The committee then proceeded to the conſideration of the laſt ſet of reſolutions, containing matters of criminal charge againſt the preſident of Fort St. George; and on this ſet Mr. Dundas declared his intention of moving the Houſe to proceed by a bill of pains and penalties.

In theſe reſolutions Sir Thomas Rumbold was charged, firſt, with having remitted to Europe, between the 8th of February 1778 (the day of his arrival at Madras) and the beginning of Auguſt in the ſame year, the ſum of 41,000 l. and during the two ſubſequent years, a further ſum of 119,000 l. the whole amounting to 160,000 l. *; although his ſalary did not exceed 13,333 l. per ann.; and the records of the company did not contain any ſpecification of goods on hand, debts due, or loans made in India by him before his taking on him the office of governor; which, in caſe he had been poſſeſſed of ſuch effects, he was bound by his covenant to have entered therein.

Secondly, he was charged with having aboliſhed the committee of circuit of the Jaghire lands and northern Circars; a committee appointed by the company's orders for the purpoſe of inveſtigating on the ſpot many eſſential points reſpecting the tribute and rent to be paid by the Zemindars and renters of the company's demeſne land, and alſo for the better regulation of the internal government of thoſe diſtricts, with a particular view to preventing extortion and the oppreſſion of the native inhabitants.

Thirdly, it was charged, that having diſſolved the committee of circuit, he did order the Zemindars to repair to Madras, ſituated at the diſtance of 550 miles from the center of the Circars, there to ſettle their annual tribute; and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the ſubordinate councils, and the complaints of the Zemindars, who were both averſe to the journey, and ill able to ſupport the expence of it, did repeat his orders and enforce obedience to them: and that, whilſt the Zemindars were at the preſidency, he did himſelf ſeparately negociate with them the terms of their reſpective cowles or leaſes, the

* See p. 53.

grounds of ſuch leaſes being in no inſtance laid before the council collectively.

Fourthly, he was charged with having, by compulſive menaces, and groſs ill treatment, humiliating, unjuſt, and cruel in themſelves, and highly derogatory to the intereſts of the company, and to the honour of the Britiſh nation, compelled the Raja of Viſianagrum to employ Sitteram Rauze as duan or manager of his zemindary, and to confirm his adoption of the ſon of the ſaid Sitteram; and with having further obtained for the ſaid Sitteram Rauze the zemindary of Ancapilly, and the reſtoration of the fort of Viſianagrum, notwithſtanding he appears on the records of the ſettlement to have been a man of bad reputation, and diſaffected to the company's intereſts; and it alſo appearing, that, pending theſe proceedings, two lacks of rupees, (20 000l.) were tranſmitted to the ſaid Sitteram, then at Madras; and that he had actually contracted by bond to pay Mr. Redhead, private ſecretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold, one lack of rupees, on conſideration that he ſhould uſe his influence in obtaining for him the advantages above recited.

Fifthly, it was charged, that notwithſtanding the diſcovery of this corruption of his private ſecretary, by a judicial appeal to himſelf and the council, he had taken no notice thereof in his correſpondence with the directors; and that on another occaſion he had ſuppreſſed the information given by Mr. Sadlier, of the peculations of three of the company's ſervants at Maſulipatam to a large amount, and had concealed the ſame both from the council at Madras and the court of directors.

Sixthly, he was charged with having granted to the Nabob of Arcot a leaſe of the Jaghire lands for three years, in direct diſobedience to the repeated poſitive orders of the company, founded on the moſt cogent reaſons of convenience and public policy: and thereby was guilty of a great breach of truſt, and of a high crime and miſdemeanor *.

Seventhly, he was charged with having been guilty, in two ſeveral inſtances, of a groſs breach of ſolemn treaties entered into between the company and the Nizam of the Decan, and of having thereby ſtained the national honour, inflamed the reſentments of the Nizam, and endangered the ſecurity of the company's poſſeſſions. By theſe treaties the ceſſion of the five northern Circars had been confirmed to the company on two expreſs conditions: the firſt, that one of them, called the Guntoor Circar, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of Bazalet Jung during his life, or until it was the Nizam's pleaſure that the company ſhould take poſſeſſion of it: the ſecond, that the company ſhould pay to the Nizam an annual tribute of five lacks of rupees.

In direct violation of the firſt of theſe ſtipulations, a treaty was entered into by Sir Thomas Rumbold with Bazalet Jung, for the immediate poſſeſſion of the Guntoor Cir-

* To this article may be referred the 18th reſolution, in which it appears, from a codicil annexed to Mr. Redhead's will, that Omeer-ul-omrah, the ſecond ſon of the Nabob, had an order from his father to pay him the ſum of one lack of rupees.

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ear, without the conſent or knowledge of the Nizam; a military force was ordered to carry it into execution; and, at the requeſt of the Nabob of Arcot, it was agreed to grant him a leaſe of the country for the term of ten years.

Whilſt the mind of the Nizam was ſmarting under this offenſive treatment, the reſident at his court was inſtructed to propoſe the withholding the ſtipulated tribute; altho' he had been aſſured by the ſame authority, but a ſhort time before, of the future regular payment thereof. And, in aggravation of theſe violent and unjuſt proceedings, Sir Thomas Rumbold did unwarrantably attempt to throw obſtructions in the way of the ſupreme council, in their endeavours to quiet the apprehenſions and re-conciliate the affections of the Nizam *.

The reſolutions being agreed to by the houſe, leave was given to bring in a bill of pains and penalties againſt Sir Thomas Rumbold, Peter Perring, and John Whitehill, for breaches of public truſt, and high crimes and miſdemeanors. At the ſame time was alſo brought in a bill for reſtraining thoſe perſons from going out of the kingdom, for diſcovering their effects, and preventing the alienating or tranſporting of the ſame; which paſſed without much other debate than what related to the quantum of the ſum propoſed to be left uncovered of Sir Thomas Rumbold's eſtate, which at laſt was fixed at 50,000l. for the purpoſe of indemnifying his ſureties, and 30,000l. to enable him to make a proviſion for his children.

April 29th.

Before the ſecond reading of the bill of pains and penalties, it was ordered, that Sir Thomas Rumbold ſhould be heard in his defence, againſt the ſame, by counſel, at the bar. The great variety and complicated nature of the criminal allegations on which the bill was founded, made it neceſſary for the accuſed party to enter into a long and minute defence. Little progreſs was made therein during the ſhort period that remained of the ſeſſions of 1782; and the unſettled ſtate of public affairs at the beginning of the year 1783, prevented the houſe from taking it up till near the middle of that ſeſſion. As the ſeaſon advanced, members became daily more remiſs in their attendance; and at length, on the 1ſt of July, a motion was made and carried, for adjourning the further conſideration of the bill to the 1ſt of October, by which means the whole proceeding fell to the ground, and was never afterwards reſumed.

That a bill, the reſult of ſuch long and laborious enquiries, a bill introduced, received, and proceeded upon by the houſe with ſo much ſolemnity, ſhould be ſuffered thus to fall to the ground, is a circumſtance on which we are at a loſs to comment. What impreſſion Sir

* In the reſolutions, Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Perring, members of the council, were alſo charged with having concurred with Sir Thomas Rumbold in ſeveral of the proceedings therein condemned; and Mr. Whitehill was further charged with being guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, by not paying immediate and implicit obedience to the orders of the ſupreme council, and by his intemperate and contumacious conduct, whereby he held out an alarming example of diſobedience to the orders of his lawful ſuperiors, and of diſreſpect to the acts of the Britiſh legiſlature.

Thomas Rumbold's defence made upon the houſe, as no queſtion was put thereon, we cannot poſſibly determine. It would certainly be harſh and inequitable to preſume the party accuſed was guilty, becauſe he accepted of indemnity without acquittal; and on the other hand, we cannot pronounce him innocent, becauſe, under the circumſtances related, his accuſer failed to proſecute him to conviction. The proceeding itſelf had indeed operated as no light puniſhment; and this conſideration might probably facilitate the paſſing of the vote by which it was terminated. But by this management, the public was deprived of the only intereſt it had in the proſecution,—the acquittal of an innocent citizen, or the example of a puniſhed delinquent. Thus, however, ended the firſt attempt made by this parliament to puniſh Indian delinquency.—We muſt now revert to the firſt ſet of reſolutions, preſented by Mr. Dundas on the 15th of April 1782, and containing the grounds of the reſolution moved by him againſt Mr. Hornſby and Warren Haſtings, Eſq.

In the ſix firſt of theſe reſolutions certain principles of juſtice and policy were laid down, as the baſis of the government of India.

The ſeventh condemns the ſtopping of the penſions payable by treaty to the Mogul and Nudjiff Khan, and the ſale of Corah and Illahabad, as contrary to policy and good faith.

The eighth condemns the Rohilla war, and the extermination of that people; and charges the preſident and ſelect committee of Bengal with an iniquitous interference and intereſted partiality to the Nabob Vizier *.

The ninth and tenth condemn the preſidency of Bombay and the court of directors for their conduct reſpecting the Nabob of Broach and the commencement of the Mahratta war.

The eleventh condemns the alliance with Ragoba; and the twelfth juſtifies the meaſures taken by Meſſrs. Clavering, Monſon, and Francis, for reſtoring peace.

The following reſolutions, up to the thirty-ſeventh, approve of the treaty of Poorunder, and condemn the conduct of the court of directors and the governor-general; the former for encouraging, the latter for purſuing meaſures tending to renew the war, and particularly the projected alliance with the Raja of Berar: to theſe, to the general diſtruſt of our ſincerity, and to the ruinous and diſgraceful conſequences of raſh military operations, they attribute the confederacy formed againſt the company by the Nizam, and the backwardneſs of the Mahrattas to any accommodation.

The three following reſolutions ſtate ſeveral additional miſchiefs ariſing from the Mahratta war; and acknowledge, that on the ſucceſs of Hyder in the Carnatic, the governor-general gave proof of the moſt

* In the debate on this reſolution, the word *extermination* was objected to by Mr. Barwell (one of the council at the time of this tranſaction) as too ſtrong, the inhabitants, as he obſerved, having been only expelled. On the other hand, Mr. Dundas inſiſted on the propriety of the word he had uſed, ſince it had appeared in evidence, that not only every ſpecies of violence and cruelty had been uſed, but that numbers of them had been actually put to the ſword.

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important exertions for the aſſiſtance of Madras, the obtaining of peace, and regaining the friendſhip of the Nizam.

The fortieth condemns the governor-general's plan of an alliance with the Dutch, as unwarranted, impolitic, extravagant, and unjuſt.

The next, charges the governor-general with deſigns tending to procraſtinate an accommodation with the Mahrattas, injuriouſly to the intereſts of the company and of the nation.

The forty-ſecond charges him with ſuppreſſing material information in his correſpondence with the directors, and ſending the ſame to his private agent in England.

The following reſolution ſtates and approves of certain inſtructions ſent in the laſt diſpatches from the directors, for promoting the attainment of peace.

The forty-fourth declares, "that "for the purpoſe of conveying entire conviction to the minds of "the native princes, that to commence hoſtilities, without juſt "provocation, againſt them, and to "purſue ſchemes of conqueſt and "extent of dominion, are meaſures "repugnant to the wiſh, the policy, and the honour of this nation, *it is the duty of the court of "directors, in conformity to the ſenſe "expreſſed by this Houſe, forthwith "to recall ſuch member or members of "their principal preſidencies as* * appear to have been chiefly concerned in wilfully acting upon a "ſyſtem tending to inſpire a reaſonable diſtruſt of the moderation, juſtice, and good faith of "the Britiſh nation."

Theſe reſolutions were ſeverally agreed to by the Houſe, on the 28th of May; and in addition to the general declaration of the ſenſe of parliament, expreſſed in the laſt, Mr. Dundas ſaid, he ſhould move the Houſe to come to a ſpecific reſolution for the recall of Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Hornſby. That he was urged to take this ſtep by an account which had lately arrived from India of an act of the moſt flagrant violence and oppreſſion, and of the groſſeſt breach of faith, committed by the former againſt Cheit Sing, the Rajah of Benares. He entered at large into the nature of that tranſaction, and concluded with moving the following reſolution:

"That Warren Haſtings, Eſq; "Governor General of Bengal, "and William Hornſby, Eſq; Preſident of the council at Bombay, "having in ſundry inſtances acted "in a manner repugnant to the "honour and policy of this nation, "and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous "expences on the Eaſt India company, it is the duty of the Directors "of the ſaid company to purſue all "legal and effectual means for the "removal of the ſaid governor-general and preſident from their "reſpective offices, and to recall "them to Great Britain."

In conſequence of this reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, the directors took the neceſſary ſteps for carrying it into effect; but, as their

* Theſe words were afterwards left out of the reſolution, and the following inſerted inſtead of them: "*the parliament of Great Britain ſhould give ſome ſignal "mark of its diſpleaſure againſt thoſe in any degree intruſted with the charge of the "company's affairs, who ſhall.*"

proceedings are ſubject to the control of a general court of proprietors, the friends of Mr. Haſtings, whoſe influence in that body was now found to be irreſiſtable, had recourſe to that expedient, and on the 31ſt of October the orders of the court of directors were reſcinded by a large majority.—Thus ended the ſecond parliamentary attempt to puniſh Indian delinquency.

This oppoſition, however, of the proprietors to the deliberate ſenſe of the Houſe of Commons, and to the reſolutions of the court of directors, entered upon without previous enquiry, and adopted in a confuſed and tumultuous debate, without any information before them, was, at the beginning of the next ſeſſions, ſtrongly reprobated by Mr. Dundas, both as dangerous in its principle, as well as highly inſulting to the honour of parliament. He therefore moved, that all the proceedings relative thereto ſhould be laid before the houſe; and on theſe and the reſolutions before voted he founded a bill, which he afterwards brought in, "for the better regulating the "government of India."

The principal objects of this bill were, to inveſt the governor-general with a diſcretionary power to act againſt the will of the council, whenever he ſhould think it neceſſary for the public good ſo to do; to allow the ſubordinate governors a negative on every propoſition, till the determination of the ſupreme council ſhould be known; to ſecure to the zemindars or landholders of Hindoſtan, a permanent intereſt in their reſpective tenures; to cauſe the debts of the Raja of Tanjore, and of the Nabob of Arcot, to be carefully examined into, and to put an end to the oppreſſions of the latter, and the corrupt practices of his creditors, by ſecuring to the Raja the full and undiſturbed enjoyment of his kingdom; laſtly, to recall Governor Haſtings, and prevent the court of proprietors from acting in oppoſition to the ſenſe of parliament, and to nominate a new governor-general. For this important office Mr. Dundas recommended the Earl Cornwallis: but the members who at that time had the direction of public affairs, not approving of ſome of the principles of the bill, and declaring their intentions of taking up the buſineſs early in the next ſeſſions, it was tacitly withdrawn.

Having gone through all the proceedings which were moved by the chairman of the ſecret committee, and grounded on their reports, the ſteps taken by the ſelect committee require, in the next place, our attention.

Their reports, eleven in number, took a complete review of the conſtitution of the Eaſt India company, and of the management of their affairs both at home and abroad, in their political as well as commercial tranſactions. On theſe reports was principally grounded the great plan afterwards introduced by Mr. Fox, in his bill for the better regulating the affairs of the Eaſt India company, and the charges of impeachment which have ſince been inſtituted by the Commons againſt Mr. Haſtings.

On the 18th of April 1782, their chairman, General Smith, preſented to the Houſe ten reſolutions; of which the five firſt related to the miſconduct of the chairman of the court of directors, in having unneceſſarily and dangerouſly delayed to tranſmit to the company's ſettlements

tlements in the Eaſt, the judicature act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, by which the good purpoſes of the ſaid act, in providing relief for certain individuals, as well as for the people at large, might be fruſtrated.

In the three following reſolutions it was ſtated, "that Warren Haſtings, and Sir Elijah Impey, chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of Bengal, had been concerned, the one in giving, and the other in receiving, an office tenable at the pleaſure of the ſervants of the company, contrary to the true intent of the act of 13 Geo. III; and that this unjuſtifiable tranſaction between them was attended with circumſtances of evil tendency and example."—Theſe reſolutions being agreed to by the Houſe, an addreſs was ordered to be preſented to the King, to recall Sir Elijah Impey to anſwer for his conduct in the tranſaction aforeſaid.

On the two laſt reſolutions a bill was brought in, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining more diſtinctly the powers given by former acts to the governor-general and council of Bengal.

At the cloſe of this ſeſſion, the King expreſſed his approbation, "of the diligence and ardour with which the houſe had entered upon the conſideration of the Britiſh intereſts in the Eaſt Indies, as worthy of their wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity; and aſſured them, that to protect the perſons and fortunes of millions in thoſe diſtant regions, and to combine our proſperity with their happineſs, were objects which would repay the utmoſt labour and exertion."

It was remarked, that the King's ſpeech at the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion, in December 1782, did not contain a ſingle word relative to the affairs of India. At the end of that ſeſſions it was ſignified, "that the conſideration of the affairs of the Eaſt Indies would require to be reſumed as early as poſſible, and to be purſued with a ſerious and unremitting attention."

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Meeting of parliament towards the close of the year 1783. *King's speech. Addresses voted unanimously. Two India bills brought in by Mr. Fox. Substance of the bill for vesting the affairs of the company in commissioners. Substance of the bill for the better government of the territorial possessions. Debates on the bills. Objections and replies—1st. of charters—plea of necessity—magnitude of abuses—state of finances—company's government in India—independent powers—allies and dependents—territorial possessions—abuses curable—court of proprietors—court of directors—ministers of the crown. 2d. Objection. The dangerous powers and influence created by the bills. Answer to this objection. First India bill carried up to the house of Lords. Rumours of the King's dislike of the bill. Majority against the ministers in the House of Lords. Motions in the House of Commons, relative to the reports of the King's disapprobation of the bills; and to the dissolution of parliament. Bill rejected by the Lords. Ministers removed.*

ON the 11th November 1783, the two houses of parliament being assembled, were informed, in the speech from the throne, that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. The cause of their being called together after so short a recess was then explained. They were told that the situation of the East India Company would require the utmost exertion of their abilities, and that the fruit was expected of those important inquiries which had been so long and so diligently pursued. Their attention was next called to the dangerous frauds which prevailed, and the alarming outrages that had been committed, relative to the collection of the public revenues; and such further powers were required from the legislature as might enable the executive government to prevent the consequences of this daring spirit. The gentlemen of the House of Commons were informed, that the reductions that had been made in the naval and military establishments were brought as low as prudence would admit; and that it was not doubted but the fortitude which had hitherto supported the nation under many difficulties, would make her bear with chearfulness the burthens which the present exigencies would require, and which were necessary for the full support of the national credit. The speech concluded with recommending temper and moderation in all their deliberations, and with hoping, that as in many respects our situation was new, their counsels would provide what that situation called for, and that their wisdom would give permanency to whatever had been found beneficial by the experience of ages.

Addresses in the usual form were moved by the earl of Scarborough and lord viscount Hampden, in the House of Lords; and by the earl of Upper Ossory, and Sir Francis Basset, in the lower House; and were

were unanimouſly agreed to. But this unanimity in the votes of parliament did not prevent ſome hoſtile reproaches from being thrown out againſt the principles on which the adminiſtration had been formed, and ſome blame on their conduct, ſince their acquiſition of office. In the Houſe of Lords, the earl Temple charged them with having forced their way into the ſervice of the crown, and thereby ſhaken the conſtitution of this country; he aſked why the treaties with the Dutch and the Americans had not been concluded? why no notice had been taken in the ſpeech of the alarming ſituation of the public funds? why no mention had been made of Ireland? why no plan had been yet brought forward for regulating the affairs of the India company?

In the Houſe of Commons Mr. William Pitt, and Mr. Thomas Pitt, animadverted with great triumph on the inconſiſtency of the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, in voting an addreſs of thanks to the King, for having concluded definitive treaties of peace, the very tranſcript of thoſe preliminary articles, which they had before voted to be inadequate and diſhonourable. They likewiſe called loudly on the miniſter to bring forward without delay, ſome plan for ſecuring and improving the advantages that might be derived from our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt; a plan, not of temporary palliation or timorous expedients, but vigorous and effectual, ſuited to the magnitude, the importance, and the alarming exigency of the caſe. In anſwer to this requiſition, Mr. Fox acquainted the houſe, that he propoſed on the Tueſday following to bring forward a motion relative to that object.

On that day Mr. Fox moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill, "for veſting the affairs of the Eaſt "India company in the hands of "certain commiſſioners, for the "benefit of the proprietors, and the "public:" And alſo, a bill "for "the better government of the ter-"ritorial poſſeſſions and dependen-"cies in India."

By the former of theſe bills it was propoſed to enact, "that the whole government and management of the territorial poſſeſſions, revenues, and commerce of the company, together with all and ſingular the powers and authorities before veſted in the directors, or in the general court of proprietors of the ſaid company, ſhould be veſted in ſeven directors, named in the act, for and during the ſpace of four years.

"That for the ſole purpoſe of ordering and managing the commerce of the ſaid company, nine aſſiſtant directors, being proprietors, each of them of 2,000 *l.* capital ſtock, ſhould be appointed, to act under and ſubject to the orders of the directors aforeſaid.

"That all vacancies in the office of the ſaid directors ſhould be filled by his majeſty; and that the vacancies in the office of the ſaid aſſiſtant directors ſhould be filled by a majority of the proprietors of the company, at an election by open poll.

"That the aſſiſtant directors ſhould be removeable by five directors, the cauſe and reaſons for ſuch removal being entered on their journals, and ſigned with their reſpective names; and that the directors, and aſſiſtant directors, ſhould be removeable by his majeſty, upon an addreſs of either houſe of parliament.

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"The bill then provides certain regulations relative to the official proceedings of the directors; and enumerates certain disqualifications, which should render any person incapable of being a director or assistant director.

"It then enacts, that the directors should, once in every six months, lay before a general court of proprietors an exact state of the mercantile concerns of the company; and also that, before the commencement of every session, they should lay the same, together with other accounts therein stated, before the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, to be by them laid before both houses of parliament.

"Authority is then given to the directors to remove, suspend, appoint, or restore any of the officers in the company's service, either civil or military.

"It next provides for the speedy and effectual trial of all persons charged with any offences committed in India; and also for the prevention of all persons so charged from returning to India, before a due examination of the matters charged shall be had; and it requires from every director, before whom examination into the subject matter of such charge shall be had, to enter upon the journals, and subscribe with his name, the specific reasons on the particular case, for the opinion or vote he shall give thereon.

"It further provides for a speedy decision upon all differences or doubts which may arise amongst the members of their government in India; and directs, that in case such a decision shall not be had within three months after the account of any such difference or doubt shall be received, the directors shall enter upon their journals their reasons for not coming to such a determination.

"It then directs, that on complaint of any breach of treaty, injury, wrong, or oppression, committed against any native prince in India, or if any such wrong should appear on any part of their correspondence, the directors should, as speedily as may be, enquire into, and do full and complete justice upon the same.

"It then enacts, that the directors and assistant directors should be incapable of holding any office whatsoever in the service of the company, or any place of profit from the crown during pleasure; and also, that the directors appointed under this act should not be thereby disqualified from being elected, or sitting and voting as a member of the House of Commons. And lastly, that the assistant directors should be allowed a clear yearly salary of 500 l. from the company."

By the second bill, "the powers granted to the governor-general and council by the 13 Geo. III. are more fully explained, and strict obedience to the orders of the directors enjoined.

"The delegation of the powers of the council-general, or of any presidency, is prohibited; the revision of all proceedings in special commissions is directed; and the regular communication of all correspondence in India to the several councils provided for.

"It forbids the exchange, or the acquisition, or the invasion of any territory in India, or the forming any alliance for such purposes, or the hiring out any part of the company's forces, by the council general, or any presidency.

"It

"It prohibits the appointment to any office of any perſon removed for miſdemeanor, and forbids the letting out to hire any farm or other thing to the ſervants of any perſon in the civil ſervice of the company.

"It aboliſhes all monopolies in India.

"It declares the acceptance of all preſents to be illegal, with certain penalties; and makes ſuch preſents recoverable by any perſon, for his own ſole benefit.

"It ſecures an eſtate of inheritance to the native landholders, and provides againſt the alteration or increaſe of rents.

"It then directs, with reſpect to princes engaged to keep up or pay troops for the ſervice of the company, or paying tribute to them, or being under their protection, that they ſhall not be moleſted in the enjoyment of their rights; it provides for the puniſhment of offences committed in their territories; it forbids the ſervants of the company to collect or farm their revenues, or to acquire mortgages, or have any pecuniary tranſactions with them; and ſecures the right of ſucceſſion according to the laws of the country: it likewiſe prohibits them from farming any lands of the company, or reſiding, for more than a certain term, in any of the company's ſettlements; and it provides for the protection of any other princes or zemindars dependant upon them.

"It preſcribes a mode for adjuſting the diſputes between the nabob of Arcot, and the raja of Tanjore, or between them and their Britiſh creditors.

"It directs that the diſpoſſeſſed polygars ſhould be reſtored.

"It next explains the powers granted by the 13 Geo. III. to the council-general over the other preſidencies, in matters of war, peace, and treaties.

"It diſqualifies the agents of any protected prince, and all perſons in the ſervice of the company, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, during their continuance in ſuch employment, and for a certain time after their quitting the ſame.

"It laſtly directs, that all offences againſt this act may be proſecuted in the courts in India, or in the court of King's Bench."

Such was the ſubſtance of theſe two celebrated bills: ſimplicity, efficiency, and reſponſibility, are evidently the principles on which they are formed; nor does it appear that, during the courſe of their progreſs in both houſes of parliament, their merits, as a ſyſtem for the government of India, was ever controverted or denied, even by thoſe who oppoſed them with the greateſt zeal and acrimony.

The arguments urged in oppoſition to them were drawn from two ſources: 1ſt, The arbitrary defeaſance of the chartered rights of the courts of proprietors and directors, without a juſtifiable plea of neceſſity. and, 2dly, The dangerous power lodged in the hands of the new commiſſioners. On both theſe grounds iſſue was joined by the advocates for the new ſyſtem.

In order to ſubſtantiate the ground of neceſſity, the ſupporters of the bills began with obſerving, that the phraſe of *chartered rights* was full of affectation and ambiguity. That there were two kinds of *charters*; the firſt, when the natural rights of men were confirmed by the ſolemnity of ſome public deed, ſuch

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as the charters of King John and King Henry III. The ſecond ſort were formed on principles the very reverſe of theſe; they were for the purpoſe of ſuſpending the natural rights of mankind at large, in order to confer ſome excluſive privilege on particular perſons; ſuch were commercial charters; and ſuch charters were therefore, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, trufts voidable whenever they ſubſtantially varied from the purpoſe of their exiſtence.

That in conformity to this opinion, parliament had paſſed ſeveral acts, all of which evidently infringed upon the charter of the company. The act of 1773, for depriving 500 l. ſtock-holders of their votes; the act of 1778; the act of 1781; the bill brought in laſt ſeſſion by the chairman of the ſecret committee; were all clearly founded on a violation of the company's charter. It had been admitted, on all ſides, that the company, under its preſent conſtitution, was totally inadequate to the government of their immenſe territorial acquiſitions; and it was aſked how it was poſſible to attempt any regulation, without violating the company's charter? Had not even thoſe perſons, who now affected to feel ſo much horror at this infringement of charters, themſelves exclaimed againſt *all palliatives and half meaſures*, and called loudly for a complete and well-digeſted ſyſtem?

On the other ſide it was contended, that though ſome reform was undoubtedly neceſſary in the management of the company's affairs, yet that the extent of the remedy went infinitely beyond the extent of the neceſſity. That the diſfranchiſement of the members of the company, and the confiſcation of their property, could only be juſtified by acts of delinquency legally eſtabliſhed. To this it was replied, that their property was not confiſcated, the bill expreſsly veſting it in the company, in truſt, for the ſole benefit of the proprietors. But to whom, ſaid the opponents, are they to apply for relief, in caſe of the groſſeſt abuſe of this truſt? It can only be to parliament, where in any diſpute the corrupt influence created by the bills would readily procure to any miniſter a majority in his favour. With reſpect to diſfranchiſement, it was urged in ſupport of the bills, that the moſt material of their franchiſes, their commercial monopoly, was left untouched; and that the franchiſes taken away were ſuch as had been groſsly and notoriouſly abuſed.

This preliminary ground being fought over, the advocates for the new ſyſtem proceeded to eſtabliſh the plea of neceſſity; in order to which they acknowledged themſelves bound to prove, 1ſt, That the abuſes alledged were of enormous magnitude and extent, and highly dangerous in their conſequences; and, 2dly, That they were habitual, and, without an entire change of ſyſtem, utterly incurable.

The ſtate of the finances of the company was the firſt inſtance adduced. In the courſe of laſt year, the company had applied to parliament for leave to borrow 500,000 l. and afterwards for a further aid of 300,000 l. in exchequer bills, and for the remiſſion of the payment of cuſtoms to the amount of near a million more. As a check on the further increaſe of their debts, they had been bound not to accept of bonds drawn on them from India,

beyond

beyond the amount of 300,000 l. without the leave of the lords of the treaſury. An application for this purpoſe had been lately made, and it appeared that bills had been drawn in Bengal, over and above the 300,000 l. amounting nearly to two millions of money. The matter appeared to be of an extremely delicate nature. On the one hand, to ſuffer the bills to be proteſted, and ſent back, might be of ruinous conſequence both to the company, and even to the credit of the nation. On the other, to permit the acceptance of them, and thereby pledge the public faith for their payment, was a ſtep that required, at leaſt, a previous examination into the ſtate of their affairs. On this examination it was found, that their debt, including the ſums above mentioned, amounted to about eleven millions; and that the ſtock in hand, applicable to the payment of this ſum, did not exceed 3,200,000 l. With this balance of near eight millions againſt them, it was aſked, whether, without adopting ſome effectual reformation in the management of their affairs, the Houſe of Commons could lend the public money on the ſecurity of a company already on the verge of bankruptcy.

In oppoſition to this argument it was averred on the other ſide, that the account, as above ſtated, was abſolutely falſe; and another account was preſented to the houſe by the court of directors, in which there appeared a balance in favour of the company of near four millions. This difference of twelve millions in the two accounts aroſe chiefly from their having been made upon different principles. In the ſtatement of the directors, every ſpecies of the company's property was brought into account, and a balance ſtruck on the ſuppoſition of its being at that moment diſſolved. In the other, ſuch parts of their ſtock only were carried to their credit, as could be diſpoſed of, leaving them ſtill in a condition to continue their trade, which it was the object of the bills to enable them to do. On this principle the following ſums, carried to the credit of the company, in the directors ſtatement, were diſallowed.

	£.
The value of ſhipping, warehouſes, ſtores naval and military, at home and abroad — — —	2,450,600
Diſputed debts claimed ſince before the year 1763, from the French, Spaniſh, and Britiſh governments —	422,000
Debts claimed from Indian princes, and rentees —	3,402,000
To be deducted from 4,200,000 l. lent to government at 3 *per cent.* * — — — —	1,680,000
Carried forward —	7,954,600

* This ſum was to be repaid to the company, if government ſhould ever put an end to their monopoly; but in the mean time, it was argued, their intereſt in it, if allowed at all, could not be valued at more than the price of that ſum in the 3 *per cents.* In like manner, 1,346,600 l. is allowed below to the credit of the company, being the difference between 2,992,440 l. due to the proprietors of India annuities, at 3 *per cent.* and the current price of that ſtock, which was 55 *per cent.*

And

Brought over	—	7,954,600

And the following Sums were added to the Debts of the Company.

Loſs on the prime coſt of four cargoes from Bengal	—	113,800
Balance on freight for ſhipping — —	—	1,678,600
Arrears due to the military — —	—	140,000
Due to the Soubah of the Decan —	—	300,000
Capital ſtock due to the proprietors —	—	3,200,000
		13,387,000
Allowed on 2,992,440 l. India ann. 3 *per cent.*	—	1,346,600
Difference of Accounts	—	12,040,400

The principles of this ſtatement were ſtrongly controverted by the ſpeakers in oppoſition; and even ſuppoſing them juſt, the laſt article, in which the original ſtock of the company ſtands a debt againſt them, was ſaid to be in direct contradiction to the principle firſt laid down.

The ſecond head of abuſes related to the company's government in India, as it affected, 1ſt, The independent powers of that country; 2dly, The ſtates in alliance with or dependent on us; and, 3dly, Our own territorial poſſeſſions.

Under the firſt claſs were ranged the extravagant projects, and expenſive wars, entered into by the company, for the purpoſe of extending their dominions; their violations of treaty, their breaches of faith, the ſale of the company's authority and aſſiſtance in ſupport of the ambition, rapacity, and cruelty of others, and the betraying, each in his turn, of every prince, without exception, with whom they had formed any connection in India. The facts which were brought in proof of theſe, and of the ſubſequent general charges, were taken from the reports of the two Indian committees. We have already had occaſion to enumerate many of them; and as the impeachment of the Governor General of Bengal, which has ſince been moved in the Houſe of Commons, will make it neceſſary for us hereafter to enter into a larger detail, we ſhall reſerve them, in order to avoid repetition, for that occaſion.

The ſecond claſs of abuſes in the company's government in India, comprehended their corrupt and ruinous interference in the internal government of the princes dependent on them; the invaſion of their rights; the unjuſt exaction of exorbitant aids and tribute; the flagrant and enormous peculations of the company's civil ſervants, and the diſorders and rapacity of the military.

Thirdly, with reſpect to the management of the countries under their own immediate dominion, it was ſtated, that the general ſyſtem of their conduct was directed to one ſingle end, namely, the tranſmiſſion of wealth from that country to this. With this view, at one time monopolies

nopolies had been eſtabliſhed, not only of every article of trade, but even of the neceſſaries of life; at another the privilege of pre-emption was ſecured to the company; and theſe were followed by partial and arbitrary preferences, not leſs ruinous in their conſequences than the former. By this impolitic and oppreſſive conduct, the merchants and bankers of India, many of whom, in extent of trade and credit, were ſcarcely equalled by thoſe of the firſt claſs in Europe, being diſabled from all undertakings of magnitude, fell gradually into decay, whilſt the native cultivators and manufacturers were obliged to accept of a bare ſufficiency for their maintenance, meaſured out to them by the judgment of thoſe who were to profit by their labour. But this was not the worſt: for in the progreſs of theſe deſtructive meaſures, the oppreſſions and cruelties uſed by thoſe to whom the execution of them was committed, went far beyond the extent of the original evil. The ſervants of the company, adopting, as might naturally be expected, the principles of their employers, extended the practice of them to their own private purpoſes; and, to complete the miſchief, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of ſupporting the injuries done to the natives for their ſelfiſh ends, by new injuries done in favour of thoſe before whom they were to account.

The caſe of the zemindars, and of the renters under them, was, if poſſible, ſtill more deplorable. At the time we obtained the dewannee from the mogul, the provinces of Bengal and Bahar had been laid waſte by a famine, that had carried off upwards of one-third of its inhabitants. The firſt thing done for their relief, was to exact from the remaining part of the inhabitants the ſame tribute that had before been paid by the whole. The country daily declining, and the diſtreſs occaſioned by this rapacious conduct threatening the loſs of the object, for the ſake of which it had been adopted, the company's government in India had proceeded to perhaps one of the moſt arbitrary, the moſt unjuſt, and the moſt cruel acts of power recorded in hiſtory. They had ſet up to public auction the whole landed intereſt of Bengal, without the leaſt regard to the rights of private property, or even a preference being given to the ancient poſſeſſors. The zemindars, moſt of them perſons of ancient families and reſpectable fortunes, were under the neceſſity either of bidding againſt every temporary adventurer and deſperate ſchemer, or of ſeeing their eſtates transferred or delivered up to the management of ſtrangers. The loweſt and moſt knaviſh jobbers entered into their patrimonial lands; and the banyan, or black ſteward, of the governor general, in particular, was found after this auction to be in poſſeſſion of farms amounting to the annual value of upwards of 130,000l.

Theſe ſufferings of the natives under our dominion in India, were greatly aggravated by their being almoſt wholly excluded from any ſhare in the expenditures of the company's government. All the principal collections of the revenue; all the honourable, all the lucrative ſituations in the army; all the ſupplies and contracts, of every kind, were ſolely in the hands of the Engliſh. So that the natives, with very few exceptions, were only employed as the ſervants or agents of Euro-

peans, in ſubordinate ſtations in the army, and in the inferior department of collection, where it was impoſſible to proceed a ſtep without their aſſiſtance.

The ſum of 420,000 l. had, indeed, been agreed to be paid to the nabob of Bengal for the ſupport of his government, (as an expreſs condition of the grant of the territorial revenue, which amounted to upwards of three million) and out of this ſum, diſtributed through the various departments of civil adminiſtration, a great many natives of the higher ranks, though ſcantily provided for, were at leaſt preſerved from indigence and ruin. But within a few years after the dewannee came into our poſſeſſion this penſion had been reduced to 160,000 l. without the leaſt regard to the ſubſiſtence of theſe innocent people, or to the faith of the treaty, by which they were brought under the Engliſh government.

On the whole of the article of abuſes it was averred, that by theſe accumulated acts of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and cruelty, dictated by an improvident and rapacious policy, our poſſeſſions in India, inſtead of a reſource to the public, were in danger of becoming one of its greateſt burdens; that by the oppreſſion of our allies and dependants, they had either alienated them from us, or rendered them uſeleſs and burdenſome to us; that by wars carried on from corrupt and ambitious motives, and by repeated violations of the moſt ſolemn engagements with foreign powers, they had deſtroyed all confidence in Britiſh faith and juſtice, and rendered our government odious and deteſtable throughout India.

Neither the facts from which theſe concluſions were drawn, nor the concluſions themſelves (both, indeed, ſtanding already recorded in the proceedings of the houſe) were controverted by the members in oppoſition, any otherwiſe than by a general charge of their being ſomewhat exaggerated. But the ſecond plea of neceſſity, which the framers of the new bill had undertaken to eſtabliſh, namely, that theſe abuſes, without a total change of ſyſtem, were utterly incurable, was more ſtrongly conteſted.

In the courſe of the debate it was frequently urged, that a company of merchants was totally unfit to be truſted with the political government of a diſtant foreign dominion, or with the management of large territorial revenues. But as this poſition was not generally aſſented to, in its whole extent, by either ſide of the houſe, the arguments principally inſiſted on were drawn from the peculiar conſtitution and circumſtances of the company itſelf.

The parties concerned in the direction of the company's affairs, were three, the proprietors, the directors, and the miniſters of the crown. The firſt of theſe bodies was compoſed of perſons of two deſcriptions; of the fair, natural ſtockholder, who had veſted his money in their fund, for the ſake of the annual intereſt he drew from it; and of the political ſtockholder, whoſe object was a participation in the power and patronage of their vaſt empire. That no reformation could be expected from the latter deſcription of proprietors, was evident, ſince they had a common intereſt with the powerful delinquents in India—To them theſe laſt looked for immunity and ſupport, and

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in turn repaid them, in the perſons of their friends and dependants, by a ſhare in the boundleſs plunder of the Eaſt. As far, therefore, as theſe proprietors were concerned, and they made a very conſiderable, and by far the moſt active part of the body, the proprietors had become an aggregate of private intereſts, ſubſiſting at the expence of the collective body. The other claſs of ſtockholders had, indeed, an intereſt in the general welfare of the company; but as it might, and in fact had happened, that meaſures ruinous to their permanent intereſts were attended with great temporary lucrative advantages, they were ſatisfied to overlook, in the increaſe of their dividend, and the improvement of their capital, all the injuſtice, violence, and rapacity from which ſuch promiſing appearances derived their ſupport.

The court of directors, being a repreſentative body, naturally partook of the imperfections and diſorders of its conſtituents. The influence of delinquent ſervants in India equally domineered there, and from the ſame cauſes, as in the court of proprietors—The intereſt that a director poſſeſſed, from his qualification, in the company's profits, did not exceed 160 l. a year; but the ſupport he was thereby enabled to lend to an obnoxious ſervant abroad, might be turned to much better account. It was ſtated, that the ſon of a perſon who had been for ſome time the chairman of that court, before he was in Bengal two months, ſold the grant of a ſingle contract for 40,000 l.

It was alledged on the other ſide, in behalf of the court of directors, that their general letters, and the inſtructions ſent to their ſervants abroad, were not only for the moſt part conſonant to policy and humanity, but "contained as fine a ſyſ-"tem of ethics as could have been "penned by the wiſeſt moraliſt." It was urged, in reply, that this made the caſe more deſperate; as it was not a more notorious fact that their orders were univerſally contemned and diſobeyed, than that the objects of their uniform cenſure and diſapprobation had received their conſtant ſupport, and that diſgrace and ruin had been the inevitable lot of thoſe whoſe conduct had received their uniform applauſe.

As a check upon this corrupt colluſion between the ſervants of the company and their maſters, a power of inſpection into the conduct of both had been given, by act of parliament, to the miniſters of the crown. Much ſtreſs was laid, by the members in oppoſition, upon this regulation; and it was urged, that by amending a few errors, and ſupplying a few defects, which were acknowledged ſtill to remain, a controul might be eſtabliſhed over the company, ſufficient for the purpoſe of ſecuring its good government, without the violent demolition of its rights, which the preſent bills aimed at.—On the other hand, it was remarked that every regulation, by which an effectual controul over the company was lodged in the miniſters of the crown, was neceſſarily a violent infringement of, what were called, the *chartered rights* of the company; and until thoſe regulations were propoſed, it was impoſſible to ſay, whether they might not in fact, though perhaps in a more covert manner, prove equally ſubverſive of their privileges with the plan then under conſideration. That the queſtion then was, whether,

in the preſent alarming ſtate of their affairs, it would be more wiſe to adopt a new ſyſtem of government, ſimple and effective in its conſtitution, and open and reſponſible in its operations; or to truſt to the blind colliſion of jarring and contradictory intereſts, in a conteſt between rich and powerful delinquents, avaricious proprietors, and intriguing miniſters—That experience had already decided; for that all the plans of reformation, which parliament, during the ſpace of twelve years, had attempted to engraft upon the preſent ſyſtem of the company's government, had notoriouſly failed in their effect; and had, in many inſtances, even aggravated the evils they were meant to redreſs.

The argument laſtly reſorted to by the oppoſers of the bill, was, that it created a new and unconſtitutional power, a kind of fourth eſtate in the realm, and by the enormous influence it lodged in the hands of a faction for four years, might in the end annihilate the power of the crown, and ſubvert the conſtitution. The ſecretary of ſtate, who brought in the bill, was accuſed, with great aſperity, of having abandoned all his former principles, and of being actuated in the meaſure propoſed, by motives of the moſt inordinate ambition.

In anſwer to this charge, it was ſtated, that no new power whatſoever was created by the bills; and that if the Indian government was a fourth eſtate, it had exiſted as ſuch ever ſince its firſt formation. It was not denied that the new commiſſioners would derive a certain degree of influence from the power veſted in them: the two things were inſeparable; and the only queſtion was, whether that power and that influence were wiſely and ſafely depoſited? The expediency of adopting ſome fixed period for the duration of their authority, was manifeſt. Much was to be done in India: it was therefore neceſſary that a reaſonable time ſhould be allowed them for carrying into effect their plans of reformation, without being ſubject to the viciſſitudes of miniſterial revolutions; and it was a meaſure of abundant caution, at leaſt, if not of wiſdom, to confine it, as the bill had done, within the ſmalleſt limits poſſible. The commiſſioners were, in the firſt inſtance, nominated by the houſe of commons, according to the conſtant practice of parliament in every commiſſion, down to that of the land tax; every imaginable precaution was taken to ſecure the due execution of the truſt repoſed in them. Every part of the bills inculcated the wiſdom of a jealouſy of power, and preſumed the poſſibility of bad adminiſtration. They rendered all concealment abſolutely impoſſible; they annexed reſponſibility not only to every *action*, but even to the *inaction* of the perſons who were to execute them; and they provided the means of a ſtrict examination and ſcrutiny.

Such were the principal arguments by which theſe celebrated bills were oppoſed, and defended—The debates frequently laſted till near five in the morning. The ſpeakers in ſupport of the bills were, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, Mr. Burke, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Anſtruther, and Mr. Adam; againſt them Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. T. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Powis, Mr. Jenkinſon, and Mr. Macdonald. The diviſion on the commitment

commitment of the first bill, was 229 to 120. The persons nominated in the committee to be commissioners or directors were, the Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederick Montagu, Lord Lewisham, Mr. George Augustus North, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, and Mr. Gregory. On the 8th of December the bill passed the House of Commons, on a division of 208 to 102, and the next day was carried up to the House of Lords.

Hitherto no symptoms had appeared, at least to the public eye, that indicated the aproaching fate both of the bill and its authors. Great pains indeed were taken, and with considerable success, by an almost incredible circulation of pamphlets and political engravings, to inflame the nation against the measures and the persons of administration; and it was also remarked, that in the House of Commons, several of that description of members, well known by the name of king's friends, gave their votes on the side of opposition. But it was generally imagined, that as, on the one hand, the ministry was too strong to be shook by the breath of popular clamour, so on the other, it seemed to the last degree improbable that they should have adopted a measure of such infinite importance, either without knowing, or contrary to the inclinations of the king.

11th Dec. On the first reading of the bill in the house of lords, Earl Temple, Lord Thurlow, and the Duke of Richmond, expressed their abhorrence of the measure in the strongest and most unqualified terms. A brilliant panegyric on Mr. Hastings was pronounced by Lord Thurlow, and the flourishing state of the company's affairs insisted on. After a short debate relative to the production of papers, on which the lords in opposition did not choose to divide the house, the second reading was fixed for Monday, December 15th.

In the mean time various rumours began to circulate, relative to some extraordinary motions in the interior of the court. It was confidently affirmed, that on the 11th of December, the king signified to the Earl Temple, who had been ordered to attend him in the closet for that purpose, his disapprobation of the India bill, and authorized him to declare the same to such persons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his majesty declared, "That he should deem "those who should vote for it not "only not his friends, but his "enemies; and that if he (Lord "Temple) could put this in strong-"er words, he had full authority "to do so." And, lastly, that in consequence of this authority, communications had been made to the same purport to several peers in the upper house; and particularly to those whose offices obliged them to attend the king's person.

15th Dec. Some extraordinary circumstances, which happened on the 15th of December, the day of the second reading of the bill, confirmed the probability of the truth of these reports. Several lords, who had entrusted their proxies to the minister and his friends, withdrew them only a few hours before the house met; and others, whose support he had every reason to expect, gave their votes on the side of opposition. On the division, which took place upon the

queſtion of adjournment, the miniſters were left in a minority of 79 to 87.

The ſame day the Houſe of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into conſideration the reports above alluded to. He ſtated, ſhortly, that the public notoriety, both of the fact itſelf and of the effects it had produced, called on the houſe, which was the natural guardian of the conſtitution, for their immediate interference. He divided the criminality of the ſubject matter of the report into two parts; firſt, the giving ſecret advice to the crown; and, ſecondly, the uſe that had been made of his majeſty's name, for the purpoſe of influencing the votes of members of parliament in a matter depending before them. The firſt, he contended, was a direct and dangerous attack upon the conſtitution. The law declared, that *the king could do no wrong*; and therefore had wiſely made his miniſters amenable for all the meaſures of his government. This was of the very eſſence of the conſtitution, which could no longer ſubſiſt, if perſons unknown, and upon whom, conſequently, no reſponſibility could attach, were allowed to give ſecret advice to the crown. With regard to the ſecond, Mr. Baker proved, from the Journals, that to make any reference to the opinion of the king, on a bill depending in either houſe, had always been judged a high breach of the privleges of parliament; he therefore concluded with moving, "That it is *now* neceſſary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majeſty, upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either houſe of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and miſdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution."

The motion was ſeconded by Lord Maitland, and ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. W. Pitt, who urged the impropriety of proceeding on mere unauthenticated rumours; alledging, at the ſame time, that if ſuch rumours were judged a proper foundation for the houſe to proceed upon, there were rumours circulated with equal induſtry, in which the ſame uſe was made of his majeſty's name, in favour of the bill, that had been ſo much condemned when ſuppoſed to have been uſed in oppoſition to it. With reſpect to the effects, which had been adduced as a proof of the truth of the report, if they referred to a late diviſion in the other houſe, he thought the premiſes did not warrant the concluſion, as it was no very unuſual thing for the lords to reject a bill that had been paſſed by the commons, without the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of undue influence. With reſpect to the criminality of the facts which were the ſubject of theſe reports, he denied that it was criminal in any of the peers, who were the acknowledged hereditary counſellors of the crown, to give his advice to the king in any caſe whatever; and, as to the breach of the privileges of parliament, he contended, that the precedents which had been read from the journals, though ſelected from the *glorious times* of King Charles I. were in nowiſe applicable to the preſent caſe. Mr. Pitt concluded his ſpeech with reproaching the miniſters for their baſe attachment

ment to their offices, though, upon their own ſtate of the caſe, they had loſt their power, and no longer poſſeſſed the confidence of their prince.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, it was ſaid to be a ſtrong preſumption of the truth of the reports, that though ſeveral members, nearly allied to the noble earl whoſe name had been mentioned on this occaſion, had ſpoken in the debate, none of them had ventured to aſſert they were falſe. That the facts alledged to have been produced, were really the effects of undue influence, and not of conviction, was manifeſt from certain well-known circumſtances, relative to a late diviſion in another place. After a long and warm debate, the houſe divided, and there appeared for the motion 153, againſt it 80. It was then reſolved, "That on "Monday next the houſe would "reſolve itſelf into a committee of "the whole houſe, to take into "conſideration the preſent ſtate of "the nation."

As a change of miniſters appeared to be a meaſure determined upon by the king, and the diſſolution of parliament an immediate and neceſſary conſequence, the majority of the houſe thought no time was to be loſt in endeavouring to render the attempt as difficult as poſſible. With this view, immediately after the above reſolutions were agreed to, Mr. Erſkine made the following motion, "That it is ne-"ceſſary to the moſt eſſential in-"tereſts of this kingdom, and pe-"culiarly incumbent on this houſe, "to purſue with unremitting at-"tention the conſideration of a "ſuitable remedy for the abuſes "which have prevailed in the go-"vernment of the Britiſh domi-"nions in the Eaſt Indies; and "that this houſe will conſider as "an enemy to his country any "perſon who ſhall preſume to ad-"viſe his majeſty to prevent, or "in any manner interrupt, the "diſcharge of this important "duty."

The motion was oppoſed, as manifeſtly factious, and as interfering with the executive part of government, and trenching on the undoubted prerogative of the crown, without any juſtifiable cauſe. A member obſerved, that the true meaning and intent of the motion was, "that it is neceſſary, for ſecuring the preſent adminiſtration a continuance in office, that no diſſolution of parliament ſhould take place at preſent." The motion was, however, carried by the ſame majority with the former.

17th Dec. On Wedneſday, the ſeventeenth of December, the India bill was rejected by the lords, on a diviſion of 95 to 76. It was remarked, that the Prince of Wales, who was in the minority in the former diviſion, having learned in the interim, that the meaſure was offenſive to the king was abſent on this occaſion. At twelve o'clock on the following night, a meſſenger delivered to the two ſecretaries of ſtate his majeſty's orders, "That they ſhould deliver "up the ſeals of their offices, and "ſend them by the under-ſecre-"taries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. "Nepean, as a perſonal interview "on the occaſion would be diſa-"greeable to him." The ſeals were immediately given by the king to Lord Temple, who ſent letters of diſmiſſion, the day following, to the reſt of the cabinet council: at the

ſame time Mr. William Pitt was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer, and Earl Gower preſident of the council. On the 22d, Lord Temple reſigned the ſeals of his office, and they were delivered to Lord Sydney, as ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and to the Marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign. Lord Thurlow was appointed high chancellor of Great Britain, the Duke of Rutland lord privy ſeal, Lord Viſcount Howe firſt lord of the admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond maſter general of the ordnance; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave ſucceeded Mr. Burke in the pay-office, and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed to the office of treaſurer of the navy.

CHAP. V.

Meaſures adopted by the majority in the Houſe of Commons to prevent the diſſolution of parliament—defer the third reading of the land tax bill. Converſation relative to the reſignation of Earl Temple. Reſolution of the committee on the ſtate of the nation to addreſs the king. Favourable anſwer from the king. Reſolutions of the committee reſpecting the acceptance of India bonds—and the Duchy of Lancaſter. Short adjournment during the Chriſtmas holidays. State of parties at the meeting of the Houſe. Debate on reſuming the committee on the ſtate of the nation. Reſolutions of the committee, reſpecting the iſſuing of public money not appropriated by acts of parliament—for deferring the ſecond reading of the mutiny bill—for the appointment of miniſters that enjoyed the confidence of the Houſe—of cenſure on the appointment of the preſent miniſters. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, for the better government of the India company. Debate on the comparative merits of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Fox's India bills. Mr. Pitt's bill rejected. Notice, by Mr. Fox, of bringing in a new bill.

THE formidable majority in the Houſe of Commons, which adhered to the late miniſters, after their diſmiſſion from his majeſty's ſervice, made the immediate diſſolution of parliament, in the public opinion, an event almoſt inevitable. The paſſing of the land tax bill was a previous ſtep neceſſarily to be taken. This bill had been twice read, and on Saturday the 20th of December was ordered for the third reading. But as the *committee on the ſtate of the nation* was to ſit on the Monday following, the majority did not think it prudent to ſuffer this inſtrument of delay to paſs out of their hands, until they had taken ſome further meaſures for their ſecurity—

19th Dec. Accordingly on Friday, after a ſhort but warm debate, the Houſe adjourned to Monday.

22d Dec. On that day, before the ſpeaker left the chair, Mr. William Grenville begged leave to inform the Houſe, that the noble earl to whom ſuch frequent alluſions had lately been made, had authorized him to declare that he was ready to meet any charge that ſhould be made againſt him;

him; and that he had thought fit to reſign the ſeals of his office, in order to avoid the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of ſeeking for protection or ſhelter in the power and influence of a miniſter. In anſwer to this extraordinary notification Mr. Fox obſerved, that with reſpect to the propriety of the noble earl's relinquiſhing an office, which he had held but for three days, he was, doubtleſs, himſelf the fitteſt judge: that as to the facts alluded to, facts of public notoriety, and which materially affected the honour of parliament, and the ſafety of the conſtitution, he truſted the Houſe would ſee the neceſſity of taking them into their moſt ſerious conſideration: but that the ſecret nature of thoſe tranſactions, almoſt precluded the poſſibility of bringing a perſonal charge againſt any one.

In the *committee on the ſtate of the nation*, it was propoſed by Mr. Erſkine, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, ſtating, "the alarming reports of an intended diſſolution of parliament; to repreſent to his majeſty the inconveniences and dangers that would attend ſuch a meaſure, at a moment when the maintenance of the public credit, the ſupport of the revenue, and more eſpecially the diſtreſſed ſtate of the finances of the Eaſt India company, and the diſorders prevailing in their government both at home and abroad, demanded the moſt immediate attention; to beſeech his majeſty to ſuffer them to proceed on the important buſineſs recommended to them in his ſpeech from the throne; and to hearken to the voice of his faithful Commons, and not to the ſecret advices of perſons who may have private intereſts of their own, ſeparate from the true intereſt of his majeſty and his people."

The high prerogative language uſed by the partizans of the new adminiſtration, in the debate on the 19th, and their eagerneſs in preſſing the third reading of the tax bills, left no room to doubt of their intention to diſſolve the parliament as ſoon as that neceſſary ſtep was ſecured. But on this day there appeared ſome marks of indeciſion, at leaſt, if not of a total deſertion of that deſign; and this change in the counſels of government was ſuppoſed to have been the real cauſe of the ſudden reſignation that had been juſt announced to the Houſe.—In the former debate it was ſtrongly urged, that it was time to check the violent diſpoſition that had lately ſhewn itſelf to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, and which threatened to overturn the balance of the conſtitution;—that the preſent was a moment which called for, and would juſtify the exertion of theſe prerogatives; and that he was not fit to be a miniſter, who ſhould be deterred by any reſolutions of that Houſe from purſuing what he might judge to be the ſtrict line of his duty.—The preſent queſtion was combated on different ground. Mr. Dundas, who was ſoon after made treaſurer of the navy, and Mr. Bankes, a private confidential friend of the chancellor of the exchequer, aſſured the committee that there was no intention in government to interrupt the preſent proceedings of parliament, either by diſſolution or prorogation; and the latter gentleman particularly added, that he had authority from his friend to declare, that if ſuch a meaſure ſhould be propoſed in his majeſty's council, he would

would oppose it; and if it should be carried against his opinion, he would immediately resign his office. —These assurances did not, however, appear satisfactory to the majority. It was asked what probable security could be derived from any promises made to that House by a minister, whose accession to power was founded on an attempt to degrade his dignity and importance? But, allowing him all the credit that might be required, what dependence could be placed on the influence of a person, in a future cabinet, who had yet but one colleague in office nominated? And even though they had received the same assurances from the whole cabinet, did not the experience of the last week prove, that their decisions might the next moment be overruled by the secret and irresponsible advisers of the crown? No reply was offered to these arguments; and it was at length resolved, without a division, that the address, as proposed, should be presented to the king by the whole House.

24th Dec. On the Wednesday following the speaker read to the House, the answer which had that day been given to their address by his majesty on the throne. —It was as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"It has been my constant object to employ the authority entrusted to me by the constitution to its true and only end—the good of my people; and I am always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of my faithful Commons.

"I agree with you in thinking, that the support of the public credit and revenue must demand your most earnest and vigilant care.

"The state of the East Indies is also an object of as much delicacy and importance, as can exercise the wisdom and justice of parliament. I trust you will proceed in those considerations with all convenient speed, after such an adjournment as the present circumstances may seem to require. And I assure you I shall not interrupt your meeting by any exercise of my prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution."

Some exceptions were taken to the concluding words of this answer. It was remarked, that the whole extent of the royal favour amounted to no more than an assurance, that they should meet again; that the terrors of a dissolution were still left before their eyes, with a strong implication that the fatal sentence should or should not be pronounced, as their behaviour might merit. It was hoped that this artful design would fail in its effect; and that, without regarding the consequences, they would continue their exertions to save the constitution from the dangerous example, of seeing established a ministry formed in defiance of the House of Commons, on the ground of private favour, opposed to public confidence, by the practices of closet intrigue and secret influence, and not upon the voice of the country, or upon the sense of parliament.

In the committee upon the state of the nation, upon the motion of lord Beauchamp, the chairman was directed to move the House, and it was accordingly resolved, "that it is "the opinion of this House, that the "lords of the treasury ought not to "consent that the directors of the "East India company do accept "any more bills, unless they shall "be able to prove to parliament "that

" that they have ſufficient means " to provide for the payment of " them, after they ſhall have paid " their dividend, and diſcharged " the debt due to government."

It was next reſolved, on the motion of the earl of Surrey, that an addreſs be preſented to the king, to deſire that his majeſty would not grant the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter to any perſon, otherwiſe than during pleaſure, before the 20th day of January next.

Theſe motions met with but a very feeble oppoſition. It was urged againſt the former, that it was ſetting up a reſolution of that Houſe againſt a poſitive act of parliament; by which act, a diſcretionary power was lodged in the commiſſioners of the treaſury, of giving their conſent to the acceptance of bills to any amount, by the Eaſt India company, upon application from the court of directors. It was ſaid, in reply, that the Houſe was in the conſtant and uniform practice of declaring its previous ſenſe reſpecting the uſe of any diſcretionary power, by reſolutions ſimilar to the preſent; and that ſuch a declaration was now abſolutely neceſſary, as the miniſters were of opinion, or pretended to be of opinion, contrary to the thorough conviction of that Houſe, that the company's affairs were in a ſtate ſufficiently flouriſhing to authorize them to conſent to ſuch acceptance.

The latter motion was founded on the enquiry that had been inſtituted into the eſtabliſhments of the duchy of Lancaſter, for the purpoſe of determining, whether the ſame might not be reduced, or entirely aboliſhed. After theſe motions had paſſed, the Houſe adjourned to the 12th day of January. The new cabinet conſiſted of Earl Gower, preſident of the council, Mr. Pitt, Lord Thurlow, the Marquis of Carmarthen and Lord Sydney ſecretaries of ſtate, Duke of Rutland privy ſeal, Lord Howe firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond maſter general of the ordnance.

The expectation of the public was now fixed with great anxiety on the meeting of parliament after the receſs. A conteſt between the executive government and the Houſe of Commons was a ſpectacle, that, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent family to the throne, had not been exhibited in this kingdom; and many circumſtances concurred to render the preſent peculiarly intereſting and important. The matter in diſpute was of the very eſſentials of the conſtitution, and could not be decided without conſiderably affecting its bias. In defence of the authority of the Houſe of Commons, were ranged the united abilities of two powerful parties, long exerciſed by mutual conteſts in all the arts of political warfare. The champion of prerogative, was a perſon not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his ſplendid talents, and the unexampled rapidity of his riſe to power, than by the courage and perſeverance he had already demonſtrated in the cauſe he now ſtood foremoſt to ſupport. By the natural effects of miniſterial influence upon the Houſe of Commons, a ſufficient number of members joined the new adminiſtration, to make their amount nearly equal in point of votes to thoſe in oppoſition. The inferiority, both in this and ſome other reſpects, under which the miniſter laboured, was perhaps more than balanced by his

his being obliged to act on the defenfive only; a fituation of infinite advantage, when combined with the power to chufe his own moment of fhifting the fcene of battle, by an appeal to the people. It was reafonably to be expected, that they would range themfelves on that fide with which their own weight and importance in the ftate was neceffarily connected; and the only hopes he could entertain of drawing them from their natural intereft was, by exciting a jealoufy of the defigns, and of the dangerous ftrength and power of his adverfaries. This had been done with extraordinary, and almoft incredible induftry, and with a fuccefs ftill more extraordinary. Every advantage, therefore, gained by oppofition, every point they carried, became a freth caufe of fufpicion to the people; and the miniſter, by a judicious choice of his ground, had always the chance of putting his adverfaries in the wrong, in their attacks upon him.

12th Jan. 1784. In this ftate of things, both Houfes met on the 12th of January. As foon as the fpeaker had taken the chair, Mr. Fox, in order to get poffeffion of the Houfe, and to prevent any other bufinefs from being brought forward by the miniſter, before certain refolutions that had been prepared, were difcuffed in the *committee on the ftate of the nation*, moved for the order of the day. He was here interrupted by the new members who were brought up to be fworn; and as foon as that bufinefs was over, the chancellor of the exchequer rofe at the fame moment with Mr. Fox, declaring he had a meffage to deliver from the king. A great clamour immediately arofe in the houfe, who fhould be heard firft; which was at length ended, by the fpeaker's deciding in favour of Mr. Fox.

The queftion, whether the Houfe fhould refolve itfelf into a *committee on the ftate of the nation*, was then debated. The grounds on which this was oppofed by the miniſter and his friends, were the violent and unprecedented meafures adopted by the committee on a former occafion, and the little probability that appeared, from the prefent temper of the Houfe, that their proceedings would in future be conducted with lefs violence and paffion. As Parliament ftood pledged, as well from the duty they owed their country, as by their own folemn declarations, to direct their attention without delay to the affairs of the Eaft India company, Mr. Pitt implored the Houfe to poftpone, at leaft for a fhort time, the introduction of meafures, that might retard or throw any difficulties in the way of this important conſideration. He faid, he was then ready to bring forward his plan for the better regulation of the company's affairs; and that he challenged a compariſon between his, and the bill lately rejected by the Lords, and that he defired to ftand or fall by the merits or demerits of the meafures he fhould propofe.

In anfwer to thefe arguments, it was denied, that either the refolutions already agreed to by the committee, or thofe which it was intended to propofe, were violent or unparliamentary; unprecedented, in the latter journals of parliament, they undoubtedly were, and for good reafons, becaufe, fince the time of the Revolution, the dignity and

and essential rights of that House had never before suffered so open and direct an attack. It had been asserted by many great lawyers, and amongst those by Lord Somers himself, that the crown did not possess the prerogative of dissolving parliament *during a session, while public business and petitions were pending*. But, without contending about the question of right, it was strenuously maintained, that the exercise of such a power in the present instance would be highly dangerous and criminal; and that the committee was fully justified in taking such steps as they might think the most effectual for the prevention of such a calamity.

The circumstances of the case called for an open and unqualified declaration of their sentiments, and did not admit of that distant and respectful delicacy which parliament usually adopted, when it thought proper to interfere, by its advice, with the executive government. A bill, the result of the most laborious investigations that had ever been carried on in parliament, had passed the House of Commons, with the warmest approbation of great and independent majorities. His majesty had been advised to conceal from his ministers his disapprobation of the bill, till it was carried into the House of Lords; where, through means of an unconstitutional use of the royal name and influence, it was rejected; the ministers who brought it in were dismissed from the public service, for no other apparent reason, than because they had been supported in that measure, and were believed to possess the confidence of that House; and, lastly, menaces of dissolution were held over the House itself, for the purpose of awing them into an acquiescence in the measures of the new administration. Under such circumstances, it was impossible the House should not feel, and feeling, not express their indignation and resentment.

The affairs of India were certainly of the most urgent and pressing nature; but it was absolutely necessary, in order to give the subject a free and unbiassed consideration, that the House should not be left dependent for its very existence upon the will of the person whose propositions relative thereto they were about to decide upon. The minister was therefore called upon, if he wished to put a stop to such further measures as the committee might think necessary to adopt for their own security, to give the House some satisfactory assurance that no dissolution would take place. Mr. Pitt positively refused to comply with this requisition, declaring, "that he would never "compromise the royal prerogative, nor bargain it away, in the "House of Commons."

The majority, who were now persuaded that the new administration were only to be withheld by their fears, from putting an end to the session, resolved to render such a step highly dangerous at least, if not impossible. With this view, as soon as the question for reading the order of the day was carried, on a division of 232 to 193, and the speaker had left the chair, the two following resolutions were moved in the Committee, and passed without a division, and being reported, were agreed to by the House.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that for any person or persons in his Majesty's treasury, or

or in the exchequer, or in the bank of England, employed in the payment of the public money, to pay, or direct or cauſe to be paid, any ſum or ſums of money, for or towards the ſupport of the ſervices voted in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, after the parliament ſhall have prorogued or diſſolved, if it be prorogued or diſſolved before any act of parliament ſhall have paſſed appropriating the ſupplies to ſuch ſervices, will be a high crime and miſdemeanor, a daring breach of the public truſt, derogatory to the fundamental privileges of parliament, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution of this country.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that the chairman of the committee be directed to move the houſe, that the bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, be read a ſecond time on Monday the 23d day of February next."

The immediate diſſolution of Parliament being thus far rendered impracticable, two reſolutions, of a more direct and hoſtile nature, were moved by the Earl of Surrey. The firſt was in the following terms; "That in the preſent ſituation of his majeſty's dominions, it was peculiarly neceſſary that there ſhould be an adminiſtration which had the confidence of that Houſe and the public."

It was objected to this reſolution, that the name of his majeſty had been, perhaps accidentally, certainly very improperly omitted; and it was propoſed by Mr. Dundas to amend the motion, by inſerting, inſtead of the words "*This Houſe and the public*," the following, "*The crown, the parliament, and the people*." As this amendment was merely propoſed for the purpoſe of pointing out the factious ſpirit of the reſolution, it was rejected without a diviſion.

The ſecond reſolution moved by Lord Surrey, was to the following purport; "That the late changes in his majeſty's councils had been immediately preceded by dangerous and univerſal reports, that the ſacred name of the king had been unconſtitutionally uſed to affect the deliberations of parliament; and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumſtances new and extraordinary, and ſuch as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of that Houſe."

The fact principally inſiſted upon as the ground of this reſolution, was the rumour we have already related, reſpecting the communication made from the king to ſeveral peers, touching the India bill, through the Earl of Temple. In anſwer to thoſe who required ſome further proof of this tranſaction, it was remarked, that the fact could only be known to three parties; to the peers to whom the communication was made, to the great perſonage from whom it came, and to the noble Earl who conveyed it. That it was not to be ſuppoſed the firſt ſhould come voluntarily forward to divulge what might be conſidered as a confidential converſation, with the certainty of incurring the ſevereſt diſpleaſure of the court. That if it were falſe, it might reaſonably have been expected, that the miniſters then in office would have received authority from his majeſty to contradict a report ſo injurious to the honour of the crown. But, at all events, that the noble Earl was bound, when he heard that the Houſe

Houſe was proceeding upon thoſe reports, to come fairly within the bar, as other lords had done, at different periods of our hiſtory, and clear himſelf from ſo diſgraceful an imputation.

Another fact was related to the committee by General Roſs, which, though denied by a near relation of the party in the houſe, and never ſubſtantiated ſo fully as to ground any further proceedings thereon, yet appeared to have great weight in the determinations of the members. The matter was, that a few days before, one of the lords of his majeſty's bed-chamber, whom he afterwards named to be the Earl of Galloway, had deſired to ſee him at his houſe; where he told him, that if he voted againſt the new adminiſtration that day, he would be conſidered as *an enemy to the king*.

A warm debate took place upon this motion, in which the moſt pointed perſonalities were caſt and retorted from both ſides of the Houſe. The coalition was branded as a corrupt confederacy of two deſperate factions, to ſeize upon the government of the country; and the India bill was repreſented to have been an experiment made by the late ſecretary of ſtate, with a view, if not to place the crown on his own head, at leaſt to raiſe himſelf to a degree of power ſuperior to that of the ſovereign. On the other hand, the party compoſing the new adminiſtration was deſcribed as a coalition, not indeed of parties, but of the ſhreds and remnants, of the dregs and outcaſts of parties; as a body collected for the purpoſe of fighting the battles of ſecret and unconſtitutional influence, of trampling on the power and dignity of the Houſe of Commons, and of eſtabliſhing a government of cabal, intrigue, and favouritiſm, and of deſtroying the very principles of laudable ambition and honourable ſervice in the ſtate. At length, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, for the motion 196, againſt it 54.

14 Jan. On the Wedneſday following, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in "a bill for "the better government and ma- "nagement of the affairs of the "Eaſt India company." By this act commiſſioners were to be appointed by his majeſty, from the members of his privy council, who were "authorized and impowered, from time to time, to check, ſuperintend, and controul, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywiſe relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and poſſeſſions of the ſaid united company in the Eaſt Indies."

It then enacts, "that the ſaid board ſhall have acceſs to all papers and muniments of the ſaid united company, and ſhall be furniſhed with copies thereof, and of all the proceedings of all general and ſpecial courts of proprietors, and of the court of directors, and alſo copies of all diſpatches which the directors ſhall receive from any of their ſervants in the Eaſt Indies, immediately after the arrival thereof, and alſo copies of all letters, orders, and inſtructions whatſoever, relating to the civil or military government or revenues of the Britiſh territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, propoſed to be ſent to any of the

ſervants

ſervants of his majeſty, or of the ſaid Company in the Eaſt Indies; and that the court of directors ſhall and are required to pay due obedience to, and ſhall be governed and bound by ſuch orders and directions as they ſhall, from time to time, receive from the ſaid board, touching the civil or military government and revenue of the territories and poſſeſſions of the company."

And it is further enacted, "that the ſaid board ſhall return the copies of the ſaid diſpatches to the court of directors, with their approbation thereof, or their reaſons at large for diſapproving the ſame, together with inſtructions in reſpect thereto; and that the court of directors ſhall thereupon diſpatch and ſend the letters, orders, and inſtructions, ſo approved or amended, to their ſervants in India, without further delay; and no letters, orders, or inſtructions, until after ſuch previous communication thereof to the ſaid boad, ſhall at any time be ſent or diſpatched by the ſaid directors to the Eaſt Indies, on any account or pretence whatſoever."

And it is further enacted, "that in caſe the ſaid board ſhall ſend any orders which, in the opinion of the ſaid court of directors, ſhall relate to points not connected with the civil or military government and revenues of the ſaid territories and poſſeſſions in India, it ſhall be lawful for them to apply by petition to his majeſty in council, touching ſuch orders; and the deciſion of the council thereon ſhall be final and concluſive."

It then enacts, "that the nomination of the commanders in chief ſhall be veſted in his majeſty, and that the ſaid commanders in chief ſhall always be ſecond in council." It alſo veſts in his majeſty "the power to remove any governor general, preſidents, and members of the councils of any Britiſh ſettlements in India;" and enacts, "that all vacancies in the offices aforeſaid ſhall be ſupplied by the court of directors, ſubject to the approbation of his majeſty; and in caſe the perſon nominated by the ſaid court ſhall not be approved by his majeſty, the ſaid court ſhall proceed to nominate ſome other perſon, ſubject to the approbation or diſallowance of his majeſty, in the ſame manner as before directed, and ſo *toties quoties*, until ſome perſon or perſons ſhall be nominated and appointed, who ſhall be approved by his majeſty; and in caſe the court of directors ſhall not, within days, proceed to ſupply the ſame, then it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty to appoint a perſon to ſupply the office ſo vacant."

"It is further enacted, that no order or reſolution of any general court of proprietors ſhall be available to revoke or reſcind, or in any reſpect to affect, any proceeding of the court of directors, after his majeſty's pleaſure ſhall have been ſignified upon the ſame."

The debates on this bill turned principally on its merits and demerits, as compared with the India bill rejected in the Houſe of Lords. It was urged by Mr. Pitt, that in his bill all the rights enjoyed by the company, under their charter, were preſerved inviolate, as far as was compatible with the public ſafety. When, in anſwer to this, it was ſhewn,

ſhewn, that nothing but the ſhadow of power was left to the company; and that, by the negative reſerved to the crown in all matters whatſoever, the ſubſtance was, in effect, veſted there: he contended, that whatever might be the effect of the bill, yet, having previouſly obtained the conſent both of the court of proprietors and directors to all the regulations contained in it, no violation of privileges could be inferred, where there was a voluntary ſurrender of them. To this argument it was objected, that the conſent of 250, the number of thoſe who voted in the court of proprietors for the regulations in the bill, could not imply the conſent of 1,400, who compoſe the whole body of proprietors, eſpecially in a caſe of property, where no delegation of the power of ballotting could be communicated, and where a great part of the abſent members had not an opportunity to attend: but whatever weight might be allowed to the reſolutions of the court of proprietors, they only proved, that of two evils, the more formal reſumption of their authority by the firſt bill, or the indirect aſſumption of it by the laſt, they had choſen what they conceived to be the leaſt.

The ſecond point, in which the new bill differed from the former, was this, that it left where it found all the patronage of the company, the appointment of the commander in chief excepted. The fallacy of this pretence was, on the other ſide, ſtrongly maintained: the whole military patronage, it was ſaid, would almoſt neceſſarily follow the appointment of the commander in chief. The negative given to the crown in the appointment of the governors and council would, by a judicious management, enable the miniſter in reality, though not in form, to nominate the whole; and every member, both civil and military, being made removeable at the will of the crown, would naturally become ſubſervient to its views and intereſts.

In the former bill, the tranſferring the entire government of the company's affairs to the new board, the nomination of commiſſioners in parliament, and the permanent duration of their authority for a term of four years, had occaſioned great alarm, as creating a new power dangerous to the conſtitution. The object of the preſent bill was merely control; and the exerciſe of that control, like every other branch of the executive government, was referred to the diſcretion of the crown. In anſwer to this, it was obſerved, in the firſt place, that to leave one ſet of men, who had not only been convicted of having notoriouſly abuſed their power, but were univerſally allowed to be unfit for the truſt repoſed in them, in the poſſeſſion of dominion, merely for the purpoſe of being controlled by another, was to eſtabliſh diſunion and weakneſs in government upon ſyſtem. The notable expedient provided in this caſe, of an appeal from the King's privy council to the King in council, was ridiculed with great ſucceſs. In the ſecond place, it was argued, that the propoſed regulations tended to confound one of the ſtrongeſt principles of good government, that of reſponſibility. The court of directors certainly ſtood foremoſt in the oſtenſible government of the company; but it was to make them reſponſible for orders and inſtructions which they might be obliged to ſign, con-

trary to their judgment and their conſcience. Laſtly, it was ſtrenuouſly maintained, on the ſame ground that had before been taken in the debate on the rejected bill, that no effectual ſyſtem of regulation could be deviſed, in which an independent and permanent power was not lodged in the perſons who were to be intruſted with the execution of it.

The bill was read a ſecond time on the 23d of January; and on the motion for its being committed, the Houſe divided, ayes 214, noes 222. The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox gave notice of his intentions to bring in another bill relative to the ſame object; in which, without departing from the leading principle of the firſt bill, that of eſtabliſhing a reſponſible and permanent government at home, he ſhould endeavour to accommodate the reſt to the wiſhes of thoſe who appeared to have taken what he conceived to be a very groundleſs alarm at his former propoſitions. This notice was received with great ſatisfaction by the Houſe; but the events which followed prevented their proceeding further upon it.

CHAP. VI.

Reſolution moved againſt the miniſtry by lord Charles Spencer. Union of parties called for. Difficulties ſtated by the leaders of each party. The miniſter called on to give information relative to the deſign of diſſolving parliament—he refuſes. Motion intended to be made thereon, but deferred. Miniſter again interrogated reſpecting the diſſolution—his anſwer. Motion to obſtruct the diſſolution. Miniſter's reaſons for continuing in office. Ridiculous accuſation of the late miniſtry of bribery. Cauſes of the indeciſion of both parties. Meeting of members at the St. Alban's tavern to effect an union—their addreſs to both parties, and the anſwers—their motions in the Houſe of Commons for forming a new miniſtry, ordered to be laid before the king. Motion of the St. Alban's aſſociation againſt the excluſion of either party in forming a new miniſtry carried in the Houſe of Commons. Diſintereſted conduct of lord North. New expedient for effecting an union—cauſes of its failure—miſchievous conſequences of thoſe meaſures. His Majeſty's refuſal to diſmiſs his miniſters—debate thereon. Proceedings in the Houſe of Lords. Addreſs to the King from the Commons, on the reſolutions laid before him, and his Majeſty's anſwer. Addreſs to the King for the removal of his miniſters, and his Majeſty's anſwer thereto. Repreſentation to the King on the ſtate of public affairs. Prorogation and diſſolution of parliament.

16th Jan. THE diſcuſſion of the bill for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt India company did not prevent the Houſe of Commons from adverting, in the mean time, to the general ſtate of public affairs. The reſolution, which paſſed on the 12th of January, would probably, at any other period, have operated deciſively againſt the miniſtry; but the ſtake was too deep to be haſtily thrown away; and an attempt

tempt was therefore made to evade the conſequences of that vote, by conſidering it as too generally worded to convey any direct cenſure on the members of the preſent adminiſtration. In order therefore to bring the point to a more direct iſſue, the following reſolution was moved by lord Charles Spencer, in the committee *on the ſtate of the nation*:

"That it having been declared "to be the opinion of this Houſe, "that in the preſent ſituation of "his majeſty's dominions, it is pe"culiarly neceſſary there ſhould be "an adminiſtration that has the "confidence of this Houſe, and of "the public; and that the appoint"ments of his majeſty's preſent mi"niſters were accompanied by cir"cumſtances new and extraordi"nary; and ſuch as do not con"ciliate or engage the confidence "of this Houſe; the continuance "of the preſent miniſters in truſts "of the higheſt importance and "reſponſibility, is contrary to con"ſtitutional principles, and inju"rious to the intereſts of his ma"jeſty and his people."

In oppoſition to this motion, it was argued, that the premiſes, allowing them to be true and well founded, did not warrant the concluſion, ſince the preſent miniſters were not even accuſed of having had any ſhare in the tranſactions alluded to. They had been conſtitutionally appointed by his majeſty, who had the ſole right to appoint them; and though it was not denied that a majority of the Houſe was competent to declare their want of confidence in miniſters ſo appointed, yet they were bound in duty to alledge good and ſufficient grounds for ſuch a declaration; otherwiſe the nation would juſtly conſider it not as a conſtitutional queſtion, but as a daring aſſumption of the prerogative of the crown, and a factious attempt in ſuch a majority to nominate their own miniſters.—In anſwer to theſe arguments it was proved, from various precedents, that the Houſe of Commons had frequently paſſed votes of cenſure on miniſters, without alleging any ſpecific acts as the grou of ſuch cenſure. But without recourſe to this authe was aſſerted, that the reaſ duced in the motion were ſuffi ſufficient. That the preſent miniſters did not poſſeſs the confidence of the Houſe, was a fact recorded on their Journals. It would be vain and fruitleſs to fight over again, on every occaſion, the grounds on which that reſolution was voted; and if the deliberative opinion of a decided majority, on a great public queſtion, and in the exerciſe of their undoubted privileges, deſerved the appellation of *factious*, by what epithets was the conduct of the minority to be deſcribed, who were attempting to weaken the authority, and to overawe and controul the general ſenſe of the body, of which they made a part?

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Powis expreſſed his wiſhes for an union between the contending parties, as the only means of ſaving the conſtitution from the ſhock it was otherwiſe likely to receive. No notice was taken by Mr. Pitt of this overture; and Mr. Fox declared, that until the right honourable gentleman, by quitting the ſituation, which in the opinion of that Houſe he had obtained by unconſtitutional means, and which he ſeemed inclined to maintain in defiance of their reſolutions, had made *amende*

honorable for his offence, and thus qualified himself to return to it on fair, open, and honourable grounds, he would never consent to act with him. On the division there appeared for the resolution 205, against it 184.

20th Jan. The public expectation was now fixed on two important events, the one or other of which it was supposed would be the necessary consequence of the last vote of the House of Commons; namely, the resignation of the ministers, or the dissolution of parliament. On the 20th of January, the day appointed for the committee again to sit *on the state of the nation*, there was a general call amongst the members, called country gentlemen, for a coalition. Mr. Fox persevered in the sentiments he had before delivered, but declared his readiness to put off the committee, that no hasty steps might be taken; at the same time he was of opinion, that the chancellor of the Exchequer was bound to give some explanation of the very extraordinary conduct he had thought proper to adopt. Mr. Pitt acknowledged that his situation was new and extraordinary; but had no doubt, that whenever the proper time came for stating his reasons to the House, why he continued in office after the resolution passed on the 16th, he should make it appear that he had been actuated by a strict sense of his duty.

23d Jan. The rejection of Mr. Pitt's India bill, which took place, as was before related, on the 23d, was generally considered as the concluding act of the present House of Commons. As soon as the division was over, the minister was desired to give the House some satisfaction respecting a measure in which they were so nearly concerned; and, on his remaining silent, a loud and general call was repeated from every side of the House. At length some harsh expressions, used by general Conway, relative to his conduct, obliged him to rise; but, after some warm remonstrances on the treatment he had received, he concluded with a flat refusal to answer the interrogatories that were put to him. Several of the members who usually voted with him, now joined in the general request, but in vain. The House grew unusually warm, and Mr. Eden was preparing to move the following resolution,

"That for any of his majesty's "confidential ministers in that "House, to refuse to the House an "explanation of the sense in which "such minister understands a speech "or an answer of his majesty, is "contrary to the ancient and uni-"form practice of former minis-"ters; and tends to produce un-"necessary applications to his ma-"jesty, and is disrespectful to his "majesty and to the House:"

When Mr. Fox interfered, and recommended an adjournment, that the right honourable gentleman might have time to recollect himself, and consider whether he had treated the House with that respect which might be expected from a minister standing in his peculiar circumstances.

24th Jan. On the following day, Saturday, as soon as Mr. Pitt had taken his place, Mr. Fowis rose, and after lamenting with tears the extraordinary and disgraceful scene he had been a witness to not long before, and thanking the member who had so generously put an

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end to it, he propoſed the following queſtion to the miniſter:—*Whether he could pledge himſelf that the Houſe ſhould meet there in parliament on Monday next?* After a ſhort pauſe, Mr. Pitt got up, and ſaid, that he ſaw no reaſon for receding from his reſolution of refuſing to pledge himſelf as to any advice he might or might not, under any poſſible circumſtances, think proper to give his majeſty; but with regard to the preſent queſtion, he thought he might venture to ſay, that he had no intention to adviſe his majeſty to prevent that Houſe from meeting on Monday.

Having received this aſſurance, Mr. Powis moved, that the Houſe ſhould immediately adjourn to Monday, in hopes that before their next meeting ſome means might be invented of healing diviſions that threatened the country with anarchy and confuſion. This motion was accordingly agreed to.

26th Jan. On that day his majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the Houſe being read by the clerk, the following motion was made by Mr. Eden, with a view to give the Houſe a more permanent ſecurity than the precarious mode of exiſtence it then enjoyed only from day to day:

"That it appears to this Houſe, "that his majeſty's ſaid moſt gra- "cious anſwer contains aſſurances "upon which this Houſe cannot "but moſt firmly rely—That his "majeſty will not, by the proro- "gation or diſſolution of parlia- "ment, interrupt this Houſe in "their conſideration of proper "meaſures for regulating the af- "fairs of the Eaſt India company, "and for ſupporting the public "credit and revenues of this coun- "try; objects which, in the opi- "nion of his majeſty, and of this "Houſe, and of the public, de- "mand the moſt immediate and "unremitting attention of parlia- "ment."

As ſoon as the motion was read, Mr. Pitt declared, that his majeſty had indeed pledged himſelf in his anſwer not to interrupt their meeting again after their adjournment; but he ſaw not how it could be inferred, that the royal word was pledged any farther. To a motion therefore affixing an unlimited conſtruction to the king's anſwer, he muſt give his diſſent; and that for the ſtrongeſt reaſon that could poſſibly be adduced, namely, becauſe he knew when he adviſed his majeſty to uſe the words in which the anſwer was framed, he never had ſuch an indefinite ſenſe of them in his contemplation. In the preſent ſituation of affairs, he thought a diſſolution could not but be attended with great detriment and miſchief, and therefore he ſhould not adviſe any ſuch exerciſe of the prerogative.

The miniſter was then called upon to fulfil the engagement he had entered into with the Houſe, of giving them ſome ſatisfactory reaſons for his continuing in office after the repeated reſolutions that had paſſed againſt him. In compliance with this requiſition, Mr. Pitt began by aſſerting, that though the ſituation of a miniſter maintaining his poſt, after the Houſe of Commons had declared him undeſerving of their confidence, was novel and extraordinary, yet it was in his opinion by no means unconſtitutional. He conceived that, by the conſtitution, neither the immediate appointment or removal of a miniſter reſted with

that Houſe; that he neither could nor ought to remain long in ſuch a ſituation, he was ready to confeſs; but he was bound to uſe his own diſcretion, in preventing the miſchievous conſequences that might attend an inſtant reſignation. He might meritoriouſly continue in office, if he were perſuaded that his reſignation would leave the country without any executive government at all. It behoved him to conſider who were likely to be his ſucceſſors; and he was bound, in honour and in duty, ſo far to ſupport the prerogative of the crown, as not to quit a ſituation, becauſe it was become difficult or dangerous, till he ſaw ſome proſpect of its being filled in a manner more acceptable to all the parties concerned.

About this time a ridiculous circumſtance, brought forward by the precipitate zeal of the friends of the new miniſtry, for the purpoſe of retorting on their adverſaries the charge of undue influence, engaged the attention of the Houſe of Commons.

On the 24th of this month, Mr. Yorke acquainted the Houſe, that he had matters to communicate, in which their privileges were deeply concerned: the firſt was, that an offer had been made to a member of the Houſe, of a place of £. 500 a year, provided he would change ſides, and give his vote in oppoſition to the preſent miniſtry; the ſecond, that £. 500 had been ſent to Scotland by the ſame party, and lodged in the bank of Edinburgh, for the purpoſe of defraying the travelling expences, and thereby quickening the pace of the Scotch members; and that the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Henry Erſkine, was the perſon to whom the diſpoſal of the money was entruſted. Mr. Yorke having further acquainted the Houſe, that the member, Mr. Dalrymple, from whom he received this intelligence, was then preſent, and ready to give the Houſe any further ſatisfaction they might require, he was called on by oppoſition to mention the particulars. He accordingly related, that a Mr. Hamilton, of Bargeny, formerly a member of the Houſe, had offered him a place, on the conditions before ſtated, of £. 500 a year from the duke of Portland, or the Portland adminiſtration. With regard to the ſecond ſtory, he had been aſſured of the fact in a public company, by Mr. Charteris, a member not then in his place.

As ſoon as the intelligence was thus ſtated, the friends of the duke of Portland inſiſted that it ſhould be taken down in writing by the clerk, in order to be fully inveſtigated. A meſſage was ſent privately to the duke, to acquaint him with what had paſſed; in conſequence of which he immediately repaired to the lobby, and deſired the Houſe might be acquainted that he was ready to come within their bar, and anſwer ſuch queſtions relative to the ſubject as they might chuſe to put to him. Several members ſuſpecting that the whole matter might have originated in a jeſt, expreſſed their wiſhes that it might be dropped; but the members who had brought forward the charges, refuſing their conſent to a motion, in which it propoſed to ſtate *that the ſaid charges had been wholly abandoned by them*, an order was made for the attendance of Mr. Hamilton.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Charteris being in his place, explained to

to the House the occasion of the jest which he had put upon his honourable friend, and which he was sorry to find had occasioned so much serious discussion: and it appearing, by a letter read to the House from the gentleman himself, that the offer of Mr. Hamilton had arisen from the same mirthful disposition, the order for his attendance was discharged, and the following motion agreed to:

"That it appears to this House, that the charges contained in the said information [the same having been previously read by the clerk] respecting the duke of Portland and the late administration, were groundless."

As the grounds, on which the minister endeavoured to defend his continuance in office, after three several votes of disapprobation had passed the House of Commons, amounted in fact to nothing more than that *he* was of opinion his remaining in power was serviceable to the country, though *the House* chose to think otherwise, it is scarcely necessary to add, that they appeared to the majority wholly unsatisfactory. The next step therefore, which in the course of parliamentary proceedings ought regularly to have been adopted, was an address to the throne, to remove him from his majesty's councils; and such a measure, by bringing the contest to an immediate decision, would, at all events, have rescued the government of the country from the disgraceful situation in which it then stood. But as, on the one hand, the strong and decided opposition of the country gentlemen to a dissolution of parliament seems to have overawed the minister into the dereliction of a step so necessary on his part; so, on the other hand, their general call for an union prevented the opposition from pursuing those measures of vigour, which the constitution of parliament, in concurrence with their own interest, obviously required.

26th Jan. On the 26th of January, a meeting of such members of the House of Commons as were anxious to promote a coalition of parties met at the St. Alban's tavern. Their numbers amounted to near seventy; and an address was immediately agreed to and signed, and ordered to be presented by a committee of their body to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt *.

The address was expressed in the following terms:

"We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the House of Commons, being fully persuaded that the united efforts of those in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most humbly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous situation of public affairs, trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men."

In answer to this address, both

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 265, for a journal of the transactions of this meeting.

parties expreſſed themſelves deſirous of complying with the wiſhes of ſo reſpectable a meeting; but the duke of Portland conceived that he could not have any interview with Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of union, ſo long as the latter held his ſituation as prime miniſter, in defiance of the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons. On the other hand, Mr Pitt declined reſigning, either actually or virtually, as a preliminary to negotiation.

2d Feb. In order to co-operate with and aſſiſt the exertions of the meeting at the St. Alban's, it was moved by one of their members, and carried unanimouſly in the Houſe of Commons, "That the preſent arduous and critical ſituation of public affairs required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, and united adminiſtration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and ſuch as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate diviſions and diſtractions of this country."

In addition to this, a ſecond reſolution was moved by Mr. Coke, which had for its object the reprehenſion of Mr. Pitt's refuſal to reſign, declaring, "that the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office was an obſtacle to the forming a firm, efficient, extended, and united adminiſtration."

This laſt motion occaſioned much debate. The ground on which it was combated, was the growing popularity of the new adminiſtration; and the Houſe was therefore adjured not to provoke the people to go to the foot of the throne, and implore the crown to reſcue them from its tyranny. On the other ſide, it was aſſerted that the popularity of the miniſters was founded on a temporary deluſion, and ſupported by artful miſrepreſentations and groſs calumnies. That the deſign to create a diſſenſion between that Houſe and the people at large, was of a nature the moſt alarming and dangerous to the conſtitution, and a daring attack upon the privileges of the Houſe, which, if not firmly reſiſted, would terminate in the deſtruction of the liberties of the nation. Mr. Pitt threw himſelf on the candour and juſtice of the Houſe: but declared firmly, that he would not by any managements be induced to reſign. To march out of his poſt with a halter about his neck, change his armour, and meanly beg to be readmitted, and conſidered as a volunteer in the army of the enemy, was an humiliation to which he would never ſubmit. Some of the members, who ſtill continued their endeavours to effect a coalition, wiſhed the previous queſtion to be put on the motion, with a view to try whether the Houſe would conſent to reſcind the votes of cenſure they had before paſſed, as a matter of accommodation; declaring, if this was not done, they ſhould conſider themſelves as bound to ſupport the preſent queſtion: that thoſe reſolutions and the preſent adminiſtration ought not to ſtand together; that the authority of the Houſe muſt be ſupported, and that the pride of an individual ought not to ſtand in the way of it. On the diviſion there were 223 for the motion, againſt it 204.

The day following the reſolutions, after a long and warm debate, in which the ſame ground was gone over as before, were ordered, by a majority of 24, to be laid before his majeſty.

The ſtep taken by the Houſe of Commons

Commons would probably have brought the conteſt between the two parties to a ſpeedy deciſion, if the members, who met at the St. Alban's tavern, had not checked it by a declaration, which, coming from ſo powerful a body, almoſt forced affairs again into a ſtate of ſuſpenſe and indeciſion.

11th Feb. On the 11th of February, Mr. Marſham read to the Houſe, as a part of his ſpeech, a reſolution of the members of the meeting at the St. Alban's tavern, in which they declared, "that an adminiſtration formed on the total excluſion of the members of the laſt or preſent adminiſtration would be inadequate to the exigencies of the public affairs."

This declaration gave occaſion to the leading perſons on both ſides to deliver their ſentiments, reſpecting the ſo much deſired coalition. Mr. Fox, after expreſſing his ſincere wiſhes for an union, again inſiſted on the reſignation of the chancellor of the Exchequer, or at leaſt on his declaring that the preſent adminiſtration was virtually and ſubſtantially diſſolved, as an indiſpenſable preliminary ſtep. He did not ſcruple, he ſaid, to avow his opinion, that the Houſe of Commons had, and ought to have, a real and ſubſtantial negative in the nomination of miniſters of ſtate: the conduct of the right honourable gentleman militated directly againſt this poſition; and therefore, however deſirable an union on almoſt any terms might be, yet he conceived it would be infinitely overbalanced by the miſchief of eſtabliſhing a precedent, which, if purſued, would render the Houſe of Commons worſe than uſeleſs. This ſacrifice to the conſtitution, which had been ſo groſsly violated, muſt be abſolutely required from him; all other points, Mr. Fox conceived, might be eaſily adjuſted.

Mr. Pitt declared, that, for the reaſons already given by him, he could not recede from his former determination. He allowed, that no miniſter could in fact continue long in office that did not poſſeſs the confidence of that Houſe; but he denied that there were any conſtitutional means to force him to reſign. The proper method of effecting his removal was by an addreſs to the crown; till, in conſequence of ſuch a meaſure, the king ſhould think proper to remove him from his office, he held it neither illegal nor unconſtitutional to retain it. With regard to other and ſubordinate conſiderations, he confeſſed that there might be perſons with whom he could not poſſibly bring himſelf to act, without forfeiting that character of conſiſtency which other gentlemen he thought had too much undervalued. If ſuch perſons there were, and they would conſent to ſacrifice their views, and to remove themſelves out of the way of union, he thought they would do themſelves honour, and merit the thanks of their country.

Theſe alluſions called up lord North, to whom they were manifeſtly pointed. He ſaid, that though he did not feel in himſelf the leaſt diſpoſition to gratify the caprice or the unjuſt prejudices of any individual; yet, what he ſhould be unwilling to do for the right honourable miniſter, he was willing and ready to do for his country. That if his pretenſions ſhould be deemed any obſtacle to an union, he ſhould rejoice in removing it; but he apprehended that not himſelf, but the chancellor

chancellor of the Exchequer, ſtood in the way of union, ſince it appeared that nothing was now wanting for that ſalutary end, but that the right honourable gentleman ſhould pay a juſt and dutiful reſpect to the reſolutions of that Houſe, by retiring from a ſituation which he both obtained and held on principles they had repeatedly condemned.

The higheſt applauſes were beſtowed on lord North for his noble and diſintereſted conduct, particularly by the leaders of the St. Alban's aſſembly, who called loudly on Mr. Pitt, but in vain, to yield to the preſſing exigencies of his country.

Notwithſtanding the diſcouraging circumſtances which appeared in the above debate, the aſſociated members ſtill continued their endeavours to effect an union. They returned their unanimous thanks to lord North and Mr. Fox for their open, candid, and manly declarations of their willingneſs to conciliate the differences ſubſiſting between the contending parties, and an expedient was at length ſuggeſted, which, without any conceſſion of principle on either ſide, but only a conceſſion of mode, it was hoped might lead to an amicable negotiation: this was, that the duke of Portland ſhould be requeſted by the king to have a conference with Mr. Pitt for the purpoſe of forming a new adminiſtration.

This propoſition was acceded to; and a meſſage was accordingly ſent by Mr. Pitt to the duke, in which he acquainted him, that he was commanded to ſignify to him "his "majeſty's earneſt deſire, that his "grace ſhould have a perſonal con- "ference with Mr. Pitt, for the "purpoſe of forming a new admi- "niſtration on a wide baſis, and on "*fair and equal terms.*"

This meſſage was perfectly ſatisfactory to the duke of Portland as to the mode propoſed, but he wiſhed to have the terms of the meſſage perfectly underſtood between him and Mr. Pitt previous to the conference. The word *fair* he had no objection to; it was a general term, and they might in framing the arrangement, mutually diſcuſs what each conſidered to be fair: but the word *equal* was a limited and ſpecific term, and therefore he wiſhed to know from Mr. Pitt to what particular object it was intended to be applied. It ſeemed to promiſe ſlender hopes of a real union, and had the appearance of forming an arrangement more on the idea of having equal numbers of each party in the cabinet, than on mutual confidence and unity of principles. Mr. Pitt replied, that the word objected to would be beſt explained at their conference, and declined all further preliminary diſcuſſions. Two other propoſals were offered by the duke of Portland; the firſt, that he ſhould be permitted to conſtrue the meſſage of Mr. Pitt to imply a virtual reſignation; the ſecond, that he might receive his majeſty's commands relative to the conference from the ſovereign in perſon: but they were both refuſed.

Thus ended all hopes of a coalition of parties; and the meeting at the St. Alban's cloſed their efforts with declaring, "That they "heard, with infinite concern, that "all further progreſs towards an "union was prevented by a doubt "reſpecting a ſingle word; and that "they were unanimouſly of opini- "on that it would be no diſhonour- "able

" able ſtep in either of the gentle-
" men to give way, and might be
" highly advantageous to the public
" welfare."—It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the attempt itſelf, though highly applauded in general, was conſidered by ſome as futile and abſurd; that it did not promiſe any ſolid or permanent ſyſtem, and that it contributed in a conſiderable degree, by inducing delay and indeciſion, to aggravate the miſchief it was deſigned to remedy.

18th Feb. This day the chancellor of the exchequer being aſked, previous to the conſideration of ſupply for the ſervice of the ordnance, whether he had any thing to communicate to the Houſe relative to the reſolutions that had been laid before the king, informed the Houſe, " That his majeſty, after a conſideration of all the circumſtances of the country, had not thought proper to diſmiſs his miniſters, and that his miniſters had not reſigned."

This intimation brought on a long and warm debate. The attention of the Houſe was called to it in the moſt ſolemn manner. It was ſaid to be the firſt inſtance, ſince the Revolution, of a direct denial on the part of the crown to comply with the wiſhes of the Houſe of Commons; that it was the firſt time the Houſe had not received a gracious anſwer from a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick; that it was a matter of melancholy, but moſt weighty conſideration, that perſons had been found capable of adviſing his majeſty to depart from the uniform practice of his anceſtors, from that line of conduct under which the country had grown great, rich, and powerful; and that an event ſo new and alarming required, on their part, a firm but moderate, a prudent but effectual aſſertion of their privileges: that the power of granting or refuſing the ſupplies was the conſtitutional ſhield of their authority; and that to this, if it ſhould at laſt be found neceſſary, they were bound to have recourſe; but to avoid all imputation of raſhneſs or violence, and to leave his majeſty's miniſters time to recollect themſelves, it was only propoſed to defer the report of the ordnance eſtimates till the Friday following.

The mention of *refuſing the ſupplies* was received by the other ſide of the Houſe as a threat, which even the utmoſt madneſs of faction, it was ſaid, could not ſeriouſly deſign to execute. The very right of ſuch a refuſal was queſtioned. The exerciſe of this privilege, in former times, was founded on principles which, it was contended, did not now exiſt. The ſettled revenues of the crown were then ſufficient for all the ordinary purpoſes of the executive government, without an annual application to parliament; and it was only on extraordinary demands, ſuch as for the proſecution of wars diſapproved of by parliament, that the right of refuſal was exerciſed; whereas, in the preſent ſtate of our government, to deny the ordinary annual ſupply, would be, in fact, to diſſolve the whole fabric of government.

The chancellor of the exchequer, without denying the right of refuſing ſupplies in caſes of neceſſity, contented himſelf with appealing to the juſtice of the Houſe, whether his majeſty's refuſal to diſmiſs his miniſters, becauſe that Houſe had thought proper to condemn them without a trial, was a juſtifiable ground for the exerciſe of it. On the

the diviſion there appeared for poſtponing the ſupplies 208, againſt it, 196.

As the ſervice of the ordnance could not ſuffer any inconvenience by deferring from time to time the report on the eſtimates of that eſtabliſhment, it appears to have been the deſign of the leaders of oppoſition to have purſued that plan, as the moſt conſtitutional method of giving effect to the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons. On the other hand, the country gentlemen, though they had given up all hopes of effecting a coalition, and were extremely adverſe, on the ſame principles, to the continuance of the miniſters in office, yet they were not willing to ſupport a meaſure that had the ſmalleſt appearance of puſhing matters to extremities. It ſeems, therefore, to have been agreed on, as a ſort of compromiſe, that the ſupplies ſhould be ſuffered by oppoſition to proceed in their uſual courſe, and that the country party ſhould take the lead in endeavouring to effect a removal of the miniſtry by an application to the throne.

20th Feb. An addreſs was accordingly moved by Mr. Powis, to expreſs "the reliance of "the Houſe on his majeſty's royal "wiſdom, that he would take ſuch "meaſures as might tend to give "effect to the wiſhes of his faithful Commons, which had been "already moſt humbly preſented "to his majeſty,"—and to this it was afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Eden, agreed to add, "by "removing any obſtacle to the "formation of ſuch an adminiſtration as the Houſe has deſcribed to be requiſite in the preſent "critical and arduous ſtate of public affairs." This addreſs was carried by a majority of twenty-one.

The Houſe of Lords, after the rejection of the India bill, as if exhauſted by ſo unuſual an effort, beheld the ſtruggles and diſſenſions of the Houſe of Commons rather as a ſpectator, than as a part of the conſtitution deeply concerned in the reſult. In order to break through this ſilence, which at ſo critical a time, was neither calculated to ſupport the dignity of the Houſe nor the intereſt of the miniſter, the earl of Effingham, on the 4th of February, moved two reſolutions in oppoſition to thoſe moved in the Houſe of Commons on the 24th of December and the 16th of January.

1ſt. "That an attempt on any one branch of the legiſlature, to ſuſpend the execution of law, by ſeparately aſſuming to itſelf the direction of a diſcretionary power, which, by act of parliament, is veſted in any body of men, to be exerciſed as they ſhall think expedient, is unconſtitutional.

2d. "That by the known principles of this conſtitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of executive government was ſolely veſted in the king, and that that Houſe had every reaſon to place the firmeſt reliance in his majeſty's wiſdom in the exerciſe of this prerogative."

Theſe counter reſolutions were objected to by the friends of the late miniſtry, as being in their nature productive of jealouſy and animoſities between the two Houſes.

With regard to the firſt, it was ſtated, that the Houſe of Commons had a peculiar cognizance of all matters relating to the revenues, and that

that any interference of the Lords was a matter ever objected to and disallowed by the other House. The second resolution was undoubtedly true, as an abstract proposition; but if it was to lead to no consequences, it was an idle waste of words unbecoming their lordships' dignity; if it was to be applied as a censure on the House of Commons, the consequences of it would be no other than discord between the two Houses, and a dissolution of parliament.

On the other hand the resolutions were supported on this ground; that though any branch of the legislature was empowered to declare its sentiments on every subject, yet the resolutions of the House of Commons assuming in one instance directly to control a legal discretionary power, and in the other infringing upon the king's prerogative, with a view to restrain him from the choice of his own ministers, the House of Lords was called upon to express its abhorrence of such alarming proceedings.

The resolutions, after a short debate, passed by a considerable majority.

The House of Commons suffered this attack on its resolutions, without being betrayed into any violence or intemperance; and what at a more settled time might have been productive of the most pointed remonstrances, was now proceeded in with much caution and forbearance.—To come to an open rupture with the Lords at this critical juncture of affairs might afford a specious plea for a dissolution of parliament, and the House accordingly contented itself with moving for a "Committee to examine into the usage of either house of parliament in regard to the interposing in the exercise of discretionary powers, vested in the servants of the crown, or in any body of men, for public purposes." A variety of precedents were selected and reported by this committee from the Journals of the House of Commons, similar to the resolutions objected to by the Lords, and in consequence of the report the House passed the six following resolutions: "That the House had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of the law:—That for them to declare their opinion respecting the exercise of any discretionary power, was constitutional, and agreeable to established usage:—That it was a duty peculiarly incumbent upon them to watch over, and endeavour to prevent, the rash and precipitate exercise of any power, which might be attended with danger to public credit and loss to the revenue:—That the resolution of the 24th of December constituted a judicious and regular discharge of an indispensable duty:—That had the House neglected to make a similar provision in the critical situation of public affairs, they must have been responsible to their constituents for the most alarming consequences:—and, That the House would moderately and firmly assert their privileges, and persevere in the conscientious discharge of what they owed to the nation and to posterity."

On the 25th of February the address of the Commons was presented to the king, and on the 27th the speaker reported to the House his majesty's answer*; in which, after assuring them of his earnest desire to put an end to the divisions and

* See State Papers, p. 310.

distrac-

diſtractions of the country, and reminding them of the recent endeavours he had uſed for that purpoſe, he declares that he cannot ſee that it would in any degree be advanced by the diſmiſſion of thoſe at preſent in his ſervice. He obſerves, that no charge or complaint is ſuggeſted againſt his miniſters, nor is any one or more of them ſpecifically objected to; and, on the other hand, that numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed to him the utmoſt ſatisfaction on the change of his councils. Under theſe circumſtances, he truſted the Houſe would not wiſh for the removal of his preſent miniſters, till there was ſome proſpect that ſuch an union as had been called for might be carried into effect.

1ſt March. The conſideration of his majeſty's anſwer was deferred to the firſt of March, on which day a ſecond addreſs was ordered to be prepared; in which, after acknowledging his majeſty's gracious endeavours to give effect to the object of their late reſolutions, they lament that the failure of thoſe endeavours ſhould be conſidered as a final bar to the accompliſhment of ſo ſalutary and deſirable a purpoſe, and expreſs their concern and diſappointment that his majeſty had not been adviſed to take any farther ſtep towards uniting in the public ſervice thoſe whoſe joint efforts recently appeared to his majeſty moſt capable of producing ſo happy an effect: they repreſent that the Houſe, with all humility, claims it as their right, and on every proper occaſion feels it to be their bounden duty, to adviſe his majeſty touching the exerciſe of any branch of his royal prerogative; and, after ſtating the ſubſtance of their former reſolutions, the addreſs concludes with declaring, "That as his majeſty's faithful Commons, upon the matureſt deliberation, cannot but conſider the continuance of the preſent miniſters as an inſurmountable obſtacle to his majeſty's gracious purpoſe to comply with their wiſhes, in the formation of ſuch an adminiſtration as his majeſty, in concurrence with the unanimous reſolution of this Houſe, ſeems to think requiſite in the preſent exigencies of the country, they feel themſelves bound to remain firm in the wiſh expreſſed to his majeſty in their late humble addreſs; and do therefore find themſelves obliged again to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to lay the foundation of a ſtrong and ſtable government, by the previous removal of his preſent miniſters."

The neceſſity of preſenting this addreſs was inferred from the evidence that had appeared of a ſettled plan, formed by the ſecret adviſers of the crown, for degrading the weight and importance of the Houſe of Commons, by deſtroying that confidence which the people ought naturally to repoſe in their repreſentatives. Previous to the year 1782, this object was purſued through the means of a corrupt influence within the Houſe, exerciſed in the ſupport of certain miniſters and of certain meaſures odious to the nation at large. At this time the petitions of the people were treated with ſcorn and neglect, and it was ſtrongly maintained, that in the Houſe of Commons only was the ſenſe of the people to be collected. But when by the bill, called Mr. Burke's bill, and other acts, that paſſed in the year 1782, the influence of the crown in that Houſe was almoſt entirely

tirely deſtroyed, it became neceſſary to have reſort to other principles. The Houſe of Commons was now to be degraded, and its reſolutions to be deſpiſed and trampled on; and the people were artfully incited to appeal from the natural guardians of their liberties to the very power, againſt the encroachments of which they were inſtituted to protect them.

Three points in his majeſty's anſwer to the laſt addreſs were particularly animadverted upon. The firſt, "That no charge or complaint had been ſuggeſted againſt his miniſters." On this it was remarked, that the charge obviouſly implied againſt the preſent miniſters being, their not poſſeſſing the confidence of that Houſe, his majeſty had therein been adviſed to declare, 'that he did not conſider ſuch a want of confidence as any diſqualification for the public ſervice'—The ſecond was, 'That numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed their ſatiſfaction at the changes he had made in his councils.' This was objected to, as leading to a moſt alarming innovation in the conſtitution: it was proved, from examples in the reign of James the ſecond, that addreſſes might be procured in ſupport of meaſures of the moſt dangerous tendency; and it was contended, that to ſuffer miniſters to appeal, at their own option, either from parliament to the people at large, or from the people to their repreſentatives, would be to eſtabliſh a precedent ſubverſive of the very form as well as eſſence of the conſtitution.—Thirdly, it was ſtated in the anſwer, 'That his majeſty could not diſmiſs his preſent miniſters until he ſaw a proſpect of ſuch an union as the Houſe had recommended.' The only obſtacle, it was ſaid, that ſtood in the way of ſuch an union, was the continuance of thoſe miniſters in office; this had been expreſsly voted by the Houſe, and therefore it was a mockery to hold out that object as the reaſon for retaining them, which could only be obtained by their diſmiſſion.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, the advocates of adminiſtration inſiſted principally on the ſmallneſs of the majority by which the reſolutions of the Houſe had been carried, and on the growing popularity of the miniſters abroad. The neceſſity of reſiſting any encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown was alſo ſtrongly urged, and of preſerving that balance in the ſeveral branches of the legiſlature, to which the beauty, the permanence, and all the envied advantages of the Britiſh conſtitution were aſcribed.—The addreſs was carried by a majority of twelve.

On the fourth the addreſs was preſented to the king, and an anſwer returned to the following effect:

"Gentlemen,

"I have already expreſſed to you how ſenſible I am of the advantages to be derived from ſuch an adminiſtration as was pointed out in your unanimous reſolution; and I aſſured you, that I was deſirous of taking every ſtep moſt conducive to ſuch an object.

"I remain in the ſame ſentiments; but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be obtained by the diſmiſſion of my preſent miniſters.

"I muſt repeat, that no charge, or

or complaint, nor any ſpecific objection, is yet made againſt any of them.

"If there were any ſuch ground for their removal at preſent, it ought to be equally a reaſon for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united adminiſtration you ſtate to be requiſite.

"I did not conſider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accompliſhment of the purpoſe which I had in view, if it could have been attained on thoſe principles of fairneſs and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to thoſe who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of ſuch a ſtrong and ſtable government as may be of laſting advantage to the country; but I know of no farther ſteps which I can take, that are likely to remove the difficulties which obſtruct that deſirable end.

"I have never called in queſtion the right of my faithful Commons to offer me their advice on every proper occaſion, touching the exerciſe of any branch of my prerogative. I ſhall be ready, at all times, to receive, and give it the moſt attentive conſideration: they will ever find me diſpoſed to ſhew my regard to the true principles of the conſtitution, and to take ſuch meaſures as may beſt conduce to the ſatisfaction and proſperity of my people."

The conſideration of the anſwer was deferred to the eighth of March, when the following repreſentation was ordered to be preſented to the king:

"That an humble repreſentation be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to teſtify the ſurprize and affliction of this Houſe on receiving the anſwer which his majeſty's miniſters have adviſed to the dutiful and ſeaſonable addreſs of this Houſe, concerning one of the moſt important acts of his majeſty's government.

"To expreſs our concern, that when his majeſty's paternal goodneſs has graciouſly inclined his majeſty to be ſenſible of the advantage to be derived from ſuch an adminiſtration as was pointed out in our reſolution, his majeſty ſhould ſtill be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the repreſentatives of his people in parliament aſſembled, with reſpect to the means of obtaining ſo deſirable an end.

"To repreſent to his majeſty that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true intereſts of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the ſpirit of our free conſtitution; that ſyſtems founded on ſuch a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country; that they have been the characteriſtic features of thoſe unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now juſtly and univerſally exploded; while his majeſty and his royal progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the reſpect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a conſtant and uniform attention to the advice of their Commons, however adverſe ſuch advice may have been to the opinions of the executive ſervants of the crown.

"To aſſure his majeſty that we neither have diſputed, nor mean, in any inſtance, to diſpute, much leſs to deny, his majeſty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of ſtate ſuch perſons as to his majeſty's wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet: but, at the ſame time

time, that we muſt, with all humility, again ſubmit to his majeſty's royal wiſdom, that no adminiſtration, however legally appointed, can ſerve his majeſty and the public with effect which does not enjoy the confidence of this Houſe: that in his majeſty's preſent adminiſtration we cannot confide: the circumſtances under which it was conſtituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created juſt ſuſpicions in the breaſts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted, and views entertained, unfriendly to the privileges of this Houſe, and to the freedom of our excellent conſtitution; that we have made no charge againſt any of them, becauſe it is their removal, and not their puniſhment, which we have deſired; and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient uſage of this Houſe, to deſire ſuch removal without making any charge whatever; that confidence may be very prudently withheld, where no criminal proceſs can be properly inſtituted: that although we have made no criminal charge againſt any individual of his majeſty's miniſters, yet, with all humility, we do conceive, that we have ſtated to his majeſty very diſtinct objections, and very forcible reaſons, againſt their continuance: that with regard to the propriety of admitting either the preſent miniſters, or any other perſons, as a part of that extended and united adminiſtration, which his majeſty, in concurrence with the ſentiments of this Houſe, conſiders as requiſite; it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty, to preſume to offer any advice to his majeſty; well knowing it to be the undoubted prerogative of his majeſty to appoint his miniſters without any previous advice from either houſe of parliament; and our duty humbly to offer to his majeſty our advice, when ſuch appointments ſhall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public ſervice.

"To acknowledge, with gratitude, his majeſty's goodneſs, in not conſidering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accompliſhment of the gracious purpoſe which his majeſty has in view, and to expreſs the great concern and mortification with which we find ourſelves obliged to declare, that the conſolation which we ſhould naturally have derived from his majeſty's moſt gracious diſpoſition, is conſiderably abated by underſtanding that his majeſty's adviſers have not thought fit to ſuggeſt to his majeſty any farther ſteps to remove the difficulties which obſtruct ſo deſirable an end.

"To recal to his majeſty's recollection, that his faithful commons have already ſubmitted to his majeſty, moſt humbly, but moſt diſtinctly, their opinion upon this ſubject; that they can have no intereſts but thoſe of his majeſty and of their conſtituents; whereas it is needleſs to ſuggeſt to his majeſty's wiſdom and diſcernment, that individual adviſers may be actuated by very different motives.

"To expreſs our moſt unfeigned gratitude for his majeſty's royal aſſurances that he does not call in queſtion the right of this Houſe to offer their advice to his majeſty on every proper occaſion, touching the exerciſe of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his majeſty's readineſs, at all times, to receive ſuch advice, and to give it the moſt attentive conſideration.

"To declare that we recognize

in theſe gracious expreſſions thoſe excellent and conſtitutional ſentiments, which we have ever been accuſtomed to hear from the throne ſince the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characterized his majeſty, and the princes of his illuſtrious houſe; but to lament that theſe moſt gracious expreſſions, while they inſpire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his majeſty's royal perſon, do not a little contribute to increaſe our ſuſpicions of thoſe men who have adviſed his majeſty, in direct contradiction to theſe aſſurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his ſervice an adminiſtration, whoſe continuance in office we have ſo repeatedly and ſo diſtinctly condemned.

" To repreſent to his majeſty, that it has anciently been the practice of this Houſe to withhold ſupplies until grievances were redreſſed; and that if we were to follow this courſe in the preſent conjuncture, we ſhould be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the moſt approved precedents, as by the ſpirit of the conſtitution itſelf; but if, in conſideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we ſhould be induced to wave for the preſent the exerciſe, in this inſtance, of our undoubted legal and conſtitutional mode of obtaining redreſs, that we humbly implore his majeſty not to impute our forbearance to any want of ſincerity in our complaints, or diſtruſt in the juſtice of our cauſe.

" That we know, and are ſure, that the proſperity of his majeſty's dominions in former times has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and this houſe. That we are convinced that there is no way to extricate this country from its preſent difficulties, but by purſuing the ſame ſyſtem to which we have been indebted at various periods of our hiſtory for our ſucceſſes abroad, and which is at all times ſo neceſſary for our tranquillity at home. That we feel the continuance of the preſent adminiſtration to be an innovation upon that happy ſyſtem.

" That we cannot but expect, from their exiſtence under the diſpleaſure of this Houſe, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and diſtracted government; that if we had concealed from his majeſty our honeſt ſentiments upon this important criſis, we ſhould have been in ſome degree reſponſible for the miſchiefs which are but too certain to enſue.

" That we have done our duty to his majeſty and our conſtituents in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redreſs: that the blame and reſponſibility muſt now lie wholly upon thoſe who have preſumed to adviſe his majeſty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his majeſty, as well as every other prince of his illuſtrious houſe; upon thoſe who have diſregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the repreſentatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to ſet up a new ſyſtem of executive adminiſtration, which, wanting the confidence of this Houſe, and acting in defiance to our reſolutions, muſt prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous, by

its

its example, to the liberties of the people."

This repreſentation was the laſt effort made by oppoſition, and was carried only by a majority of 191 to 190. If we conſider all the circumſtances of this extraordinary conteſt, it cannot but appear ſurprizing that ſo few inſtances ſhould have happened of defection to the court party. The fixed determination that appeared early in the court to ſupport the new adminiſtration, at all hazards; the terrors of a diſſolution; a perſeverance in the miniſter, inſenſible to conſequences; the violent prejudices entertained without doors, and the cautious and indeciſive conduct of oppoſition within, afforded no doubtful preſages of the event. To a conviction of the juſtice and importance of the cauſe in which they were engaged, we are bound in candour to attribute this ſteadineſs, in part; and ſome ſhare of it may probably be aſcribed to a high rival ſenſe of honour in the ſeveral members of the coalition, deſirous of reſcuing that meaſure from the odium of its being founded merely on ſelfiſh and intereſted deſigns.

10th March. On the tenth of March the mutiny bill paſſed without a diviſion.—A general report now prevailed, that parliament was to be immediately diſſolved.—All the ſupplies had been regularly voted, to the amount of near ten millions, but, with the exception of the land and malt tax bills, no money had been raiſed or appropriated to ſpecific ſervices. It was, however, contended, that the voting of the ſupplies would be a ſufficient juſtification to the miniſtry for iſſuing money for the neceſſary expenditure of government. On the other ſide it was urged, that the Houſe having reſolved that ſuch iſſuing of the public money would be ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and an high crime and miſdemeanor, no plea of neceſſity could be available, ſince the emergency would be wilfully created by thoſe who ſhould adviſe his majeſty to diſſolve the parliament. The moſt pointed perſonalities were addreſſed to Mr. Pitt on this ſubject, but in vain; he perſevered in an abſolute refuſal to diſcuſs the points at all; and on the 24th of March the parliament was prorogued, and the day following diſſolved by proclamation *.

* See State Papers, p. [315.

CHAP. VII.

Claims of the Emperor upon Holland. Unfortunate ſituation of the affairs of the Republic through the violence of parties and internal diſſenſion. Continual attempts by the republican faction to abridge the Stadtholder's power, and attacks upon the duke of Brunſwick. That prince reſigns his great offices, and quits the country. Interference of the King of Pruſſia in behalf of the Prince Stadtholder. France obtains an unbounded influence in the affairs of the Republic. Plenipotentiaries ſent to Bruſſels to accommodate the differences with the Emperor. Auſtrian troops take poſſeſſion of Old Lillo, and commit other violations of the territorial rights of the Republic. France accepts the office of mediation between Holland and the Emperor. Diſpute occaſioned by a Flemiſh boatman on the Schelde. Emperor's ultimatum preſented at Bruſſels. Three new and extraordinary demands added to the former ultimatum. Appearances of an immediate rupture at the commencement of the autumn 1784. *Declaration by the Emperor's miniſter, that the firſt ſhot fired upon the Schelde ſhould be conſidered as a declaration of war. Some account of the nature of the claims, and of the reaſons and arguments offered on both ſides; with a particular regard to the diſpute relative to the Schelde. State of the claim upon Maſtricht. Imperial veſſel fired at and ſtopped upon the Schelde. Imperial ambaſſador recalled from the Hague, and the conferences broken up at Bruſſels. Preparations for war on both ſides. Exertions of public ſpirit by individuals in Holland. States apply to France for a general: Count de Maillebois deputed to that appointment. Endeavours to prevent or divert the ſtorm. French monarch expoſtulates with the Emperor. Dyke broken by the Dutch near Lillo, and the country laid under water. Inflexibility of the Emperor with reſpect to the Schelde. Ruſſia takes a decided part in favour of the Emperor's claims. Jealouſy excited by the confederacy of theſe two great powers. Political cauſes which rendered it particularly incumbent on France and Pruſſia to protect Holland. Prince Henry of Pruſſia's viſit to the court of Verſailles. Porte attentive to the ſtate of affairs in Europe, and in readineſs to profit of any occaſion of advantage which might be offered. Movements and preparations in France. General diſpoſition of that nation with reſpect to the war. Diſadvantages to which the Emperor would be expoſed in the proſecution of a war in the Low Countries. Doubtful and critical ſtate of public affairs in Europe at the cloſe of the year* 1784.

WHEN the affairs of his Eaſtern neighbours afforded no farther immediate ſcope to the exerciſe of the emperor's political activity on that ſide, no time was loſt in its direction to other

more remote objects. The ſeizing or recovery of the Dutch barrier formed only an opening to what was farther intended on that ſide; and through all the buſtle and preparation of war that appeared on the Danube, the court of Bruſſels ſerved as a conſtant monitor to the ſtates of the United Provinces, in reminding them, that many other matters of ſerious conſideration remained ſtill to be ſettled with that monarch.

Such a continual intermixture and fluctuation of limits as unavoidably took place through all the viciſſitudes of peace and war, alliance and enmity, that had formerly ſo long prevailed between Spain and Holland, being farther involved and perplexed by the circumſtances of the ſucceſſion war, by the new engagements contracted between the republic and the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria upon the ſubſequent transfer of territory, and by that ſingular ſort of mixed dominion which both retained for ſo many years in the Netherlands, did neceſſarily leave behind much open room for litigation; nor indeed could plauſible grounds for ſetting up new claims, or for queſtioning the validity of old titles, ever be exhauſted in ſuch circumſtances. Independent, however, of theſe cauſes, artificial limits in confined countries, where ſmall objects are of importance, muſt neceſſarily be more fruitful of contention than thoſe boundaries of nations which are thrown out upon a large ſcale, and ſtrongly marked by the hand of nature.

The emperor was, it might be ſaid, legally armed at all points upon this occaſion. His aſſumption of being Heir-general to all the rights, titles, or demands, which ever had, or might have been aſſerted by the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria, as well as by his own immediate line, together with his acting as repreſentative for the people of the different diſtricts, which he poſſeſſed under the various titles of duke, count, or lord, furniſhed him with a number of diſtinct claims, which were the more inexhauſtible, as no limitation of time, nor argument founded on preſcription, was likely to operate againſt ſo powerful a claimant. Articles of forage, which had been ſupplied by ſome diſtricts in the ſucceſſion war, and the contributions which had been levied on others, were now brought forward as ſtanding matters of account to be ſettled and diſcharged; and, if we are not miſtaken, the wars even of the preceding century afforded ſome preſent ſubjects of demand. But of all the claims now ſet up, that upon the city and country of Maſtricht ſeemed to be the beſt founded, and was by far the moſt diſtreſſing to Holland.

At the ſame time, the affairs of the republic were in ſo unfortunate a ſituation, that they ſcarcely could have failed, at any period of time, or under any circumſtances of neighbourhood, to have drawn upon it unexpected claims and extraordinary demands. The termination of the war with England had only afforded a ceſſation of immediate evil and danger to Holland; for the peace had neither reſtored vigour or unanimity at home, nor reputation or importance abroad. On

the contrary, their civil diſſenſions were every day increaſing in magnitude and virulence; ſo that there ſcarcely ſeemed a hope of any remedy, that would not at leaſt prove as dangerous as the diſeaſe. The protection and apparent ſervices which they had received from France during the war, had thrown into the hands of that power an evident preponderancy in all the affairs of the republic; and that influence being unceaſingly, though covertly exerted, in ſupport of the old Loveſtein, or republican faction, of which the French intereſt in Holland, for the moſt part, and at moſt times conſiſted, and whoſe members were the hereditary enemies of the ſtadtholderian ſyſtem of government, as well as of the Orange family, it was now become ſo ſtrong, that no ſufficient counterpoiſe remained in the ſtate, to reſtrain the exceſs and violence incident to the predominance of political parties.

As a prelude and neceſſary opening to the completion of their deſigns in reducing the authority and abridging the prerogatives of the ſtadtholder, this ariſtocratic party (which, independent of foreign ſupport, and however controuled or apparently reduced at particular periods, ever retained no ſmall degree of inherent power in the republic) had determined on the removal of the prince Lewis, duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and field-marſhal of the Dutch forces, who having been the ſtadtholder's guardian and repreſentative during his minority, had thereby long poſſeſſed the efficient powers of the ſtate. The conſideration that the eminent poſts which he held were the rewards of long ſervices and experienced ability, had little effect in controuling the animoſity of his adverſaries; and though this prince had diſcharged all the high truſts which had been repoſed in him, in a manner which merited and had actually obtained the greateſt public applauſe; yet, in ſeaſons of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, the diſcontents that accummulated in the long poſſeſſion of power, and the heats of popular diſſenſion, quite overbore all opinion of paſt merits, and rendered ſuperior capacity and ability rather objects of terror than of reverence or affection. The oppoſite party had carried on a long war of public and private invective againſt his conduct and deſigns, and did not ſcruple openly to attribute to his counſels and influence with the ſtadtholder, certain deep-laid and dangerous ſchemes, which, as they aſſerted, were formed for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhment of a tyranny upon the ruins of the republic.

The duke had long endured, with admirable temper and magnanimity, a courſe of unceaſing reproach and abuſe; but finding that the prevalence of his enemies was becoming every day more decided, and that their inveteracy proceeded ſo far as to hold him out to the public as the common enemy of the ſtate and country, he thought it wiſe or neceſſary to give way to the torrent, as a means of allaying the public fever, and reſtoring tranquillity to the ſtadtholder's government, whoſe intereſts only connected him with the republic. The duke of Brunſwick accordingly wrote a letter

letter to the ſtates-general, in which, after ſome ſhort reference to the approbation which his conduct, during thirty-two years ſpent in their ſervice, had heretofore, in ſeaſons of peace and union, happily received, he recurred to the continual troubles which he had experienced, and the numberleſs attacks which had been made upon him during the laſt four years; theſe he aſſigned as the cauſe, together with the indifference to his injuries ſhewn by the ſtates themſelves, in refuſing to grant him that opportunity which he had frequently claimed, of publicly refuting thoſe charges and calumnies which had been raiſed againſt him, for his then reſigning all the offices that he held under the ſtate, and diſcharging himſelf from all obligations and engagements of fidelity to the republic.

While the republic was thus depriving itſelf of the ſecurity to be derived from thoſe talents and experience on which it had ſo long relied, its ſituation became daily more critical with its great neighbour the king of Pruſſia, who was naturally and politically its friend and protector. Excluſive of his near affinity with the prince ſtadtholder, it would have been entirely contrary to his views and intereſts, cloſely connected as he was with them in all the relations of neighbourhood and alliance, that any conſiderable revolution ſhould take place in the actual conſtitution of the republic; yet ſuch was the impetuoſity of the domineering party, that the reiterated remonſtrances and powerful interference of that monarch ſeemed to have but little weight, whether in reſtraining perſonal imputations on the ſtadtholder, or political attempts on his authority.

In the mean time, the republican party were every where forming military aſſociations, and, under the term of volunteers, and the oſtenſible motives of public defence, were in ſerious preparation for a civil war; nor was the oppoſite or Orange party, however inferior in power, if not in number, at all deficient in point of violence and animoſity. Thus lamentably torn to pieces, and convulſed in all its members, the circumſtances and condition of the republic could not, under any known diſpenſation of things among ſtates, but have attracted the views, and excited the enterprize of powerful and ambitious neighbours.

A dangerous refuge, however, remained, and in this ſituation was eagerly graſped at; for France having, as we have ſeen, through the violence of parties, and the colliſion of jarring views and intereſts, accompanied by a ſeries of unexpected and ſingular events, but all tending to the ſame concluſion, obtained an unbounded influence in the affairs of the republic, it identified their intereſts ſo much, that ſhe was bound by every principle of policy to counteract the deſigns of others, and to afford her protection at whatever riſque or expence. This was affording every thing that the ariſtocratical party could wiſh; the ſtate would be protected from danger without, while they were at leiſure to new model the internal government.

This peculiar ſituation of affairs between France and Holland, did not ſeem in any degree to operate upon the conduct of the emperor,

who, perhaps, built more upon the friendſhip and cloſeneſs of alliance between him and France, than older politicians would have been inclined to do upon the faith of any national connection, when that faith was to be put to the teſt by ſuperior intereſts and temptation. That prince, indeed, appeared to be ſo ſecure of his object, that he ſeemed to depart, upon this occaſion, in ſome meaſure from his general character; and the court of Vienna was obſerved, in all its tranſactions with the republic, to reſume that high tone and peremptory haughtineſs, which the prevalence of a taſte more conformable to the uncertain tenure of human power had brought into diſuſe; but what had indeed characterized the houſe of Auſtria, even in thoſe untoward ſeaſons, in which haughtineſs ſeemed ſomething more akin to magnanimity.

The ſtates-general finding themſelves involved in demands of which they knew not the direct aim nor full extent, thought it prudent to ſubmit to neceſſity; and, in a conteſt with ſo powerful an adverſary, by giving up forms, to manifeſt a conciliatory diſpoſition; and, under

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theſe impreſſions, they ſent two plenipotentiaries to Bruſſels, furniſhed with ſuch powers as could yet appear neceſſary for an amicable adjuſtment of all differences with that court.

With theſe pacific diſpoſitions, ſo fully diſplayed on their own ſide, and in the very act of conceſſion, it could not but excite their aſtoniſhment and diſmay, to find that the night after the arrival of their plenipotentiaries in that city, ſhould have been choſen on the other, for the commiſſion of an act of open violence and hoſtility: for on that night, without previous declaration or notice, a ſmall detachment of Auſtrian foot, with four field-pieces, entered the territories of the republic, and took poſſeſſion of the fort of Old Lillo. It is true, indeed, that this was a place of little conſequence or value, for that it had been ſo entirely neglected ſince the conſtruction of the fortreſs of New Lillo near it, that it was not only without artillery or garriſon, but the governor of the latter had converted the interior ground into a kitchen-garden. The ſeizing it, however, in this manner, was leſs a violation of territorial right, than if it had been a place of greater importance; and it ſeemed the leſs to be accounted for, that in a map of the Netherlands, which had been conſtructed ſo late as the year 1778, under the immediate orders of the court of Vienna, that place had been marked as lying within the Dutch limits.

The cauſe of alarm did not reſt here; for in little more than a week after, when the negotiations were actually commenced, and the Dutch miniſters appeared evidently diſpoſed to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction with reſpect to the emperor's claims, a detachment of Auſtrian dragoons advanced in like manner to a place called Hartog Eyk, near Heerle, where they demoliſhed the barriers, pulled down the Dutch flag from the cuſtom-houſe, and charged the receiver of that department, in the name of his imperial majeſty, not to obey or execute any orders from the regency of Heerle, who were his legal and natural maſters, nor to receive from any perſon whatever any money upon account or pre-

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tence of toll or duty; threatening, in case of disobedience, to send him bound hand and foot to the next Austrian garrison.

Such violent proceedings, at such a season, and under such circumstances, certainly augured no friendly or conciliatory dispositions on the part of the court of Brussels, unless, indeed, it could be supposed that they were merely intended to accelerate the motions of the negotiators, and to correct the constitutional phlegm and habitual slowness charged to their country. However that was, the states undoubtedly could not but sorely feel the degraded circumstances of their situation, and the deplorable change which a few years had produced in their affairs, as well as in their rank and character with other nations.

These hostile transactions occasioned an universal alarm in Holland. Hasty measures were adopted for securing the frontiers from immediate danger, at least from any considerable loss, impracticable as it was to preserve them entirely from insult. Such regiments of horse and foot as were next to hand were immediately dispatched to Maestricht, not only as a place of the first importance, but as an object known to be particularly aimed at. Other troops were ordered from different quarters to reinforce those garrisons or posts which were most exposed, or deemed to be of greatest consequence. But even in this moment of dismay and apparent danger, when the public safety might have depended so much upon the celerity of movement and promptness of design and action, the measures of defence were obstructed by the disputes between the states and the prince stadtholder, relative to the rights or limits of the executive power. Such being the fatality of civil dissensions, that they frequently render the citizen obtuse and deaf to the most imminent public dangers.

The states had previously solicited the French king, who was now their only refuge, for his friendly interposition with his brother-in-law the emperor, in softening his disposition towards the republic, and for his accepting the office of mediator in finally arranging and settling the disputed limits and frontiers, as well as the other matters of difference between them. As the part which France, notwithstanding her new connections with the republic, might pursue, in so delicate a conjuncture of circumstances and interests, afforded much room for doubt and apprehension, it could not but administer the highest satisfaction to the states, when, under the depression and alarm excited by these violences, the duke of Vauguion, ambassador from the court of Versailles, communicated to them the welcome intelligence, that his master had frankly and readily accepted the desired office of mediation.

It may well be supposed, that the desire of effectually securing the friendship of France, in this trying and critical situation of their affairs, had no small effect in influencing the conduct of the states, with respect to that new treaty of close alliance and friendship between both powers, which seemed to be about that time commenced, and which being successfully carried on through the course of their disputes

putes with the emperor, was brought to a concluſion at their termination. Such a circumſtance in private affairs might poſſibly be conſidered as uſing an undue influence with the umpire; nor is it entirely certain, that the ſame opinion was not held on one ſide upon this occaſion.

In the mean time the ſtates uſed their utmoſt endeavours to remove the ſcene of the negotiations for an accommodation from Bruſſels to Vienna. But their applications for this purpoſe failed entirely of effect: Prince Kaunitz, the imperial prime miniſter, having declared that the emperor had entirely remitted his claims to the government of Bruſſels, and to the conduct of the count Belgiojoſo, his miniſter in the Low Countries. This refuſal was particularly untoward; as, beſides the immediate intereſt which the government of the Netherlands had in ſupporting and puſhing all the emperor's demands to the utmoſt, the count Belgiojoſo, ſo far from ſhewing any marks of an accommodating ſpirit, was extremely harſh and peremptory in all his tranſactions with the republic.

It ſeems remarkable that the buſineſs of the Schelde, and of opening the port of Antwerp, which every body knew to be the great object which the emperor had in view in all theſe meaſures, was entirely overlooked in that ſtatement of claims and demands which had been preſented to the ſtates by the imperial miniſters. As an omiſſion of ſo much conſequence could not poſſibly be attributed to negligence or forgetfulneſs, it may be ſuppoſed it was intended, that that buſineſs ſhould be conſidered as a matter of ſuch clear and evident right, that it could not be ſubjected to any diſcuſſion; and that it depended entirely on the emperor's will to fix the time which he might think proper for carrying the meaſure into execution.

It was poſſibly upon this principle, and perhaps in part to encreaſe the embarraſſment and conſternation of the ſtates on finding themſelves at once attacked on every ſide, and on all points, without knowing where the claims would end, or what part of the differences would be ſubmitted to negociation, or otherwiſe, that ſome ſhort time before the tranſactions we have related had taken place, a Flemiſh boatman was employed to make an experiment on the Schelde, which ſeemed calculated for no other purpoſe than to bring the queſtion on the free navigation of that river to an immediate iſſue.

This man having paſſed the Dutch fort of Lillo, and a guard-ſhip ſtationed near it, on his way down the river from Antwerp, without notice, and conſequently without that examination which he invited, in the morning, he returned the ſame way in the afternoon, when the captain of the guard-ſhip obſerving that he did not lower his flag, nor bring to as uſual for examination, called to him ſeveral times to do both, which he abſolutely refuſing, was in conſequence boarded; when the reaſon of his conduct being demanded, the Fleming replied, that he was under poſitive orders not to ſtop at Lillo, nor to ſubmit to any inquiſition. As a further proof that the buſineſs was deſigned and prepared for, ſome Netherland

therland magiſtrates of conſiderable rank were on board the boat; of whom the grand bailiff of Beveren ſaid to the Dutch officer, "This is "imperial territory, we do not "acknowledge any Dutch or Zea-"land authority, and the boatman "ſhall make no declaration."—— We are ſtrangely left in the dark as to the iſſue of this affair; although (which did not ſeem of much conſequence) notice is taken that ſome inſulting language was uſed on the Netherland ſide.

But although the boat was diſcharged at this time, it ſeemed as if it had been thought that enough was not yet done, and that it was determined to puſh things to extremity. For in two or three days after the ſame boatman returned to make another experiment; and though the Dutch commandant ſent to requeſt that he would ſubmit amicably to that viſitation and thoſe forms which he could not himſelf avoid inſiſting on, the other peremptorily refuſed to comply. A gun, charged only with powder, was at length fired at the boat, and proper officers ſent on board; but the boatman obſtinately perſevered, and entered a formal proteſt againſt the whole proceedings, as acts of direct violence.

A new ſtatement of the emperor's claims and demands, deſcribed as his *ultimatum*, was preſented to the Dutch miniſters in ſome time after the opening of the negotiations at Bruſſels, in which, along with an enlargement of former articles, and the addition of ſome new ones, relative to the reſtitution of places or territories ſaid to have been uſurped, and the payment of real or ſuppoſed debts, that monarch inſiſted, in the 5th article, upon his right to the abſolute and independent ſovereignty of the whole Schelde lying between Antwerp and Saftingen; and that the Dutch guard-ſhip ſtationed oppoſite to fort Lillo ſhould accordingly be for ever removed, as he could not think of permitting the exerciſe of any foreign authority whatever within any part of his ſovereignty on that river.

In conſequence of a communication made to the court of Verſailles by the ſtates-general, of the memorial which they had drawn, in anſwer to the claims and demands made by the emperor, and containing likewiſe a number of counter claims ſet up on their ſide, which in law language and practice might be conſidered as a ſet-off againſt the former, the French king took that opportunity, along with many commendations of their paſt and preſent moderation, and the deſire which they had manifeſted of preſerving the public tranquillity, ſtrongly to recommend a continuation of the ſame prudent and equitable conduct, particularly cautioning them to abſtain from all meaſures which might, in any degree, be conſidered as wounding or affecting the emperor's dignity. He likewiſe recommended, that in order to give the greater efficacy to his own conciliatory endeavours, and the better to enable him to enforce all the means which his connections with that ſovereign might admit of, that they ſhould furniſh and ſupport him with ſuch ſpecific propoſitions as they were willing to make for laying the foundation of an equitable and laſting accommodation.

This was accordingly done; but the interpoſition of France ſeemed

as yet far from producing any favourable effect on the conduct of the emperor, who was undoubtedly, and indeed apparently, very little satisfied with her interference at all in the business.

Early in the autumn of 1784, every thing seemed tending rapidly to the most decisive and alarming crisis. Three new and extraordinary demands were added to the emperor's former ultimatum. —These were, in the first place, "The entire and free navigation of the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea," which was to be laid down as a *sine qua non*; and was accompanied with a declaration, "that in the intermediate time, until matters were finally settled, the emperor's subjects should occasionally exercise their undoubted right of navigating that river; and that two ships were then in actual preparation for the purpose." This was farther enforced by the Count Belgiojoso, who, in his usual peremptory manner, declared to the Dutch ministers at Brussels, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde would be considered by his master as a declaration of war, and immediately treated and resented accordingly.

The second article related to the foregoing, and insisted, that the several forts of Frederic Henry, Liefenhock, Kruischans, and Lillo, which had been erected by the Dutch for the maintenance of their monopoly in the navigation of the Schelde, should be dismantled and demolished.

The third demand, if not more alarming, seemed at least more extraordinary than the former. This was no less than a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. This indeed was a singular demand. It was in fact claiming a moiety of all the benefits which the Dutch derived from their colonies in the New World, and their conquests and settlements in the East, being the fruits of much hard adventure, great risque, and advance of treasure, of numberless treaties and negotiations, and of many severe wars, through the course of near two centuries. A requisition which, taken in its full extent, would have reached to their monopoly of the Spice Islands, and even to their trade in Japan, if that fierce and haughty people had not rendered all speculation and adventure upon their forbidden coasts impracticable.

It may now be necessary to look somewhat into the nature of the principal claims and demands made on the one side, and of the objections stated on the other, for the forming of some opinion how far they were supported upon the principles of reason, justice, and equity, or upon the ground of particular treaties and conventions, or either.

The states of Holland insisted, that several of the emperor's demands were in direct contravention of the most solemn treaties. That by the treaty of Munster, concluded on the 30th of January, in the year 1648, with his predecessor, Philip the IVth of Spain, Duke of Burgandy, of Brabant, and Earl of Flanders, that prince, besides acknowledging in the fullest manner the independency of the United States, not only confirmed to them all such possessions as they already held, and such barrier towns and forts as were then assigned, but renounced, for himself and his successors for ever, all claim and title

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to any such as they might hereafter, without infraction of that treaty, acquire, by conquest or otherwise. That by the same treaty, he not only irrevocably confirmed the charters and rights of the Dutch East and West India Companies, but rendered himself and his successors the perpetual guarantees of their commerce in both parts of the world. That by the 6th article of the said treaty it is further specially provided, that the said king's own subjects should be restricted to continue their navigation in the East Indies, in the same manner which they had hitherto exercised it, and should, on no account whatever, be permitted to extend it beyond those limits.

That by the 14th article of the said treaty of Munster, it was expressly stipulated, that the Western or lower Schelde, (commonly called Le Hondt) the canal of Sas, the Swin, and other mouths of the sea, bordering upon them, should be *kept* closed on the side belonging to the states.

That the treaty of Munster had been recognized and confirmed, and the rights of the states fortified and enlarged, by a number of subsequent treaties. That by the barrier treaty, concluded in 1715, between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the Republic, the former ceded certain territories therein specified to the latter, in full and complete sovereignty, for the security and better exercise of their sovereignty and rights on the lower Schelde, and for facilitating their communications between Brabant and Dutch Flanders. That the said cession was formally repeated and confirmed, and a small farther addition of territory ceded, for the same express purpose, in the convention which was concluded between the same three powers, in the year 1718.

That, with respect to their commercial rights, the same emperor, Charles the VIth, having, in derogation of the treaty of Munster, adopted the well-known project of establishing a company to trade from Ostend to India, that prince, notwithstanding, found it necessary, after it had been carried on for some years, to relinquish the design, and to dissolve the company. For by the treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1731, between the Emperor and his Britannic Majesty, and to which the States General became parties by an act of concurrence, the former was bound to abolish the said commerce and company for ever. And, with respect to the trade to the West Indies, the said act of concurrence states, on the part of the Dutch, "That "they will conform with good faith "to the regulations established by "the treaty of Munster, in every "thing that is therein stipulated "with respect to the commerce and "navigation of the West Indies."

It was strongly urged, that the rights of the republic, and particularly her exclusive sovereignty of the Schelde, had been confirmed and guaranteed to her by all the treaties which secure the political existence of Europe. That it was now near 140 years since the conclusion of the treaty of Munster; during all which long period she had held, unclaimed and unquestioned, the exclusive navigation of that river. But that it was no new claim, nor novel exercise of sovereignty or right, even at that very time; for that the river had been equally

equally ſhut up, ever ſince the taking of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma, in the year 1585. That therefore, ſuppoſing the treaty of Munſter had contained no ſpecific article whatever upon that ſubject, yet the very omiſſion, in a matter of ſuch vaſt importance, and the acquieſcence in a meaſure ſo long, and ſo notoriouſly eſtabliſhed, muſt have been conſidered by all mankind as a full acknowledgment and confirmation of the right. Nor did this excluſive right and benefit, already poſſeſſed, and thus legalized and confirmed, want the ſanction of a fair and full compenſation in its purchaſe; for it was a part of the price which Spain paid for the preſervation of thoſe very Netherlands which are now held by the emperor, the claims of which would never otherwiſe have been relinquiſhed by the States of Holland. Nor is the world now to learn, that the power of the republic was, both then and after, fully competent, and that opportunities of advantage, ſufficiently favourable, had been offered, for the eſtabliſhment of thoſe claims with ſucceſs, if they had not been thus renounced.

They farther inſiſted, that the buſineſs of the Schelde was far from being merely a matter of commerce, as was pretended. The queſtion of opening that river was much more of a political than of a commercial nature. Things had undergone ſuch changes, and the circumſtances of commerce were ſo totally altered, that Antwerp was not now capable of becoming an object of jealouſy or envy. But the opening of the Schelde, would be opening the gates of a broad and great road, into the very heart of their dominions. It would be laying the inmoſt receſſes, and the vital ſources of the ſtate, open and expoſed; and would at once include, not only the immediate ſecurity, but the independence and very exiſtence of the republic.

On the other ſide, it was anſwered, on the part of the emperor, that the ſtates had been guilty of ſo many infractions of the treaty of Munſter, in all thoſe parts of it which ſecured the rights, or were in any degree advantageous to the Auſtrian Netherlands, that they had thereby forfeited all claim to the performance of thoſe ſtipulations which were in their own favour. That he found himſelf therefore, both in reaſon and equity, perfectly abſolved from paying any regard to thoſe proviſions on which they now wiſhed ſo much to inſiſt. That they, however, ſtrained the meaning (as they did in all ſimilar caſes) to their own advantage, of that article in the treaty of Munſter which related to the Schelde, and which by no means conveyed that ſovereignty and excluſive right that they pretended. But if every thing they advanced upon that or any other ground of treaty had been even admitted, ſtill the ſhameful yoke which had been impoſed upon the Netherlands was too unnatural and too degrading to be laſting; nor could it, from theſe circumſtances, be any longer poſſibly endured, than while abſolute neceſſity, ariſing from the unfortunate ſituation of public affairs, rendered a ſubmiſſion to it inevitable.

It was farther ſaid, that the Dutch had been no leſs guilty of violations of the barrier, and other later treaties, than they had been with reſpect to that of Munſter. But that if all other violations of faith and treaty

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on their ſide had been overlooked or forgotten, their ſhameful prevarication, and the injuſtice of their conduct with reſpect to Maſtricht would have been in itſelf ſufficient to diſchage and cancel all obligations and conditions with a people, who never paid any regard, or attended farther to the proviſions of any treaty or convention, than as it ſuited their own intereſt.

It may not be improper, upon this occaſion, to take ſome ſhort notice of the nature of the diſpute relative to the city and territories of Maſtricht; which (we have already obſerved) ſeemed to be among the beſt founded of the claims aſſerted by the Emperor.

In the year 1672, when Holland ſeemed upon the point of being entirely overwhelmed, by the ſudden and powerful irruption of Lewis the XIVth, although peace then ſubſiſted between France and Spain, yet the Count de Monterey, governor of the Netherlands, without waiting the ſlow reſult of inſtructions from his court, by which the occaſion would have been in a great meaſure loſt, had political ſagacity and ſpirit ſufficient to comprehend and act up to the true intereſts of the ſtate, without regard to conſequences. He accordingly endeavoured to ſtem the violence of the torrent, ſo far as it could poſſibly be done under any appearance of a neutrality, and afforded much ſecret aid, and did great real ſervice to the endangered, and apparently ſinking, States of Holland. This wiſe and meritorious conduct, having the fortune of being approved by the court of Madrid, was of courſe continued by the governor-general; and the ſervices were ſo eſſential and critical, as to lay the foundation of a private treaty between Holland and Spain, by which the republic was bound, in conſideration of the paſt, and as an inducement to farther aſſiſtance, to cede the city of Maſtricht, with certain appertaining territories therein ſpecified, to the latter; the ceſſion being, however, ſubject to this ſpecial condition, that France ſhould be prevented from retaining any of her conqueſts, or making any diſmemberment of the territories of Holland.

That great point being attained, through the unexpected and fortunate turn which the war took, and which obliged Lewis the XIVth to relinquiſh all his haſty conqueſts at the ſubſequent treaty of peace concluded at Nimeguen, Charles the IId of Spain then put in his claim for the poſſeſſion of Maſtricht; but the ceſſion was evaded by the States, upon the footing of ſome mortgages which the prince of Orange had upon that city and its territories. The Spaniſh king ſhewed a confidence and generoſity which demanded a return of good faith, by paying off the mortgages. New difficulties were, however, thrown in the way; and the ceſſion ſeems to have been ſo irkſome, that it was ſtill delayed, and continued a ſubject of negociation through the remainder of that prince's life.

The general confuſion occaſioned by that king's death and will, and the long troubles and wars in which all Europe was convulſed and involved through the claims to his ſucceſſion, ſeemed to have eraſed all traces of the affair of Maſtricht entirely from remembrance. No notice whatever was taken of it in any of the ſucceeding treaties or conventions, whether of peace or diſtribution

distribution of territory. Things rested in this state until the year 1738, when the emperor Charles the Sixth, considering himself as inheritor of all the Spanish rights in the Low Countries, revived the long-forgotten or neglected claim upon Maestricht. Commissioners were accordingly appointed on both sides, who opened a negotiation at Brussels, with an apparent view of bringing the matter to a conclusion. But, as if it had been predestined that the bringing up of this business should ever be accompanied with, or interrupted by scenes of great public disorder and misfortune, so the death of that prince, and the numerous and powerful claimants, who attempted a partition of the inheritance of his daughter, the late empress queen, soon put an end to the negotiations at Brussels, and threw Europe into a similar state of war and confusion with that which had been produced by the Spanish succession. The claim upon Maestricht seemed accordingly to be again forgotten, until it was now revived by the emperor.

But Maestricht, notwithstanding its intrinsic value, and the great importance which it derives from situation and circumstance, was only a matter of very secondary consideration in this dispute. The Schelde was the real bone of contention—the great object of desire on the one side, and of apprehension and dismay on the other. All other matters in debate were capable of compromise.

The public, in almost every part of Europe were much interested in this subject, and the sentiments and opinions of mankind have seldom been so much divided upon a question of so simple and confined a nature as the navigation of a river.

The grounds of argument in support of the emperor's claim were very open and specious, and were capable of being dressed in so plausible a guise, and of putting on appearances so interesting and engaging, that they were admirably calculated for seducing the opinions of the generality of mankind, who taking only a transient view of the subject, were influenced more by sentiment, than by any attention to questions of state or policy in their decisions.

The bare relation of the act, that an antient and respectable people, who had been long or early renowned in commerce, had been brought to ruin and beggary, by depriving them of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which ran through their territories, seemed at once sufficient to decide the question in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of so flagrant an injustice. Upon the same principle, the deliverance of a people from so cruel a mark of bondage, and the restoration to their natural rights and former happiness, seemed an atchievement so glorious, as to be worthy and characteristic of a hero. The former greatness, splendour, and opulence of Antwerp, were artfully dwelt upon with a view to the passions; and with great effect, though little truth or justice, its decline was attributed entirely to this odious measure, to which the Dutch were said to be prompted by their jealousy and avarice, in order to monopolize all commerce, and that Amsterdam in particular might rise to greatness upon

upon her ruins. With an equal view to the paſſions, and with ſtill leſs truth or juſtice, the Schelde was magnificently repreſented as the fineſt river in Europe, as if its beauty could have any thing to do with the queſtions of right, or of political neceſſity. It may be eaſily judged, that the general and eſtabliſhed character of avidity attributed to the Dutch, with the harſh, arbitrary, and monopolizing ſpirit, which they had ever diſplayed in commercial matters, could not but operate greatly to their diſadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The States, however, had many ſtrong grounds of argument and fact to oppoſe to plauſible and artful repreſentations, or to prejudiced and haſtily-conceived opinion. It was ſaid to be abſurd, in the preſent ſtate of things and of the world, to recur to what was called *Natural Rights*, in order to overthrow thoſe ſocial compacts between men, and political conventions between ſtates, which are the foundation and the ſecurity of all public and private property. What a picture would Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquiſh all thoſe poſſeſſions, which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolutions of a long ſeries of ages, had enabled them to acquire! It would be unlooſing all the bands that unite mankind; throwing them back again into a ſtate of ſavage nature; and rendering the world a chaos of endleſs confuſion and diſorder.

It was however denied, that a river's paſſing in its inland courſe through ſome part of a prince's territories, conſtituted any ſuch natural right, when its opening to the ſea was in the poſſeſſion of another ſovereign. But, at once to do away all the pathetic declamation thrown out upon this ſubject, it was ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that the whole courſe of the two branches of the Schelde, which paſſed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by and owed its exiſtence to the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour; and that they were ſtill maintained by great and continual labour and expence. That if it had not been for thoſe ſtanding monuments of Dutch enterprize, thoſe admirable dykes which excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, ſtagnating in ſhallow lakes and immenſe marſhes, had never reached the ſea in any diſtinct or ſufficient portion for the purpoſes of navigation. That the lower Schelde being thus originally made and ſtill preſerved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and ſtill preſerved the two provinces of Holland and Friſeland, ſo it was equally their own property. That as it could not even be imagined that thoſe immenſe labours were intended for the uſe of others, ſo their benefits, as well as the ſtupendous works themſelves, muſt be conſidered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of juſtice, as their own excluſive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In anſwer to the tragical repreſentations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its ancient ſplendor and greatneſs were charged entirely to Dutch avarice

and deſpotiſm, particularly in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Schelde, it was obſerved, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated from various well-known cauſes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from, that only one which was now aſſigned. Antwerp had been faſt declining for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars of the Netherlands. Commerce had branched out into other channels; and Amſterdam, though long before conſiderable, had, within that period, from its ſuperior advantages, and other concurring cauſes, riſen to be the firſt commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent, and notwithſtanding the loſſes which it ſuſtained by its memorable ſiege, would have been ſtill conſiderable, if its ruin had not been completed by the ſame cauſes and means which deſolated Bruges, and other great cities of the Netherlands. The deſpotiſm, cruelty, and religious perſecution of the Spaniards, obliged the merchants and manufacturers to abandon them all, and to convey their commerce and their arts, along with themſelves, to other countries. It was obſerved, as a curious circumſtance with reſpect to this ſubject, that Spain, the ſovereign of Antwerp, had been no leſs intereſted than Holland, in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Schelde; for that, as the celebrated ſtateſman John de Witte ſays in his Memoirs, the greatneſs and opulence of that city were not compatible with the views of Spaniſh deſpotiſm.

The real cauſe, however, of the States being ſtruck with ſuch apprehenſion at the demand of opening the Schelde, was not on their ſide explicitly ſtated; as that, beſides being an acknowledgment of their fears, would have preciſely pointed out the objects of their terror, and ſhewn in what manner their ruin could with the greateſt eaſe be accompliſhed.

The different branches of the Schelde interſected their dominions in ſuch a manner, and had ſuch an open communication with their various other waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arſenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great meaſure, the whole interior of their country, would lie open and expoſed to the poſſeſſor of the former; ſo that their very exiſtence ever after muſt lie at the mercy of ſuch an inmate; and they muſt ſooner or later expect, and ever live under the conſtant dreadful apprehenſion of becoming ſacrifices to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

As a certain degree of marine force would, however, be neceſſary for the accompliſhment of this dangerous purpoſe, and that the emperor poſſeſſed none at preſent, report and apprehenſion ſerved to ſupply that immediate defect. It was given out, and by many credited, that as that ſovereign and Ruſſia had lately been in the habit of playing into each others hands, with reſpect to Turkey, the Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Danube, ſo they were likewiſe now in concert in the eſtabliſhment of the Schelde project; and that the latter of theſe potent allies having failed in all her views of obtaining a port, at any price, in the Mediterranean, or ocean, the former would accommodate her with the

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uſe of the Schelde, as a place of arms, and ſtation for her navy. Such a report and opinion, however founded, could not but greatly heighten the diſtreſs and apprehenſion of Holland.

The teſt of war or peace announced by the emperor, without waiting the reſult of the negociations at Bruſſels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to iſſue; although the ſtates, as a proof of their moderation and conciliatory diſpoſition, had removed the guard ſhip from before Lillo; and had even rejected the propoſal of repairing the fortifications of Maſtricht (critical as the ſituation of that place was, and much as the repairs were wanted) leſt its being adopted at ſuch a ſeaſon ſhould have given any umbrage to that prince. The emperor had, however, previouſly offered to remit the whole, or moſt of his other pretenſions, upon the condition of opening the Schelde in that perfect manner which he preſcribed, ſo as that the navigation might be entirely free and unlimited as in the open ſeas, and no claim or exerciſe of ſovereignty pretended. On the other hand, the ſtates relaxed ſo far in this matter, as to offer to permit of a limited navigation on it, ſubject to certain reſtrictions, and confined, as we take it, to his ſubjects in the Netherlands only.

Two imperial veſſels had been preparing for ſome time to make the deſtined experiment upon the conduct of the Dutch with reſpect to the Schelde; it was to determine whether they would perſevere, at all events, in the aſſertion of their ſuppoſed right, or whether they would ſink under the well-grounded apprehenſion of their great opponent's power. Every meaſure was uſed, both at Bruſſels and Paris, to induce the emperor to wave this meaſure of deciſion, and to wait the reſult of the negociations; but he was determined in his object, and confirmed the threat of count Belgiojoſo, by declaring, that he would conſider the firſt inſult offered to his flag upon this occaſion as an act of formal hoſtility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic.

The equipment and preparation of theſe veſſels was evidently carried on in a manner that was intended to draw the eyes of all Europe to the tranſaction, and to prepare them for the conſequences. One of theſe was to proceed down the Schelde, from Antwerp to the ſea; and the other, up the river from the ſea, on its courſe from Oſtend to that city. The captain of the former of theſe was furniſhed with written orders from the emperor, commanding him to proceed in the brig Lewis, from Antwerp, along the Schelde, into the ſea, and expreſsly forbidding him and his crew from ſubmitting to any detention, or to any examination whatever, from any of the ſhips belonging to the republic, which he might meet in the river; and likewiſe forbidding his making the leaſt declaration at any of the Dutch cuſtom-houſes, or acknowledging their authority in any manner.

The imperial brig paſſed Lillo, and ſome other forts, without examination, but getting in ſight of a Dutch cutter, belonging to admiral Van Reynſt's ſquadron, which lay towards the mouth of the river, a boat was ſent on board with an officer, who was told by the captain,

that he was on his paſſage to the ſea, and that his inſtructions forbid his holding any parley whatever with the officers or ſhips of the United Provinces. Upon the brig's coming along ſide the Dutch cutter, the captain waving the imperial inſtructions in his hand, refuſed to give any farther ſatisfaction, and perſevered in purſuing his courſe to ſea; the commander of the former, after intreaties, threats, and the firing of a gun with powder only, had all failed of effect, in inducing him to drop the deſign, and return to Antwerp (the informality of paſſing Lillo without a paſſport being offered to be overlooked) he at length fired a ſhot with ball, which proving equally fruitleſs, he poured his broadſide of ſeven guns into the brig, which did ſome damage to the veſſel and rigging, but was fortunately guiltleſs of ſpilling blood.

Oct. 8th, 1784.

The broadſide being followed by a menace of ſending the imperial brig to the bottom, if ſhe did not immediately bring to, the captain found it neceſſary to comply, and to caſt anchor. After various proteſts, remonſtrances, and demands on his ſide, to purſue his voyage, with a conſtant poſitive refuſal to take the veſſel back to Antwerp, he at length quitted her, and a Dutch officer, with ſome ſeamen, were ſent on board. All the circumſtances of this tranſaction were magnified to the utmoſt on the imperial ſide; and the charges againſt the Dutch, of firing langrige-ſhot at a defenceleſs veſſel, and of removing the buoys, and other watermarks on the Schelde, in order that ſhe might be loſt on the ſhoals, were, in the higheſt degree of colouring, repreſented as inſtances of ſingular cruelty and atrocity. It would ſeem, indeed, that the captain had a very ſlow and precarious navigation, as it was on the third day from his leaving Antwerp, that this event took place. The veſſel from Oſtend was likewiſe ſtopped in her attempt to paſs up from the ſea; the circumſtances being in general ſimilar, but that no ſhots were fired.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture, ſo far as the emperor's abſence at the time from Vienna, and the great diſtance of his armies, did not ſerve to retard that event.

As ſoon as the inſtructions from court could be received, the imperial ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague, and the negociations at Bruſſels broken up. An army of 60,000 men was under orders, and in preparation, for marching from the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; the troops already there amounting to about 16,000. Great trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war, were in motion; and none that know the emperor's character will ſuſpect but that he was already forward in preparation for an event, which he could not but foreſee was probable, and the iſſue of which he had ſo much at heart. The great diſtance of his forces from the ſcene of action was, however, an inſurmountable check to his activity. The different ſtates of the empire, whoſe territories the army was to croſs in its long march, were applied to for a conſent, which could not be well refuſed, but which was in general unwillingly granted. The countries belonging to the king of Pruſſia were of neceſſity held ſacred upon this occaſion. Nor was the

the emperor ſatisfied with the bare paſſage of his troops through their dominions; he called likewiſe upon the ſtates of the empire to furniſh their reſpective quotas of troops towards the ſupport of a war, which, from the late affair on the Schelde, he wiſhed to be conſidered as entirely defenſive on his ſide.

Nor was the republic by any means inſenſible to her danger, nor negligent in providing all poſſible means for the moſt obſtinate defence. In ſpite of her unhappy internal diviſions, her ancient courage and reſolution ſeemed to revive. Though ſhe evidently dreaded the arduous and unequal conteſt, and was willing to make many ſacrifices to avoid it, yet ſhe ſeemed determined rather to hazard all things, and even to periſh in the encounter, than to ſubmit willingly to a condition with which her ruin was inſeparably involved. Agents were employed all over Germany, that nurſe of war, and inexhauſtible breeder of armies, who were indefatigable in their exertions for hiring troops from thoſe princes who make it a cuſtom to barter mankind for money. The exertions were no leſs conſiderable at home, in recruiting the troops, ſtrengthening the frontiers, and putting the poſts and garriſons in the beſt poſture of defence. As the appearances of things became more alarming, and the danger ſeemed faſt approaching, they prepared for the worſt that might happen; being determined to have recourſe to the laſt deſperate refuges of defence which the nature of their country peculiarly afforded. In this determination, they were in readineſs for laying the flat and expoſed countries under water; and as the laſt reſort, took meaſures for ſuddenly arming the peaſants, whoſe fierce nature and characteriſtic obſtinacy, when operated upon in the defence of their native dykes, would undoubtedly have afforded ſpectacles of unuſual animoſity and horror. Among the exertions of public ſpirit diſplayed by individuals, in this ſeaſon of common danger, the merchants and burgomaſters of Zealand ſubſcribed a large ſum of money for the raiſing of 2,000 light troops, who were to bear, in the front of their caps, the arms of the province, with an inſcription, "*pulchræ pro libertate*," for fair liberty. Such a ſpirit would produce great effects in a defenſive war, where the peculiar ſituation of the country would enable every man to perform in ſome degree the ſervice of a ſoldier. The univerſity of Leyden took meaſures for raiſing a regiment of 1,260 men at their own expence, and ſimilar exertions were general.

As if it had been doomed that Holland ſhould at this period be under a neceſſity of looking to France for every thing, ſo the departure of the duke of Brunſwick from their ſervice obliged the ſtates to apply to that court for a general, whoſe abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect, in a war of ſo much difficulty and danger as that now expected. The count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents and abilities, who had ſeen much ſervice in the wars of Lewis XV. and who had been rendered peculiarly remarkable by the violent breach which took place between him and the marſhal d'Eſtrees, in the laſt German war, relative to ſome tranſactions at the battle of Haſſenbeck

in the year 1757, was deputed to this ſervice by the court of Verſailles, and appointed commander in chief of the Dutch forces by the ſtates. This, however, was not actually carried into effect until the beginning of the enſuing year.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the ſtates, or by the court of Verſailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching ſtorm. The former denied that the affair which paſſed on the Schelde could afford any juſt ground for the reſentment expreſſed by the emperor, in recalling baron Reiſchach, in ſuddenly breaking up the negociations, and the various meaſures tending to violence and hoſtility which he had ſince adopted; much leſs could it be conſidered, in the light that was repreſented, as a commencement of hoſtility and war. The ſtates had no diſpoſition to any act of hoſtility or aggreſſion whatever againſt the emperor, nor were they ſtill leſs peaceably inclined; but they were bound, by all the laws of nature, of nations, of juſtice, and of reaſon, not to permit a violation of their deareſt and moſt incontrovertible rights. That though the meaſure in queſtion was thus in every ſenſe juſtifiable, and being warranted by the example of all other nations in ſimilar circumſtances, could require neither apology nor explanation, yet ſo ſtrong were the conciliatory diſpoſitions of the ſtates, and ſo great their condeſcenſion and deſire of living in harmony with the emperor, that they had diſpatched counter orders to their commanders on the Schelde, reſtricting them from proceeding to violence; and directing, that if fair means could not prevail, they ſhould let the veſſels for that time paſs; and that theſe diſpatches arrived within two hours after the affair had happened. That they had beſides previouſly declared at Bruſſels, that they could by no means be anſwerable for the conſequences, nor hold themſelves in any degree accountable for them, if ſuch an attempt was made. While the meaſure was, on the other ſide, rendered ſtill the more unjuſtifiable, from its being undertaken in the midſt of a negociation for an amicable concluſion of all differences.

The court of Verſailles began now to expoſtulate ſeriouſly with the emperor upon this ſubject. It was obſerved, in a memorial preſented upon this occaſion, that the ſincere friendſhip which attached the king to the emperor, combining with his wiſhes for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, rendered it a duty on him to come to an explanation with reſpect to the preſent differences. That while, at the ſolicitation of both parties, he had employed his good offices to bring about a reconciliation, he had carefully abſtained from giving any opinion on the foundation of the emperor's firſt pretenſions; a ſilence, the obſervation of which he ſtill preſcribed to himſelf; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorized him to obſerve, that his firſt pretenſions, and the demand for opening the Schelde, could not be conſidered under the ſame point of view. That the Dutch, in refuſing a compliance with that demand, only ſupported a right which was ſecured to them by ſolemn treaty, and which they looked upon as the baſis of their proſperity,

ſperity, and even exiſtence. It ſeemed to be inferred from this reaſoning, without an abſolute deciſion in terms, that the affair on the Schelde by no means warranted the breaking off the negociations, any more than the ſubſequent proceedings; and if the claim itſelf was not abſolutely condemned, it was conſidered as having nothing to do with the buſineſs at Bruſſels; from all which a reſumption of the negociations was ſtrongly recommended, and even preſſed.

The memorial then ſtated, that by purſuing an oppoſite conduct, it was to be apprehended, that the emperor would excite a general uneaſineſs, and that other powers would think themſelves obliged to take ſuch precautions and meaſures as circumſtances and events might require. That the king himſelf muſt, in that caſe, be under the neceſſity of aſſembling troops on his frontiers. That he could not by any means be indifferent to the fate of the United Provinces, nor ſee them attacked by open force in their rights and poſſeſſions; more eſpecially at the preſent time, when he was on the point of concluding an alliance with the republic, the fundamental articles of which had been agreed on before theſe differences commenced. That if, moved by conſiderations of ſuch great importance, the emperor can be induced to ſuſpend all marks of hoſtility, and liſten to the voice of moderation and humanity, the king renews the offer of his mediation to procure an equitable and ſuitable accommodation, which he will the more zealouſly endeavour, as in ſo doing he ſhall obey the dictates of his perſonal ſentiments with regard to the emperor, and he will thereby have the ſatisfaction to concur in extinguiſhing, in its firſt ſeeds, a war, the conſequences of which cannot be calculated.

In the mean time, affairs ſeemed approaching faſt to the laſt extremity on the borders of Holland and the Netherlands. Whether it proceeded from any motions made by the imperial troops, or from the diſcovery of ſome intended ſurprize, we are not informed; but ſome time previous to the cloſe of the year, the ſtates thought it neceſſary to have recourſe to that ſad meaſure of ſecurity, of laying part of the country under water. A dyke was broken near Lillo in the night, by which means the adjacent mixed territories on both ſides, to a conſiderable extent, were immediately overflowed. Much damage was unavoidably done; and it was ſaid, that a number of perſons, to the amount of about fifty, periſhed through the ſuddenneſs of the inundation. An attempt was made to break another dyke, at ſome diſtance, on the ſame night, but was prevented from taking place through the timely intervention of the Auſtrian troops. This meaſure ſpread a general alarm through the Auſtrian borders; Oſtend began haſtily to throw up defences; all commerce between the two ſtates was ſtopped; and nothing but attack and ſurprize was thought, and prepared for, in the advanced places on both ſides. All the troops in Auſtrian Flanders were in motion; every preparation for immediate war making; engineers and other officers continually arriving from Vienna at Bruſſels; and

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the emperor himſelf expected ſpeedily. Other ſluices were, about the ſame time, opened on the ſide of Utrecht, and a conſiderable tract of country overflowed.

The expoſtulations and remonſtrances of France were not capable of ſubduing the inflexibility of the emperor on the ſubject of the Schelde. He was willing to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference, and accordingly to conſent to the renewal of the negociations limited to thoſe objects; but the free navigation of that river he conſidered as ſo incontrovertible a right, that it was not to be ſubjected to any diſcuſſion whatever. In the mean time he was indefatigable in his preparations for war, and the Netherlands were gradually filling with troops, which arrived by quick marches and in ſmall bodies, while the movements of the grand army were of neceſſity ſlow, through the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence on the way for ſuch numbers, along with the numerous artillery, and various other incumbrances by which they were retarded. The extreme ſeverity of the winter was likewiſe a great impediment to the advance of the imperial armies, and conſequently a circumſtance very favourable to Holland. While military affairs were thus ſuſpended, the emperor ſhewed his uſual diligence with reſpect to other matters. He particularly uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the German princes from hiring troops to the Dutch, to prevent their recruiting in the empire, and their obtaining a paſſage through the territories of the ſeveral ſtates for ſuch forces or recruits as they might notwithſtanding raiſe. It was ſaid that the language uſed upon ſome of theſe occaſions was in a higher tone than was perfectly pleaſing. It was likewiſe ſaid, that he applied to the court of London to know what part Great Britain would take in the war.

That ſovereign ſeemed ſo abſolutely and inflexibly fixed in all his determinations upon the ſubject of the Schelde, that it carried the appearance even of approaching to obſtinacy. It was reported, and we only give it as ſuch, that a great majority of his generals having expreſſed their opinions ſtrongly againſt the war, on account of its nature, difficulties, and probable conſequences, he ſhewed the utmoſt diſſatisfaction upon the occaſion, and without departing in the leaſt from his own determination, gave the warmeſt approbation to the ſingle voice, which endeavouring to obviate theſe difficulties and apprehenſions, would encourage its proſecution.

While all Europe contemplated this new and unexpected conteſt, and ſeveral of its powers ſeemed little diſpoſed to approve of its cauſe or principle, Ruſſia, who had ſo lately ſeduced Holland to enter into the views of her naval ambition, by leading the ſtates into the ſcheme of the "Armed Neutrality," (to which all their ſubſequent misfortunes and preſent dangers might, with no ſmall juſtice, be attributed) now took a decided part againſt the republic, in a buſineſs with which ſhe ſeemed to have very little concern. At the ſame time that ſhe affected or aſſumed the office of being a mediator, ſhe held out to the world her fixed determination

determination in ſupport of the emperor's claims, and an utter condemnation of the conduct of Holland in refuſing to comply with them. It was likewiſe known or believed, whether publicly declared or not, that ſhe was engaged to ſupport him with all her forces, in caſe the interference of any other power in favour of the republic ſhould render her intervention neceſſary.

The reſt of Europe was not, however, at this time diſpoſed to ſuffer the republic to become a ſacrifice to the views and ambition of theſe two great powers. The part which the Pruſſian monarch muſt neceſſarily have taken in ſuch an attempt was ſufficiently obvious; and that which would be purſued by France became now not leſs apparent. The two crowns were evidently united in opinion upon this ſubject; and the long viſit which the celebrated Prince Henry of Pruſſia paid at the court of Verſailles was attributed entirely to it: many ſuppoſing that plans were then formed for their future conduct and mutual operation, ſhould affairs be carried to the laſt extremities. The Northern crowns, or at leaſt one of them, ſeemed to catch the alarm; and ſuch naval and military movements and arrangements took place in Sweden, as occaſioned the demand of an explanation from the court of Peterſburgh. Even the Porte, upon this occaſion, ſeemed to ſhake off its native indolence, and to pay an unuſual attention to the ſtate of European politics, ſo that it was generally underſtood from their aſpect and movements, that the Ottomans were reſolved not to miſs ſo favourable an opportunity as might now poſſibly be offered for returning the recent obligations which they owed to the emperor.

In fact, the private treaty concluded between that prince and Ruſſia in 1782, the objects of which were kept a ſecret from their neareſt friends and allies, although particularly and immediately alarming to the Porte, did not fail to give much umbrage to others of their neighbours. The continual ſchemes for the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria, which had been purſued, or in ſome degree adopted by the emperor, and which ſeemed to keep his mind in conſtant action; the concurrence, which upon every occaſion, they received from his great ally; with the vaſt ambition and dangerous deſigns attributed to both, ſerved, all together, to increaſe this jealouſy to a very high degree, and to extend it to no ſmall number of the European princes and ſtates. It was ſuppoſed that the ruin of Holland would be only the prelude to other pretenſions, which might be extended on every ſide, while the ſucceſs in each would ſerve as an encouragement to farther attempts at forming new arrangements of power, and new partitions of dominion. The fate of Poland could not be forgotten in ſuch a courſe of conſideration; and the reflection might now come home to thoſe, who, thinking themſelves out of danger, had paid no regard at the time to the *fire which was conſuming their neighbour's houſe*.

It ſeemed therefore neceſſary, that ſome meaſure of union ſhould be adopted by the central and weſtern powers of Europe, in order

to

to counterbalance this great Northern confederacy, and to obviate its ſuſpected deſigns, and apprehended effects. And if ſuch a meaſure were to take place, France ſeemed calculated, from her ſituation, power, intereſt in the queſtion, and other circumſtances, to be the proper, if not natural, head or centre of ſuch an union.

Indeed, independent of that confederacy, and of her new and growing connections with Holland, France could not, upon any right principles of policy, behold the ruin of her ſafe and inoffenſive neighbour the republic, and the conſequent aggrandizement of the emperor upon her ruins, with the vaſt and dangerous addition which it would have made to his power on that ſide. Theſe conſiderations ſeem to have weighed with the court as well as with the nation; although the ties of affinity between the two monarchs induced the former to uſe the moſt conciliatory meaſures, and to endeavour, ſo far as it could be done conſiſtently with reaſon and policy, to avoid proceeding to extremities; but ſhewing a full determination as to the part which they would take, if the emperor's obſtinacy ſhould render that iſſue unavoidable. The meaſures purſued were accordingly in exact conformity to this mode of thinking, and intention of acting. Above half the ſtanding forces of France had been early, but by degrees, and with little noiſe or buſtle, thrown into quarters upon the borders of Alſace, Lorrain, and the Low Countries; and as things ſeemed to ripen to an iſſue, and that appearances became more hoſtile on the other ſide, orders were given, and meaſures taken, to prepare for forming in the enſuing ſummer two camps in Flanders; one of them of 80,000 men, in the celebrated plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condè's ſplendid victories.

The nation in general, and probably ſome of the miniſters, wiſhed for nothing more than a war, upon the fair ground which the preſent ſtate of things offered. This did not merely proceed from the reſtleſs temper or military diſpoſition of that people, but from the great and tempting national object of annexing the Auſtrian Low Countries to their monarchy; an acquiſition which was conſidered as certain in caſe of a war. France had already ſuch a foretaſte of the ſweets which were to be derived from thoſe rich and fertile provinces, as was ſufficient not only to provoke her appetite, but to excite a conſtant yearning for their permanent poſſeſſion. During the time that ſhe had held the Netherlands, in the war of 1744, ſhe had drawn, by taxes and contributions, from thoſe provinces, above two millions ſterling a year. It is not then to be wondered at that ſhe ſhould caſt a wiſhful eye at ſo fair and tempting an object, which was juſt within her graſp; and which nature, ſituation, and at this particular time a train of extraordinary and unexpected concurrent circumſtances, ſeemed to deſtine to her poſſeſſion.

The refined policy of ſtateſmen, as well as the ſchemes of private men, will ſometimes produce effects directly contrary to the purpoſes of the framers. The union between the maritime powers, their proſperity, ſtrength, and alliance with

with the court of Vienna, afforded the only lasting and solid securities which the house of Austria could have for retaining her possessions in the Netherlands. The rupture between England and Holland, the change of political system in the latter, the losses sustained by both in the late ruinous war, and the consequent weakness which they produced, all tended in their several degrees to weaken these securities. By the advantage which the emperor took of the distress and danger of Holland, in the destruction of the barrier, they were totally dissolved and done away; by that act he irremediably cut off every shadow of security from his own tenure, which must ever after be held at the mercy of France; and he thereby likewise compelled the republic to throw herself entirely, and without reserve, into the arms of that power, than which there could be nothing more directly contrary to his real interests. By his still pursuing the blow farther against the republic, and aiming it now at her very vitals, he was forcing and precipitating France into the execution of a design, which she had ever at heart, but which the ties between the two sovereigns might probably have prevented during their respective lives. For, notwithstanding the great power of the emperor, the vastness of his military force, and the undoubted excellency of his armies, they lay at too great a distance from the scene of action, and France lies too much in their way, to enable him to carry on a war upon any degree of equality against that power in the Low Countries; even supposing Holland to be entirely out of the question, or to be considered only as a cypher. His armies must pass, in separate and far-divided columns, fatigued and worn down by the length and difficulties of their march, along 200 miles of the French frontier, and liable at every step to be cut off, before they could reach the object of their destination; while the provinces in contention, being entirely defenceless, and embraced on every side by France with the strongest holds in the world, would be overrun and possessed by her troops in a week.

Such was the doubtful and critical state of public affairs at the close of the year 1784.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Unexpected source of jealousy and discord opened in Germany. Scheme for the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands. Season ill chosen for such a measure. Empress of Russia writes to the Prince of Deux Ponts upon the subject; who peremptorily refuses a compliance, and acquaints the court of Berlin with the proposal. King of Prussia remonstrates with the court of Petersburgh on the subject: Empress's answer. Conduct of the courts of Vienna and Munich. States of Bavaria alarmed. Satisfaction given by the elector not deemed sufficiently explicit. Great dissatisfaction excited in Hungary by the late schemes of reform. Rebellion of the peasants in the mountainous borders of Transylvania and Walachia. Savage cruelties committed on the nobility.. Peasants defeated, reduced, and Horiah, their mock king, publicly executed. Vigilance of the Prussian monarch, and efficacious measures pursued by him, for preventing any innovation in the Germanic constitution and system of policy. Treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, and the rights of the Germanic body, in general and particular, signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the King of Prussia, the elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. Measures pursued by the court of Vienna to prevent or to counteract the new league prove ineffective. King of Prussia's exposition of the causes and motives which led to the new German confederation, generally approved by the neighbouring powers. The appearances of immediate war in Germany seem to be superseded by a more moderate disposition, and the questions upon the exchange of Bavaria are suffered to die away without farther explanation or discussion. The storm of war being diverted from the Low Countries, by the great importance of the political questions which unexpectedly arose and were agitated in Germany, the republic of Holland thereby gained time to provide the more effectually for the worst that might happen, as well as for endeavouring to ward off the evil entirely by an accommodation. Negociations resumed at Paris, under the auspices of M. de Vergennes. Dutch deputies received at Vienna by the emperor. Speech and answer. Definitive treaty of peace between the emperor and the republic of Holland concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France. Principal stipulations of the treaty. Treaty of alliance and friendship between France and Holland, finally ratified on the 25th of December 1785. Account of the Spanish expedition against Algiers in the year 1784; and the causes which prevented its insertion in the business of that year.

IT was in the height of the contest about the Schelde, when the public attention was fully engrossed, and the emperor's mind supposed to be entirely occupied by that momentous subject, that the world was astonished by the opening of a new source of jealousy and discord in Germany. What rendered this new business entirely unaccountable was, that it not only seemed in its nature, principle, and design, to run directly counter to all the measures which that prince had hitherto pursued, and was still, with no less apparent eagerness and determination

termination purſuing, with reſpect to Holland and the Schelde, but at once ſhut out all the avowed and imputed views, from which the conteſt was ſuppoſed to originate.

This new ſubject of alarm and contention was no leſs, than the propoſed or ſuppoſed exchange of an antient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the Auſtrian Netherlands; thoſe very Netherlands upon whoſe account the emperor ſeemed at the time on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, whoſe conſequences (as had been well obſerved, and ſtrongly urged by the court of Verſailles) could not be calculated.

We have formerly given a full account of the immediate meaſures purſued by the court of Vienna upon the death of the late elector of Bavaria, to ſeize and annex to the Auſtrian dominion a great part of that electorate; together with thoſe looſe and undefined claims then laid and kept open with reſpect to the remainder, which ſeemed evidently calculated, when the proper ſeaſon arrived, to be extended to and to embrace the whole of that extenſive dominion *. The Pruſſian monarch became, upon that great and very critical occaſion, the diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful guardian and protector of the rights of the German princes, and the liberties of the Germanic body in general. The war which he then undertook, though not illuminated by thoſe dazzling actions which captivate the imagination, yet conſidered in its motives, with the diſintereſtedneſs which marked his whole conduct, through the progreſs and concluſion of the conteſt, may poſſibly ſerve to crown him with more unfading laurels, than the moſt ſplendid acts and the moſt glorious victories of his youth. The peace concluded at Teſchen, on the 13th of May 1779 †, ſo effectually annulled the claims and pretenſions of the Houſe of Auſtria upon the dominions of Bavaria, that it might be ſuppoſed to have cut off the poſſibility of any future diſcuſſion or conteſt upon that ſubject.

But though the neceſſity of apparently relinquiſhing the deſign was then predominant, yet the object preſented ſo irreſiſtible a temptation, that the deſire of its acquiſition could not be foregone. And as the ſame great obſtacles ſtill remained to the obtaining of it by force, other means were to be tried, and meaſures of another nature purſued.

Ambition and vanity ſeldom grow old, and the lure of a crown was ſuppoſed to have been ſucceſsfully held out to the elector palatine, in order to induce him to an exchange of the Dutchy of Bavaria, including all thoſe appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teſchen, for the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be conſtituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. Nothing could certainly have been more advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, or more conſonant to its views of ſupreme greatneſs, than this exchange. For, excluſive of the precarious tenure by which the Low Countries were held, and which was now perhaps more ſenſibly felt than at any former time, the acceſſion of ſo large and conſiderable a country

* See Ann. Regiſter, vol. xxi. for the year 1778. Hiſt. Article, p. 1 to 35.
† See Ann. Regiſter, vol. xxiii. Hiſt. Art. p. 5.

as Bavaria, rendered ſtill more important by its peculiar ſituation, beſides rounding and completing the Auſtrian dominions, would have conſolidated ſuch a great and compacted body of power, as nothing afterwards in the empire, conſidering the diviſion and general weakneſs of its ſtates, could be ſuppoſed able in any degree to counterpoize.

On the other hand it would ſeem, that nothing leſs than the paſſion of filling a throne, for however ſhort a time, and the empty gratification of leaving a name enrolled in the mouldering catalogues of forgotten kings, could have induced the elector, at his time of life, and without children, to enter into a meaſure ſo diſagreeable to his ſubjects, ſo dangerous to his co-eſtates of the empire, and ſo unjuſt to his apparent heirs and preſumptive ſucceſſors, as the dominion which he was to obtain bore no adequate proportion in the great objects of extent, number of inhabitants, importance, or ſecurity, to the country which he was to give in exchange.

No ſeaſon, however, could well be choſen, that was leſs favourable to the carrying of ſuch a meaſure into execution, than the preſent. The attention of Europe was already much rouſed by the northern alliance, and by a ſucceſſion of meaſures or projects which were ſuppoſed to have ariſen from it; ſo that the more diſtant as well as the nearer powers began now to entertain no ſmall jealouſy of the conduct and views of theſe two great empires, whoſe union appeared to be ſo ſtrictly cemented, that they were ſcarcely to be conſidered in any other point of view than that of acting under the ſame common influence of deſign, and under the impulſe of the ſame common intereſt in every thing. In ſuch a diſpoſition and ſtate of circumſtances, it was ſcarcely reaſonable to expect, that an innovation in the conſtitution of the Germanic body, as well as in the general ſyſtem of European policy, could by any means paſs unqueſtioned; or indeed that the attempt would not be attended with much difficulty and danger.

The negociation upon this intended barter was conducted with ſuch extreme cloſeneſs and ſecrecy, that no ſuſpicion of the deſign was entertained, even by thoſe who were the moſt immediately intereſted in, and would be the moſt deeply affected by the meaſure, until the treaty was ſuppoſed to be already far advanced, if not abſolutely concluded. This buſineſs was likewiſe attended with the peculiar circumſtance of its exiſtence having been in the firſt inſtance abſolutely denied, and never after fully acknowledged, by the contracting parties themſelves. A letter from the empreſs of Ruſſia to the duke of Deuxponts, tending to induce him to an acquieſcence in, if not a confirmation of, the propoſed ſcheme of exchange or barter, was the firſt intelligence which that prince, the preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor to the elector palatine in all his eſtates, dominions, and titles, received, that any ſuch deſign was in agitation. This letter was probably received about the cloſe of the year 1784, as the king of Pruſſia was informed of the whole affair by the duke, who claimed his interference and protection as guarantee of the treaty of Teſchen, early in the following month of January.

In whatever terms the duke's anſwer

anſwer was conveyed, it was ſo ill taken by the court of Peterſburgh, that the refuſal was probably very peremptory. The king of Pruſſia immediately remonſtrated ſtrongly with that court upon the ſubject, as having been a mediator of the peace at Teſchen, and being a guarantee to the treaty. The empreſs, in her anſwer, declared, that ſhe had conceived this project to be the only ſure means of preventing a war: that upon this ground ſhe very ſeriouſly wiſhed for its being carried into immediate execution: that theſe ſentiments had indeed dictated the letter written by her to the duke of Deuxponts, inviting him, in the moſt friendly manner, to come into the ſcheme; but finding herſelf ill requited for her good offices, ſo far as could be judged from the anſwer which ſhe received from the duke, which is of a tenor that ſhe neither can nor ſhall give any reply to, ſhe had dropped all farther concern in the buſineſs; and the empreſs declares to the king, that ſhe has no intentions to enforce the execution of this project, excepting that the parties more immediately concerned ſhould fully agree to it.

But, previous to this developement of the buſineſs by the empreſs of Ruſſia, both the courts of Munich and Vienna had thought it neceſſary publicly to contradict the reports which were ſpread upon the ſubject, and to aſſert, that they were unfounded; and though the expreſſions were looſe and general, they were evidently intended to convey an idea that no ſuch deſign had exiſted. The ſtates of Bavaria were ſo exceedingly alarmed at the report, that the elector thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſatisfaction on the ſubject. He aſſured them, in a written document, dated on the 13th of February 1785, that the reports ſpread of a pretended treaty between him and the imperial court, relative to an exchange of country, were without foundation; that the convention between him and that court, which had been lately ratified, related only to the adjuſtment of limits; and that he had already ordered an extract of that treaty, ſo far as it concerned the provincial ſtates, to be communicated to them.

Though this anſwer ſeemed to afford ſome temporary ſatisfaction, yet it was ſoon conſidered as not being ſufficiently explicit; a general apprehenſion and alarm was ſpread among the people; and the order of burghers joined the nobles in the moſt preſſing ſolicitations to the elector for a farther and clearer explanation. The diſcontents excited upon this occaſion ſerved to renew with additional force thoſe old animoſities which, through a long courſe of mutual injuries and cruel wars, had for ages ſubſiſted between the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Palatinate. This ill temper became ſo prevalent, that all the powers of diſcipline and deſpotiſm were ſcarcely ſufficient to prevent the Bavarian and electoral troops from proceeding to the moſt dangerous extremities. It was even ſaid to have pervaded the elector's palace and court; and it was reported, that the very grooms could not be prevented from coming to blows in his ſtables.

While the emperor, by a courſe of policy not very explicable, nor ſeemingly well connected, was ſtrowing the ſeeds of foreign jealouſy and commotion; the multifarious projects

projects which he adopted at home, and the continual innovations in all the eſtabliſhed forms of internal government, laid ſuch a foundation of diſcontent in a very great and valuable part of his ſubjects, as ſeemed capable, in its conſequences, of interfering in no ſmall degree with his foreign views.

Of all his dominions the noble kingdom of Hungary, whether conſidered with reſpect to extent, intrinſic value, or the peculiar character of its inhabitants, ſeemed to merit a very high, if not the firſt place, in point of conſideration, and particularly to demand the greateſt attention and the moſt lenient hand in its government. The brave and haughty nobility, and the warlike inhabitants of that country, after having, through a courſe of ages, ſhed ſo much blood in reſiſting the invaſions of their rights, and the various oppreſſions to which foreign government is but too prone, had at length the unparalleled magnanimity, without any retroſpect to paſt injuries, to ſave the houſe of Auſtria, at a ſimilar expence of blood, perhaps from final diſſolution, in the hour of its greateſt diſtreſs, and moſt imminent danger. Every body knows the ſituation in which the late Maria Thereſa's affairs were, when, with the preſent emperor, an infant, in her arms, ſhe threw herſelf and him for refuge and protection upon the generoſity of that gallant nobility. The affection and ardour with which her diſtreſs and eloquence inſpired them, is not leſs a ſubject of admiration; nor how ſpeedily and effectually they turned the tide of fortune in her favour. Perſonal gratitude for ſo unexampled a ſervice, operated during the long reign of that great princeſs, in producing a great regard to the privileges of the Hungarians, and their government was conducted upon ſuch principles, as afforded general ſatisfaction, and conſequently ſerved to confirm their zeal and attachment.

A haughty, martial, and ancient nation, eſpecially if they have not been ſoftened by arriving at the higheſt point of cultivation and refinement, are generally (perhaps always) great enemies to innovation, and exceedingly tenacious of their old forms and cuſtoms; even though theſe might admit of or require improvement. This diſpoſition will be fortified and increaſed, if it is accompanied with ſtrong national prejudices and averſions, founded upon a ſenſe of former injuries. Men are indiſpoſed to follow the example, or to adopt the cuſtoms, of thoſe whom they hate, however laudable; and the Hungarians had no predilection in favour of the Germans, nor of their government.

The emperor, in the courſe of his numberleſs ſchemes of reform, had trenched deeply upon the civil and religious eſtabliſhments of Hungary. He had new-modelled their courts of juſtice, and reduced their number from thirty-eight, which was that of the diſtricts into which the kingdom was divided, to ten only; which was conſidered as a number inſufficient for its due adminiſtration in ſo extenſive a country. He had introduced the German mode of military conſcription, than which nothing could have been more odious to the people, into Hungary and the adjoining provinces. He had likewiſe abridged the power, influence, and privileges

leges of the nobility; and seemed intent upon placing that kingdom under the same form of government with his Austrian provinces. The vast armies which were kept on the frontiers to awe the Turks, served to give a sanction to these measures, but could not lessen the discontent of the people.

The rude peasants, inhabiting the mountainous and woody countries which form the borders between Transylvania and the Austrian Wallachia, blind to consequences, and equally ignorant of their own force and condition for war, as they were of that which they were to encounter, broke out into an open, and, until its extent could be known, alarming rebellion, towards the close of the year 1784. It does not appear clearly, whether this revolt proceeded from their aversion to the new military conscription, in consequence of which they had been lately inrolled, and arms placed in their hands, or whether it was occasioned by the oppression of their lords. It is probable that the operation of both causes concurred in the event; but however that was, their fury fell indiscriminately upon the nobility and the public officers. Their numbers amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand; and so totally ignorant were they of public affairs, and of all the circumstances of their situation, that they ventured to elect one of their chiefs, and a peasant like themselves, named Horiah, to be their king; and this extraordinary representative of majesty had a seal actually made, with the representation of a spear piercing a heart, and the motto of Horiah, *Rex Daciæ*, inscribed on it.

These savage and infatuated peasants committed the most horrible cruelties. They attacked the nobility separately in their castles, which they every where destroyed, and massacred whole families, without distinction of age or sex. About 200 of the nobility were butchered in this manner, before they had time either to escape or to make any effectual preparation for defence. The numbers and fierceness of the rebels supplying the want of discipline and military skill, they for some time repeatedly defeated such small detachments of troops as could be hastily collected to oppose their ravages.

Though this state of things could not be lasting, yet, through the nature and difficulties of their rude country, as well as the distance of the royal forces, the rebellion subsisted for three or four months before it could be finally suppressed. The insurgents had, however, the courage or rashness to venture a general action with the Austrian forces, in which they dearly purchased a full knowledge of their insufficiency to support such a contention, they being routed without difficulty, and a considerable slaughter made, with little loss to the victors. The mock king, Horiah, with their two other principal leaders, having been betrayed by their own followers, as Pugatcheff had, in a similar enterprize, some years before in Russia, were surprized, and taken alive in a cave. One of these found means to hang himself with a very narrow undiscovered girdle, which he wore next to his skin, possibly for that purpose. Horiah, and the other, were sent about as a public spectacle, to

undergo different parts of their allotted punishment, in the scenes of their greatest enormities, and in the sight of their deluded followers. A fixed number of the inhabitants from each of the rebellious districts were at length obliged to attend at the place of execution, in order to behold their miserable exit upon the wheel. The tragedy did not entirely end here; for the prisons being over-crowded by the great number of prisoners taken, they soon generated a pestilential distemper, which was not only fatal to many of these unhappy people, but did much mischief in the country; so that, instead of thinking of farther punishment, besides throwing the prison doors open, the recovery of the infected, and the means of preventing the contagion from spreading farther, became the only objects of attention.

In the mean time, the ever vigilant monarch of Prussia was taking the most efficacious measures for preventing the exchange of Bavaria, for protecting in all respects the rights, and for preserving from violation those family conventions, by which the different branches of the Palatine line were mutually bound to each other and to the empire. For these purposes, and to counteract the effect of that dangerous union, and of that vast power which might be combined against himself singly, he found it necessary to form an alliance and confederation with those neighbouring princes, who were equally interested in preserving entire the Germanic system and the constitution of the empire, and whose joint power might be sufficient to give effect to their union.

Nothing could be more vexatiously alarming to the court of Vienna, nor any thing more subversive, in various respects, of its views. The manner in which it was felt, and the deep resentment which it inspired, were sufficiently obvious, from the bitterness which was expressed against its great framer, who was described as little less than being the common disturber of mankind, as well as of Germany; while not only the present alarm, but all the evils which might in consequence of it distract the empire, and possibly involve it in blood and ruin, were imputed to the inordinate ambition and sinister designs of that monarch.

The king bore these personal censures and imputations to all appearance with the most perfect indifference. He justified his conduct upon the grounds of reason, justice, and policy: no warmth of reply, no censure, no severity of retort, appeared in any of his publications. A report which was spread at that time, if the fact should hereafter be established, would serve highly to exalt that monarch's character, and to shed much additional lustre upon his past and present conduct in the business of the Palatinate. It was reported, that two rich, extensive, and sovereign bishoprics (one of them vying in power and greatness with the ecclesiastic electorates) were held out to him in perpetuity, as a temptation for not opposing the designed scheme of barter; and that he rejected the proposal (or, as he is said himself to have termed it, the bribe) with the strongest marks of indignation.

The court of Vienna had shifted its ground, so far as its communications to the public went, with respect to the affair of Bavaria. At first it was generally disavowed; the report

report declared to be totally unfounded, and ſtrong inſinuations thrown out, that it originated in a certain quarter, where an inſidious diſpoſition to perplex the affairs, and to diſturb the peace of the empire, was conſtantly prevalent. But after the propoſal from Ruſſia to the duke of Deuxponts, and the promulgation of the buſineſs by that prince, the exiſtence, or abſolute concluſion of the treaty, ſeemed only to be denied, while the meaſure in itſelf was juſtified; the competency both of the emperor and the elector to make any amicable exchange of territories, which might ſuit their mutual intereſt or convenience, being ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on; while it was held out that ſuch a meaſure, being unaccompanied with force or violence, and calculated equally for the accommodation or advantage of both parties, could not in any degree be conſidered either as a violation of the general laws of the empire, or a breach of any particular treaties.

In the midſt of theſe complicated affairs, while ſomething was likewiſe to be apprehended from the movements and diſpoſition of the Ottomans, the emperor had points of the greateſt importance to his intereſts, and very near to his heart, to carry within the empire, againſt which a part of his foreign policy militated in the ſtrongeſt manner. Theſe were no leſs, than the election of his nephew, and preſumptive ſucceſſor in his hereditary dominions, the archduke Francis, ſon to the great duke of Tuſcany, to the dignity of king of the Romans, which could only preſerve the empire in his family; and the other was of little leſs importance, being the erection of a ninth electorate, to ſupply the chaſm in that body, which the extinction of the houſe of Bavaria had occaſioned.

The candidates for the new electorate were the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the duke of Wirtembergh. The former, from his power, wealth, and extent of dominion, would undoubtedly ſtand alone as a claimant, if no other conſiderations than theſe were to interfere; but the duke of Wirtembergh's eldeſt daughter being conſort to the grand duke of Ruſſia, and his youngeſt the intended ſpouſe of the archduke Francis, the emperor's apparent heir, it was of the greateſt importance to theſe two powers, that he ſhould be promoted to the rank and office of ninth elector, as well for ſecuring thereby a majority of ſuffrages in favour of the intended king of the Romans, as for more remote cauſes. Nothing then could ſeem more irreconcileable with the purſuit of theſe objects, than the exciting and ſpreading that general alarm and apprehenſion of his deſigns among the numerous members of the Germanic body, which it was impoſſible that the attempt of uniting Bavaria to the Auſtrian dominions, upon whatever conditions, or under whatever pretence, ſhould not occaſion, even if the whole Palatine line had conſented to the transfer.

The new treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indiviſibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the reſpective ſtates in particular, was ſigned at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the king of Pruſſia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. The margrave

of Anſpach, the duke of Deuxponts, and ſome other princes, were either then or ſoon after included in it, and it was either known or ſuppoſed, that it had received the ſanction of ſeveral others of no ſmall power (among whom Sweden was mentioned) who were ready, if the occaſion called, to become parties to the alliance.

As the court of Vienna had omitted no means in its progreſs to prevent this league of union from being carried into execution, ſo the reſentment now ſhewn was proportioned to the vexation which it excited. Circular declarations were publicly addreſſed to all the courts of Europe and ſtates of the empire, endeavouring to give an odious colour to the treaty, and exclaiming againſt it, as being founded only on private, ſiniſter, and ambitious deſigns, as tending to diſturb the peace of the empire, and as being in its nature and deſign inimical to the Germanic conſtitution, and to the liberties and rights of that body.

In the mean time the imperial miniſters at the German courts were inſtructed ſtrongly to repreſent the miſchiefs and dangers of ſuch confederations; that, beſides that being injurious to the body at large, individual members, by acceding to them, were impoſing fetters on themſelves, as they would thereby be reſtrained from thoſe amicable, neighbourly, or family exchanges of territory, or arrangement of limits, which might be equally convenient and ſerviceable to the parties on both ſides; and which could not in any degree be conſidered as the ſmalleſt violation of the conſtitution of the Germanic body. They were likewiſe to preſs ſtrongly, in the emperor's name, thoſe ſtates which had not declared themſelves, for an open, preciſe, and categorical anſwer, as to their determination on that point; and if the anſwer was favourable, to propoſe the queſtion, whether they did not think it might be neceſſary to form a counter alliance, in order to oppoſe thoſe violent enterprizes againſt the conſtitution, which were to be apprehended from the former. If this leading queſtion was agreed to, they were then to require their acceſſion to an alliance, which his imperial majeſty had ſuggeſted for the defence of the conſtitution.

There is no room for ſuppoſing that this ſcheme of a counter alliance was productive of any effect.

On the other ſide, the king of Pruſſia communicated to thoſe ſovereigns who were by treaty or intereſt connected with the Germanic body, a declaration, ſigned at Berlin on the 23d of Auguſt 1785, containing an expoſition of the cauſes and motives which not only led to the new German confederation, but which rendered the meaſure abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the empire. In this piece, after delineating the conduct and apparent views of the court of Vienna; expoſing the futility of the diſtinction, with reſpect to its conſequences, between a forced and voluntary exchange of Bavaria; and refuting the poſition held up on the other ſide, that the latter would be neither a violation of the Germanic conſtitution, nor a breach of particular treaties; he proceeds to ſhew the dangerous tendency and conſequences of that meaſure, if permitted to be carried into execution. He ſtates, that the addition of ſo fine and ſo extenſive a country as Bavaria to the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria,

Auſtria, which already preponderated too much in the ſcale, would take away all balance of power in Germany; that the ſecurity, as well as the liberty of all the ſtates of the empire, would then depend only upon the diſcretion of that houſe; and he exclaims, that that great and powerful houſe ought to be contented with its vaſt monarchy, and not to think any more of an acquiſition ſo alarming, not only to Germany, but to all Europe.

He reminds the maritime powers, that the houſe of Auſtria was bound to them, by the barrier treaty of 1715, never to alienate any part of the Netherlands to any prince, excepting only to one of their own houſe; a ſtipulation which could not be ſet aſide without the conſent of all the contracting parties. After touching ſlightly upon the undeſerved reproach which ſo inoffenſive a meaſure had drawn upon himſelf, and the attempts made to throw an odious colour upon the treaty, he proceeds to ſhew, that ſuch alliances, calculated merely for mutual ſecurity, and for the preſervation of mutual rights, were conformable to the laws of nations as well as of the empire, and to the practice of all ſtates; and that the preſent treaty, extending merely to theſe objects, and being purely defenſive, could not adminiſter any juſt cauſe of offence or jealouſy to any other power. He obſerves, that he had not entered wantonly into this meaſure: that his ſituation in the empire, along with a due regard to his own ſecurity and that of his co-eſtates, placed him under an indiſpenſable obligation to purſue all meaſures that were neceſſary for preſerving inviolate the Germanic conſtitution and ſyſtem: that beſides this general obligation, he was particularly bound in the preſent inſtance, as guarantee both of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Teſchen.

The reception which this declaration of the king's generally met at the courts to which it was communicated, was by no means flattering to the hopes, or encouraging to the views of the court of Vienna. Even the republic of Holland, critical as its own ſituation ſtill was with the emperor, gave the warmeſt approbation to this alliance, for ſecuring the peace of the empire, and maintaining the rights of the Germanic body. At Peterſburgh only the communication was received rather coldly. The empreſs declared to the count de Goertz, ambaſſador from the king of Pruſſia, that not ſeeing the Germanic conſtitution threatened with any danger, and thinking it ſufficiently ſecured by the treaties of Weſtphalia and Teſchen, as well as by the ſolemn aſſurances which ſhe had herſelf given, in conjunction with the emperor, ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that the confederacy, though it might eaſily give occaſion to jealouſy and miſtruſt in the ſeveral ſtates, could in the leaſt contribute to put the conſtitution and liberties of Germany on a ſurer foundation.

During theſe tranſactions the preparations for an immediate war in Germany had been carried on with great and equal vigour and induſtry on both ſides. Indeed this reſult of the diſpute ſeemed to be conſidered ſo much as a certainty on one ſide, that the emperor had his magazines removed into the interior countries, from thoſe parts of Bohemia and the adjoining provinces which were moſt liable to a ſudden irruption of the Pruſſian armies.

But the confederation, the countenance of the neighbouring powers, the approbation which the Pruſſian memorial met with, and the apparent general indiſpoſition of the German ſtates to the ſcheme of barter, ſeemed all together to have retarded the enterprize, and to afford time for a more moderate diſpoſition to take place. The queſtion upon the exchange of Bavaria was ſuffered to die away, without further explanation or diſcuſſion; and as the appearances of hoſtility ceaſed on the one ſide, they were of courſe diſcontinued on the other.

While the ſtorm of war, thus unexpectedly turned from the Schelde, was hanging over the mountains of Bohemia, Saxony, and Sileſia, the republic of Holland had leiſure to recover from its firſt ſurprize; and ſedulouſly ſeized the unhoped-for opportunity of providing effectually at home for the worſt that might happen, and of endeavouring at the ſame time to ward off the evil and danger by an accommodation. France was, however, her ſhield of defence; and through the ability and firmneſs of that great miniſter, the count de Vergennes, the republic could not have had a more effectual ſecurity.

It was impoſſible that the queen of France ſhould not be deeply affected by a conteſt, which ſo cloſely involved her neareſt and dearеſt connections, and threatened ſo immediate and perhaps irreparable a breach of the harmony and friendſhip ſubſiſting between them. It was reported at the time, that on the morning of a day upon which a grand council was to be held, the reſult of which it was ſuppoſed would be concluſive, with reſpect to the part that France ſhould take, if the emperor perſevered in puſhing his deſigns againſt Holland to the laſt extremity, that amiable princeſs took an opportunity of meeting M. de Vergennes on his way to the council, and, with a countenance deeply expreſſive of her anxiety and diſmay, ſaid, ſhe hoped he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother! to which the miniſter replied that he certainly ſhould not; but that he was bound likewiſe to remember, that the king of France was her huſband, and the Dauphine her ſon.

The interpoſition and mediation of France was undoubtedly much facilitated in its effect, by the ſtate of affairs in Germany, and the uncertainty of the event with reſpect to Bavaria. The emperor's inflexibility was not, however, eaſily ſubdued; and ſo many difficulties were thrown in the way of an accommodation, that through a great part of the year 1785 it ſeemed yet very doubtful what turn affairs might finally take. That prince's frequent abſence from his capital, at ſeaſons when affairs of the greateſt importance were in agitation, occaſioned likewiſe much delay in the tranſacting of buſineſs of moment at the court of Vienna.

As princes ſeldom miſs any favourable opportunity of obtaining money from their ſubjects, and that it was impoſſible any ſeaſon could be more auſpicious to ſuch a purpoſe in the Netherlands than the preſent, when the ſpirits of the people were highly exalted at the proſpect of a war ſuppoſed to be undertaken ſolely for the recovery of their rights, the ſtates of Brabant, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, were ſummoned by the imperial miniſter, in the beginning of March

1785,

1785, to demand in his master's name, a loan of four millions of florins, to be paid in such manner as should be afterwards settled. This money was granted by the assembly with all the facility that the present circumstances indicated.

The negociations for an accommodation between the emperor and Holland were in the course of the summer resumed at Paris, under the auspices of the French prime minister. And, towards the latter end of June, the barons de Wassanaar and Leyden set out from the Hague, as deputies from the republic to the court of Vienna. The object of this deputation seems to have been that merely of making such concessions on the part of the republic as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, particularly with respect to the insult offered to his flag; a point in which he seemed to think his honour so much concerned, that nothing less than satisfaction on that head could open the way to an accommodation.

July 24th, 1785. That sovereign having at length returned to Vienna, after a long tour in Italy and elsewhere, granted an audience to the Dutch deputies. Their speech to the emperor upon this occasion was as submissive as it well might be. They declared, that the states never had the smallest intention either of offering injury to his imperial majesty, or insult to his flag: that through the whole train of circumstances which had occurred, they had invariably regulated their conduct in such a manner, as upon every occasion unquestionably to shew the great regard and respect which they entertained for his imperial majesty, so far as this could be done consistently with their own independence, their undoubted rights, and their honour. That there was nothing they wished more sincerely, than to see that cordial amity, which had so unfortunately been interrupted, again renewed; and that they might be enabled to treat his subjects upon the same footing with those of the republic.

The emperor's answer, though stately, was satisfactory; and while it sustained the dignity, and did not conceal the superiority of the speaker, conveyed a hint to the states, of the propriety, if not necessity of celerity in their proceedings, if they hoped to profit of the present favourable opportunity of healing the rupture. He told them that it was highly pleasing to him, that the republic had, by their deputation, complied with what he had required, as necessary to precede an accommodation. That he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother, the king of France; and he did not doubt but a speedy conclusion would prevent the unhappy occurrences, which must be the unavoidable consequence of a farther delay.

But notwithstanding the favourable omens that now appeared, some difficulties afterwards arose, which had nearly interrupted the negociations, and occasioned for a time a renewal of the preparations for war and defence in the Low Countries. These arose upon the affair of Maestricht; for the emperor insisting upon the payment of a very large sum of money on that account, the states wanted to bring up the old Silesia loan, (being money which had been lent to the emperor Charles the VIth, upon the se-

curity of the revenues of that duchy) and to place it as a set-off againſt a part of that demand. It is not always prudent to lend money to the powerful; nor is it at all times ſafe to demand its payment. This propoſal was received with the higheſt indignation; and it required all the abilities of a Vergennes to prevent its proving fatal to the treaty. The mortgaged eſtate had changed its owner; the preſent emperor had received none of the money; and he neither was now, nor ever had been in poſſeſſion of Sileſia. The ſtates not only found it neceſſary to recede from this propoſition, but had reaſon to think themſelves fortunate that it produced no farther conſequence.

The preliminary articles of peace between the emperor and the ſtates general were ſigned at Paris on the 20th of September 1785. In Nov. 8th, 1785. leſs than two months after, the definitive treaty was finally concluded, and ſigned at Fontainebleau by all the parties, under the guarantee, as well as mediation, of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

The treaty of Munſter was laid down as the baſis of the preſent, and its ſtipulations to be in all caſes binding, where they were not expreſsly excepted by the new clauſes. The principal articles were—That the ſtates acknowledged the emperor's abſolute and independent ſovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Saftingen, conformably to a line drawn in 1664; they, of courſe, renouncing the right of levying any tax or impoſt on that part of the river, and binding themſelves not to interrupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his ſubjects thereon: that the reſt of the river, beyond thoſe limits to the ſea, together with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and the other neighbouring mouths of the ſea, were to continue under the ſovereignty of the ſtates general, conformably to the treaty of Munſter.—That the ſtates ſhould evacuate and demoliſh the forts of Kruiſchans and Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majeſty.—That to give a new proof to the emperor of their deſire to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect intelligence between the two countries, the ſtates conſented to evacuate, and to ſubmit to his diſcretion, the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenſhock, with the fortifications in their preſent condition; only reſerving to themſelves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition.

That the emperor renounces all the rights and pretenſions which he had formed, or can form, in virtue of the treaty of 1673, upon Maſtricht and its depending or adjoining ſpecified territories; and that the ſtates ſhall pay to his imperial majeſty the ſum of nine millions and a half of florins, in the current money of Holland. They likewiſe ſtipulated to pay him half a million more of florins, as an indemnification to his ſubjects for the damages which they had ſuſtained from the inundations.—The other articles went to ſeveral renunciations of claims or rights on both ſides; to mutual ceſſions of villages or diſtricts; to the adjuſtment of limits; and to various local or internal regulations. No forts or batteries to be in future raiſed within cannon-ſhot of the limits on either ſide;

ide; and those already constructed to be demolished. All pecuniary claims or debts between the respective states to be annulled; and the contracting parties were bound to renounce, without any reservation, all further pretensions that either might have against the other.

Thus was Holland, as if it were a winding-up of the calamities and losses brought upon her by the late unfortunate war, compelled to purchase, at a large expence in money, present peace, and a future doubtful security, from a new and unexpected enemy. It would seem, from the emperor's letter of acknowledgment to prince Kaunits, for his ability and services in the conduct and conclusion of this business, as well as from the presents which he made to the negociators, that its issue had been highly satisfactory to that sovereign. The money was undoubtedly useful and welcome; but it does not seem, upon the whole, that this affair was considered as redounding much to his honour as a sovereign, or as affording any great increase to his reputation as a politician.

The count de Vergennes acquired the honour to his country, and the glorious distinction to himself, of being the pacificator general of the universe. It could not but be a grievous consideration to Englishmen, that while France, through the happiness of great ministers at home, and their choice of able negociators abroad, was spreading her consequence, and extending her influence through the nations of the earth, Great Britain, through some unaccountable fatality, seemed to be fallen from that high seat, in which she had so long and so gloriously presided, and to be no longer considered, or almost remembered, in the general politics and system of Europe.

In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been signed, the new treaty of alliance between that republic and France was likewise concluded, and finally ratified on the following Christmas-day. This treaty is founded upon, or includes all the principles, which can serve to bind and cement, in the closest and most indissoluble union of which they are capable, distinct nations under distinct governments; whereby they might mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all cases administer the most perfect aid, counsel, and succour to each other. It may indeed be considered as a perfect model for such documents in future; and is not, perhaps, to be equalled in these respects by any other treaty extant. Nov. 10th, 1785.

Besides the general stipulations, of the parties contributing every thing in their power for mutual security, and for their respective preservation in tranquillity, peace, and neutrality, they guarantee each other in the actual possession of all their estates, domains, franchises, and liberties, and mutually bind themselves to protect each other from all hostile attacks in every part of the world. If their united good offices and exertions for the preservation of peace, with respect to either, shall prove ineffectual, they are to assist each other by sea and land, in the following proportions, viz. — France shall furnish Holland with 10,000 effective infantry, 2,000 cavalry, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates; and

and their high mightineſſes, in caſe of a marine war, or that France ſhall meet with any hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall furniſh ſix ſhips of the line, and three frigates; and in caſe of an attack upon the territory of France, the ſtates general ſhall have the option of furniſhing their land contingent as they like, either in money or troops, at the eſtimate of 5,000 infantry, and 1,000 cavalry.—The power which furniſhes the ſuccours, whether in ſhips or men, ſhall pay and ſupport them, wherever they may be employed, or for whatever time, by the ally, and to be entirely at his diſpoſal during the war, being immediately ſubject to their own chief, but in all operations under the commander in chief of the requiring party; and while the auxiliaries remain in the ports or country of the requiring party, they are to be ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries upon the ſame terms with his own ſhips and troops.—The contracting parties, as ſoon as either of them have furniſhed the ſtipulated ſupply, are bound to keep an equal number of ſhips and frigates armed, and in conſtant readineſs, to replace ſuch as may be loſt by the accidents of war or ſea.—If the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould be inſufficient for the defence of the requiring party, or for the purpoſe of procuring a proper peace, they ſhall be augmented as the neceſſity may require; nay, they ſhall aſſiſt each other with all their forces, if neceſſary; it being, however, agreed, that the contingent of troops to be furniſhed by the ſtates general ſhall not exceed 20,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry, and that they are in all caſes to preſerve the option, of furniſhing money in the place of land forces.

In the caſe of a naval war, in which neither of the parties are directly concerned, they ſhall mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the ſeas, &c. &c.—If either party is engaged in a war, in which the other ſhall be obliged to take a direct part, they ſhall concert together the moſt effectual means of annoying the enemy, and oblige him to make peace; *and neither of them ſhall have power to diſarm, to make or receive propoſals of peace or truce, without the conſent of the other*; and if a negociation ſhall be opened, it ſhall not be begun and followed by either of the parties, without the participation of the other, and they ſhall make each other acquainted with all that paſſes in the ſaid negociation.—They are mutually bound to keep their forces at all times in good condition, and either party has a right to require and obtain from the other whatever ſatisfaction it may think neceſſary reſpecting the ſtate of its military, and means of defence.—Both parties ſhall faithfully communicate to each other thoſe engagements which ſubſiſt between them and other powers of Europe, which are to remain untouched; and *they promiſe not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, which ſhall be directly or indirectly contrary to the preſent treaty.*

To cement the union ſtill more ſtrongly, a treaty of commerce is ſtipulated, by which the ſubjects on either ſide are to be treated and conſidered by the other as the moſt favoured nation. And, by one of the ſeparate articles of the preſent, it is ſtipulated, that both parties ſhall, as much as poſſible, further their mutual proſperity and advantage,

tage, *by rendering each other every assistance, both in counsel and succour, upon all occasions, and not agree to any treaties or negociations which may be detrimental to each other, but shall give notice of any such negociations, &c. as soon as they are proposed.*— As the parties were at liberty to invite such other powers as they thought necessary to join in this treaty, it is evident that Holland may be considered as virtually bound to become a party to the Bourbon family-compact, in its full extent.

Such are the unexpected revolutions which take place in the conduct and actions of states as well as of individuals. All the systems of policy which had been pursued for two centuries by the maritime powers in the support of a balance of power, all the conventions, treaties, and ties of union between them, founded upon the seemingly unfailing principles of a common interest, common views, common religion, foreign danger, and common defence, were now at once done away and dissolved.

We passed over the Spanish expedition against Algiers in the year 1784, as its insertion would then have interrupted the order of our narrative, in the recital of affairs which were of far greater general interest and concern. The little advantage that had been produced by former expeditions was not sufficent to deter the court of Madrid from farther attempts of the same nature; and it seemed as if the animosity was so inveterate, that the annual attacks on the one side were to be renewed, and the destructive piratical war on the other perpetuated, during their mutual existence.

The effect hitherto produced by these repeated attacks on the side of Spain, had indeed been very unfavourable to all the Christian states bordering upon the Mediterranean. Their ill success served at once to increase, in a very extraordinary degree, the confidence, fierceness, and cruelty of the Barbarians, and while they excited their adventure and revenge, inspired them with no small contempt of the courage and military prowess of their enemies. Their land forces, now inured to war, had learned to withstand regular attacks with firmness, and to make light of the bursting of shells, and the roar of cannon; they had likewise procured good engineers, lined their coasts with batteries, and covered them with a powerful artillery.

On the other hand, while they spared no pains or expence in providing for security at home, their hostile exertions, both in the Ocean and the Mediterranean, went far beyond any thing that had been known since the days of the Barbarossas, whether with respect to enterprize, courage, or effect; and differed only from the boldest enterprizes of those tyrants of the sea, in their being unmixed and purely naval, and the force not being in any degree, or at least in any given point, so vast. The improvements in their marine, in the construction and working of their vessels, notwithstanding the aids which they derived from European artificers in building, and renegadoes in manning them, was not a little astonishing. The Algerine corsairs were now built upon the model of the best European frigates; and the desperate intrepidity with which, under whatever disparity of force, they fought them to the very last extremity, with the skill and address which they displayed in action, would

would not have disgraced the flag of any maritime power whatever. Indeed it seemed necessary, that their cruelty should prevent the admiration excited by their courage, and that their being pirates should prevent their actions from being considered as heroic.

Spain, along with her own great preparation, thought it necessary now to call in the assistance of such of her friends and neighbours, as were from situation in circumstances similar to her own. Portugal and Naples were not less interested in quelling the rapacity of that nest of pirates than herself; and Malta embarked professionally in all such enterprizes. The Venetians, indeed, were already engaged in a war with Tunis; and had for some time been farther involved in a very troublesome dispute with their younger sister, the republic of Holland; which, though proceeding only from a private mercantile or pecuniary transaction of no great value, had been conducted with such a temper on both sides, as more than once threatened the most serious consequences.

The combined armament amounted to above 130 sail, composed of the same orders of vessels which we have heretofore described; and it was computed, that more than 16,000 seamen were employed in their equipment. The ships of the line, for protecting and covering the attacks, were more numerous, and of a greater bulk and weight of metal than in the former expedition; the rates rising from sixty-four to more than eighty guns. Of these, four were Spanish, two Maltese, one Sicilian, and two Portuguese. Three Maltese gallies, and an equal number of Spanish, were very full of men, their complement (the slaves we presume included) being little short of 600 each. The boats for guns, mortars, and howitzers, were entirely Spanish, and amounted to 71. The Neapolitans and Maltese furnished a proportion of the other vessels. The conduct of this enterprize, as of the former, was committed to admiral Don Antonio Barcelo.

July 9th, 1784. The armament arrived before Algiers earlier than in the preceding year, and the first attack took place three days after. The Algerines were in a much more formidable state of preparation than at any former period. They had not only adopted the Spanish method of constructing gun-boats, to a number at least equal with those of the assailants, but seem to have improved on the model; for they are said to have been stronger and more effective. They did not, however, venture out to meet the combined armament, which seems to have been expected, but their ships, gallies, and boats were drawn up with great judgment, and in excellent order, at about half cannon-shot distance, in the front of their forts and batteries, which were covered with a tremendous artillery.

The first attack was very violent, and supported with the greatest vigour and courage for above ten hours; nor was the resistance less fierce. Some boats were blown up on both sides, but more on that of the Algerines; the town was likewise set on fire by the shells, and continued to burn for some hours. The damage, however, does not appear to have been very considerable, and it was all that the town sustained; for in seven succeeding attacks which took place between

the 12th and the 21st of July, the combined forces were never able to approach near enough for the shells to take effect; and are said to have been in every one repulsed with loss, and furiously pursued by the Algerines, even under the cannon of the covering line of battle ships.

Immense quantities of powder were consumed, and of shot and shells expended on both sides, in the course of this frequent action; while the emulation between the different nations engaged in the combined armament occasioned a continual display of the greatest valour. A knight of Malta, who commanded or fought in one of the gallies, declares in a letter, "that nothing could exceed the "gallantry of the combined fleets, "except the warlike spirit of the "infidels." Though the enterprize neither was nor could be attended with the success that was wished or expected, yet, it was generally acknowledged, that the commander in chief, Don Antonio Barcelo, gained the highest applause and honour by his conduct and gallantry through its whole course. He even proposed and strongly contended, notwithstanding the repeated failure which they had experienced, to make a final general attack, with a view of storming and forcing their way into the port; and to give the greater efficacy to the design, intended to have gone himself on board one of the bomb vessels; but in this he was opposed by the uniform opinion of all the commanders, both natives and allies, who remonstrated against it, upon the greatness of the danger, and the little prospect there was of its producing any adequate effect.

It must afford a grateful satisfaction to every Englishman to find, that even in this distant enterprize, and in which we had no concern, the martial and naval renown of his country should have been nobly supported by the gallantry of an individual. Mr. Henry Vernon, nephew to the brave and once celebrated admiral of that name, having served as a volunteer in this expedition, distinguished himself with such marked enterprize, conduct, and gallantry, in all the most arduous occasions which were afforded by the various attacks and retreats which took place in the severe conflicts with this fierce enemy, as to attract the notice and excite the admiration of all the commanders of the different nations present. In one of these he is said to have saved the life of Don Barcelo, when the boat in which they both were was struck by a cannon-shot from one of the forts. And though he was wounded in the 7th attack, yet, in so conspicuous a light was his valour and merit considered, that it was intended he should command one of the two leading ships, which were to attempt forcing their way into the port, in the final attack proposed by Don Barcelo.

It being agreed in a council of war, that nothing farther could be attempted with any probability of success against the place, their ammunition likewise being nearly exhausted, and the weather becoming foul, it was determined to return to Spain. But before the necessary preparations could be well made, such a tempest came on in the night of the 22d of July, that the ships were obliged incontinently to put out to sea; and it was supposed that they left more than a hundred anchors and cables behind in taking their leave of Algiers.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

View of the character of the late parliament. Enormous ſupplies voted in its firſt ſeſſion. Fruitleſs expenditure of this ſubſidy occaſions the reſolutions which terminated the American war. Evidence of the parliament's independence. Enumeration of important matters in which it was engaged. Reſcinds the famous reſolution reſpecting the Middleſex election. Diſappoints many, by not proſecuting certain enquiries, &c. During the ſhort ſpace of two years, ſaw no leſs than five miniſters in ſucceſſion. Different opinions on its interference in their appointment and removal. Well inclined to ſupport the meaſures of the miniſter in power at the time of its election. The campaign of 1781 *cauſes univerſal alarm, and occaſions the commons to interfere to procure a change of councils. Miniſter acquieſces. Delay in appointing a new miniſtry occaſions a threat of withholding the ſupplies. Complexion of the new adminiſtration. Honourably ſupported. Negociates the peace; which is cenſured in parliament. The celebrated coalition formed. The miniſter, in conſequence, retires. Power acquired by the houſe of commons, in conſequence of the coalition. Different opinions entertained of that circumſtance. The leaders of the coalition ſucceed to the miniſtry; but are diſmiſſed, and a fifth miniſtry appointed. Addreſſes for its removal. Advantageous ground, poſſeſſed by the court, favourable to reſiſt the practice of diſmiſſing a miniſter at the requiſition of the commons. King's anſwer to thoſe addreſſes, calling for ſpecific charges againſt the miniſters, a meaſure well calculated to throw difficulties in the way of ſuch parliamentary proceedings. Inſtances in illuſtration thereof. Firmneſs of the commons. Their diſſolution. Advantages poſſeſſed by the miniſtry upon that event. Cauſes of the ſupport the miniſtry received from the people. More than* 160 *members loſt their ſeats. Meeting of the new parliament. Former ſpeaker re-choſen. Subſtance of his majeſty's ſpeech. Addreſſes. Mr. Burke's ſpeech on the meaſure of diſſolving the late parliament. His propoſed remonſtrance to the throne. Commutation act—debate thereon. Bills for ſettling the Eaſt India dividend, for reſpite of duties, and for the better government of the affairs of that company; analyſis of the latter, and ſketch of the debates thereon. The budget—its contents. Bill for the reſtoration of eſtates forfeited in the rebellion of* 1745. *The Lord Chancellor's argument againſt it; it however paſſes. Concluſion of the ſeſſion. Subſtance of the king's ſpeech.*

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the new parliament, which was appointed to meet on the 18th of May, it may not be improper to take a ſhort view of the character of the late parliament, with the diſſolution of which we cloſed the 6th chapter.

Perhaps no parliament ever ſate in Great Britain that was engaged in deliberations of greater magnitude and importance, that cauſed more ſignal revolutions in the adminiſtration of public affairs, or that ſaw the principles of the conſtitution more violently agitated and ſhaken.

In the firſt ſeſſion, the houſe of commons gave a conſpicuous proof of its liberality and zeal for the ſupport

port of government, by voting supplies for the service of the current year to the amount of upwards of twenty-one millions sterling. The fruitless expenditure of this enormous subsidy produced, in the following session, the two celebrated resolutions which put an end to the American war, and at the same time asserted the right of the commons to controul, by their authoritative advice, the exercise of one of the most undoubted prerogatives of the crown. These votes were carried in direct opposition to, and in the face of the most strenuous exertions of the court party: they militated directly, and in their certain consequences, against the interests of several powerful classes of members of parliament, and are therefore strongly insisted on as a proof of the integrity and independence of that house of commons collectively considered.

It next appears in the character of a reformer. By the bill for regulating the civil list establishments, thirty-six offices, tenable by members of parliament, were abolished, and an order of payment was framed, which rendered the accumulation of any future debt impracticable. On the same principle of reformation of their own house, connected with a principle of public œconomy, the commons passed an act for rendering contractors with government incapable of sitting in parliament. On the same principles, a bill was passed to disqualify all officers concerned in the collection of any branch of the revenue from voting in elections for members of parliament. On the same principles, several officers of the Exchequer were suppressed, and the rest, whose emoluments were excessive, and grew in exact proportion to the burthens of the public, were reduced to moderate and fixed salaries. On the same principles, several important regulations, and the remedy of infinite corruptions, disorders and oppressions, were provided for in the bill for the management of the East India company's affairs, which was rejected in the house of lords. By the act for regulating the office of paymaster general, the accumulation of the public money in the hands of the paymaster, which had sometimes amounted to upwards of a million, was prevented, and the interests of such monies thereby saved to the public in future. The same house, for the purpose of asserting the freedom of elections, and the rights of the electors, rescinded the famous resolution relative to the Middlesex election, and expunged it from their journals.

In its inquisitorial capacity, its conduct has not been universally received with the same approbation. Many looked for an enquiry into the causes and conduct of the American war; others regard as a notorious failure of duty, that the India delinquents were not prosecuted to condign punishment; and others expected a more vigorous investigation of the facts relative to the undue influence exercised in the house of peers, and the impeachment of the instruments employed therein.

But the most important point of view, in which the late parliament claims our attention, remains still to be considered. During the short period of two years, that parliament saw no less than five ministers, in succession, at the head of public affairs. In the removal or appoint-

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ment of these, the house of commons took no inconsiderable part; and its conduct therein has been variously represented; on the one side, as actuated by a spirit of faction, which threatened the destruction of the very forms of our government; on the other, as supporting, with a becoming steadiness and perseverance, the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

The minister, under whose auspices the house of commons was elected, at a conjuncture highly favourable to the interests of the court, found them, as was naturally to be expected, inclined to give government the most liberal and unreserved support, a proof of which we have already had occasion to mention. But the unfortunate campaign of 1781, having caused an universal alarm for the safety and very being of the empire, the house of commons found it necessary to interfere by their authoritative advice, and to indicate their wishes for an entire change of councils. The minister, so soon as he perceived that he was no longer in possession of the confidence of the house, declared himself ready to resign his office whenever his majesty should think fit to name his successor. Some delay intervening in the appointment of the new administration, so jealous were the commons of their authority, that threats were thrown out of having recourse to the most violent of all parliamentary expedients, that of stopping the supplies of government*, if the desires of the house should not be speedily complied with.

The next administration, although formed out of a party whose strength in parliament had never appeared in point of numbers to be very considerable, and though generally supposed not to enjoy the perfect good-will of the court, met, notwithstanding these discouraging appearances, with an honourable and independent support during its short existence.

The administration of the noble earl, to whom his majesty next entrusted the direction of public affairs, passed almost entirely during the recess of parliament. It fell unfortunately to his lot, and that of his colleagues, to negociate the terms of a general peace, which was signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January 1783. Upon the assembling of parliament, this measure was the first subject of their deliberations, and was judged to deserve a strong and severe censure. About the same time an event took place, which appearing evidently to have his dismission for one of its principal objects, caused the minister to retire without a struggle.

This event was the celebrated coalition; and it was on this occasion that the charge of faction and violence was first brought forward against that house of commons. There certainly can be no doubt, but that in consequence of this junction the house of commons was enabled to effectuate the removal of the minister whose misconduct they had just condemned; nay farther, perhaps to limit the king, in the choice of new ministers, to certain individual objects;

* See Mr. Thomas Pitt's (now lord Camelford) speech in the debates of 1782.

and

and this, in the language of many, who, though violent assertors of the authority of the commons on a similar occasion, but ten months before, professed, on the present, an uncommon zeal for the prerogative of the crown, was represented as forcing the king's closet, trampling on the monarchy, and taking the sceptre out of his majesty's hands: but, on the other side, these effects were said to be the natural and inevitable consequences of that system of policy, and those established maxims of the constitution, which had invariably, and so happily, prevailed ever since the accession of the present family to the throne, and by which the jarring theoretic rights of the several branches of the legislature could alone be safely adjusted.

However this may be, there was no attempt at that moment to assert the prerogatives of the crown any further than in debate; and the leaders of the coalition consequently succeeded, according to established practice, to the offices of their vanquished adversaries.

We have already related the grounds on which his majesty dismissed this ministry (the fourth within the year) from his service; the appointment of a fifth ministry, the high offence which several circumstances attending those two measures gave to the house of commons, and their addresses to his majesty thereupon, for the removal of his new ministers. Some advantageous ground, which was at this time in possession of the court, made it a favourable opportunity for attempting to resist the practice of dismissing a minister at the requisition of the commons, which, if not actually trenching on the prerogative, was considered as too deeply affecting the personal consequence of the sovereign. On the two former occasions, charges of a criminal nature either were or were ready to be brought forward against the minister, whose removal was sought after; and it is probable, that the ready compliance, at those times, with the wishes of the commons, was chiefly owing to their fears of provoking an hostile enquiry into their conduct. On the present, the minister was new in his office, and consequently unimpeachable as to his conduct therein; and the king was therefore advised, in answer to the requisitions of his parliament, to call for the specific charges, which were the grounds of those requisitions, as an essential part of the proceeding; sagaciously foreseeing, that if this principle was once admitted, it would often throw insuperable difficulties in the way of all such parliamentary proceedings. The transactions of the last year furnished two strong proofs of the truth of this speculation. It might well be doubted, for instance, whether the house of commons could have been brought to adopt a charge against the minister of the American war, in which they so long and so heartily supported him, notwithstanding they were convinced that his removal was a measure necessary for the salvation of the country? and, again, whether the maker of the late peace could have been formally charged and tried for that act, without endangering the public faith? The house of commons continuing fixed and unshaken in the support of what they deemed their privileges and authority, recourse was had to the last expedient which

remained, that of a diſſolution; the conſequences of which we now proceed to lay before our readers.

The advantages which the miniſterial party poſſeſs over their opponents, upon a premature diſſolution of parliament, from their knowledge of the preciſe time when the writs for the new elections will be iſſued, are known to be at all times very conſiderable; but on the preſent occaſion, a variety of circumſtances concurred, which tended to throw great additional weight into the ſame ſcale.

During the three preceding months, the majority in the houſe of commons ſeemed more anxious to prevent a diſſolution, than to provide for their individual ſecurity in caſe ſuch an event ſhould take place. They appear to have confined their views ſo entirely to the objects for which they were contending in parliament; as to have totally neglected both their general intereſts in the nation, and their particular connections as repreſentatives. They beheld addreſſes pour in from every quarter, without any, or at beſt but feeble and ill-concerted attempts either to oppoſe them in their progreſs, or invalidate them by counter-petitions. Thus, whatever motion there was in the country, being all on one ſide, and in one direction, it appeared to be more general than perhaps it really was. It acquired, nevertheleſs, by degrees, great ſtrength and force, and not only drew within its vortex every thing that was light and afloat, but carried away even thoſe whoſe principles were imagined to be more deeply rooted. No ties, no attachments were able to hold againſt it. Friendſhip, gratitude, and even dependency, gave way. Several inſtances occurred, during the enſuing elections, in which the agents and ſervants of great men were found acting openly and avowedly againſt the party of their employers.

To theſe obſervations it muſt be added, that the object, upon which the conteſt between the houſe of commons and the court firſt broke out, and the points which came afterwards to be diſputed between them, were not of a kind ſufficiently popular to make their own way amongſt the people at large. The ſtate of the Britiſh empire in the eaſt was not at all felt, and but little heard of or underſtood by them. The privileges of the houſe of commons, though the foundation of the liberties of the people, do not appear at firſt ſight to have a neceſſary connection with them; and ſome pains had been taken, during the preſent reign, to render them odious, by ſetting them up in oppoſition to the claims of the people. Perhaps nothing requires greater management and addreſs, than the uſe of delegated authority. As fear is the paſſion excited by inherent power, ſo are envy and jealouſy by that which is delegated. We cannot give away any power, even though we are not able to exerciſe it ourſelves, without regarding the perſon who receives it in the ſame diſagreeable light that the miſer does his heir.

On the other hand, adminiſtration poſſeſſed many great and peculiar advantages. Being eaſed, by the prevalence of their adverſaries in parliament, of a conſiderable part of the burthen of their public duty, they found themſelves at ſufficient leiſure to prepare for an event, at

at all times within their power, and which was so cautiously concealed as to have drawn on the minister the imputation of a breach of faith. Indeed the novelty of the measure itself, the dangerous consequences that might arise from it, the answer received from the king relative to the affairs of India, the assurances conveyed to the house from Mr. Pitt, the appointment of a committee to examine papers from the India house, which took place, with the approbation of the chancellor of the exchequer, but a few days before the dissolution, kept the minds of their opponents at least in a state of inactive suspence, which caused the dissolution at length to burst upon them totally and universally unprepared.

These advantages were not neglected, and power, activity, and popularity, were exerted on a field neglected and almost deserted by the adversary. The event proved such as it was natural to expect. Upwards of one hundred and sixty members lost their seats, and of these almost the whole number were the friends of the late administration. So complete a rout of what was looked upon as one of the strongest and most powerful parties that ever existed in Great Britain, is scarcely to be credited.

Amongst the interests which on this occasion joined the court, that of the dissenters, and of the East India company and its servants, were the most considerable.

On the 18th of May, both houses being assembled with the usual formalities, the house of commons proceeded to the choice of a speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The day following, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, declared the causes of his calling the parliament. He assured them of the satisfaction he had in meeting them, after recurring, in so important a moment, to the sense of his people: and of his reliance, that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution, which had been so fully manifested throughout the kingdom. He then directed their attention to the maintenance of the public credit, to the support of the established revenues, and to the affairs of the East India company: and, after warning them against adopting any measures for the regulation of these last, which might affect the constitution and our dearest interests at home, concluded with expressing his inclinations to support and maintain in their just balance the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature*.

The strong expressions inserted in the addresses, of satisfaction and gratitude to his majesty for having

* Before the motion was made for an address, Mr. Lee, in a long speech, stated to the house the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had neglected making a return to the writ of election, on pretence of not having finished the scrutiny into the legality of the votes; and concluded with moving a resolution, declaring it to be "his duty to return two citizens to serve for the said city." This motion, after a long debate, was negatived by a majority of 283 to 136. As this remarkable cause, though frequently agitated during the first sessions of this parliament, was not brought to a conclusion till the second, we shall refer the reader to that period of our history for a full account of the arguments and proceedings thereon.

diſſolved the late parliament, occaſioned a ſhort debate. The neceſſity of having recourſe to that meaſure, in order to ſettle a firm and conſtitutional adminiſtration, was ſtrenuouſly urged on the one ſide; and, on the other, this neceſſity was as ſtrenuouſly denied, unleſs it could be proved that the exiſtence of the preſent adminiſtration was indiſpenſably neceſſary either to the ſafety or the conſtitution of the country.

With reſpect to the ſenſe of the people, which it was ſaid had appeared to be deciſively in favour of the preſent adminiſtration, ſome of thoſe members who had formerly taken an active part with Mr. Pitt in the attempt to introduce a more equal repreſentation in parliament, demanded on what grounds he could pretend that the genuine ſenſe of the people had been collected in the new elections, ſince he had himſelf enforced the neceſſity of a reformation, on the very ſuppoſition that the people, as the law then ſtood, had little or nothing to do with them.

An amendment was propoſed, to leave out ſuch parts of the addreſs as related to the above-mentioned points, but was rejected by a majority of 168.

On the 14th of June, the attention of the houſe was again called to this important ſubject by Mr. Burke, in a ſpeech of great length, in which he examined with great freedom the dangerous principles upon which that act of power was both executed and defended by government.

He remarked, that the queſtion might not appear at that time of very great conſequence to ſome gentlemen; but to him it appeared of the utmoſt magnitude and importance; and he was not aſhamed to confeſs, that his whole mind and ſoul were full of it. A parliament had been ſentenced, condemned, and executed, and no notice had yet been taken of ſo great and extraordinary an event! If the meaneſt ſubject in the land had died ſuddenly or by violent means, an inqueſt would have taken cognizance of the caſe, and enquired into the cauſes of his death: but the parliament of Great Britain had been put to a violent death; and no coroner had yet held an inqueſt on the body! no enquiry had been made whether it had been felo de ſe, or murdered, or jure cæſus! Did the people then think the ſudden death of parliament was a ſubject too trifling for enquiry? or did they think that all which might have been apprehended from ſuch a death, had periſhed with the parliament? He feared that the fatal conſequences of it would long ſurvive it, and be entailed on future parliaments.

Much had been ſaid of the ſenſe of the people, as the grounds on which miniſters might reſt their defence of the late diſſolution; and on this head he was ready to confeſs, that the ſenſe of the people, however erroneous at times, muſt always govern the legiſlature of this country: but it was difficult to collect that ſenſe; and it was ſometimes the duty of the better informed and more enlightened part of the community to reſiſt the ſenſe of the people, when it appeared that the people were deceived or miſled. For his part, he did not think that the wiſer part of the public approved of the diſſolution of the late parliament, or diſapproved of the meaſures which avowedly were the occaſions of that event.

event. The people might be divided into three classes, one composed of persons who, dazzled with the lustre of the crown, can never bring themselves to think that government may be in the wrong; they were the political highflyers, who made it a point to support the crown à tort et à travers: this class, he said, was very numerous; and in it, he was sorry to add, were to be found many very respectable characters. In the second class, he placed those who, the sworn enemies to the crown, were ever ready to fall upon the house of commons, because they conceived that house to be the constitutional guardians and defenders of that species of monarchy which in this country had ever been thought necessary for the well-being of government. These two bodies of men, he said, generally united in running down the house of commons, though with the most opposite views. The third class consisted of all those persons who did not enter into the other two: they were the moderate and impartial, who, alike friends to the crown and to the democratic part of the constitution, wished to maintain both in the full enjoyment of their respective prerogatives and privileges. Of these, he would not hesitate to say, full three-fourths went heart and hand with the late house of commons; the other fourth part, he believed, had been driven, by misrepresentations, into a confederacy with two classes of men, whose principles they equally detested, the lovers of absolute monarchy, and the sworn enemies of every species of regal government. He trusted, indeed, that many of them had lately been undeceived: it was the duty of the house of commons to warn the remainder of the dangers to which they exposed their liberties, through the delusion under which they acted.

He feared, he said, there was a settled plan to destroy, not the form, but the essence and efficacy of the house of commons. Doctrines big with danger to the constitution, had been broached within the last two years, first by a noble lord who was at the head of the administration before the last (the Earl of Shelburne) and lately revived by the minister who had received his political education at the feet of Gamaliel. In a speech from the throne, at the opening of the session before the last, the king was made to say by that minister, that "the people expected."

This assumption of the tribunitian power by the sovereign was truly alarming. When Augustus Cæsar modestly consented to become the tribune of the people, Rome gave up into the hands of that prince the only remaining shield she had to protect her liberty.

The tribunitian power in this country, as in antient Rome, was wisely kept distinct and separate from the executive power: in this government it is constitutionally lodged in the house of commons; and to that house the people ought first to carry their complaints, even when they were directed against the measures of the house itself: but now the people were taught to pass by the door of the house of commons, and supplicate the throne for the protection of their liberties. He warned the members to beware of this double house of commons, which ministers were erecting on the foundation of their delusion; the commons of England in parliament

ment assembled; and the commons of England in corporation and county meeting dispersed:—an artful minister would craftily play off the one after the other: he would make use of a pliant house of commons to oppress the people; and of a deluded people, to awe a refractory or independant house of commons. If the proceedings of the late parliament had been really disagreeable to the people, why had they not petitioned that house against those proceedings? If they had petitioned, and their prayer had been disregarded, or treated with contempt, the addresses to the throne for a dissolution of parliament would have been extremely proper. When public œconomy became the general wish of the people, petitions were presented, not to the crown, but to the house of commons; but means had been contrived of late so to delude the people, as to make them the very instruments of the degradation of that branch of the government, the destruction of which must necessarily be attended with the loss of their liberty.

The East India bill had been made the specious pretext of the dissolution: it was represented as a violent attack upon the franchises of the people, an invasion of the royal prerogative, and a medium through which the late ministers intended to have secured to themselves a power paramount to every power in the kingdom. In defence of that bill, he said, that it did not appear reasonable, that the proprietors of East India stock should in future retain in their hands a power which they had so grossly abused; by which they had plundered and rendered miserable many millions of persons, who were under the protection of this nation: a power which had enabled them to enter into the most unjust and impolitic wars, the consequence of which brought very heavy expence upon this kingdom. As to the invasion of the royal prerogative, he was surprized to hear that brought as a charge laid at the door of the East India bill: the power of making war, and of carrying it on where and in what manner he pleased, was certainly one of the greatest prerogatives of the crown; and yet the late house of commons not only addressed the king not to carry on the war on the continent of America, but went so far even as to vote that man an enemy to his country, who should advise the carrying it on, or who should assist in it; so that though Sir Henry Clinton, for instance, was bound by the mutiny act to obey the king's orders, and was even liable to be shot if he should refuse to obey them, still the resolutions of the house of commons should attach upon him, and suspend the whole system of military subordination; and yet that resolution had been supported by the warmest friends of the present minister, and by himself; and no one ever thought of making it a ground for the dissolution of the parliament.

As to the patronage of the East India company, which it was said ministers intended to make the means of rendering themselves paramount to the crown, he observed, that those who were at this moment in full possession of that patronage (the company) were very far from being independent of the crown, so far from being paramount to it; and he could assure the house on his conscience, and on his honour, that the persons who were to have been

at

at the head of the company's affairs, had been buſied in deviſing means by which they might have put it moſt effectually out of their own power to derive any emolument or parliamentary ſupport from their ſituation. But had his right honourable friend's bill been as bad as ſome people repreſented it to be, ſtill he would maintain that the king could not, conſtitutionally ſpeaking, aſſign the exiſtence of ſuch a bill, as the reaſon for his diſſolving the parliament: for, in the firſt place, he ought not to have known that ſuch a bill was in exiſtence; and, in the next, the houſe had a right to entertain whatever bill it pleaſed, even if it were poſſible that it could be treaſonable; or, if it were even for lopping off a whole branch of the prerogative. A bill of excluſion had been entertained by the parliament: and if the day ſhould come, when either a member of the houſe, or the whole houſe, ſhould be made reſponſible for a part taken in any bill, on that day would the liberties of England expire.

He then produced a repreſentation to be preſented to his majeſty, which conſiſted of many ſheets of paper, folded like a lawyer's brief, and ſet the houſe into a fit of laughter. He obſerved, that he meant his motion as an epitaph on his departed friend, the laſt parliament: that he had on ſome occaſions written * long epitaphs to the memory of thoſe that he honoured and reſpected; and on the preſent occaſion he choſe to follow the corpſe to the ſepulchre, and go through the ceremony of ſaying, "aſhes to "aſhes, and duſt to duſt," in ſure and certain hopes, through the merit of the good works of the laſt parliament, that it would have a glorious and joyful reſurrection, and become immortal.

No reply was made to this ſpeech; but as ſoon as the remonſtrance was read, and the queſtion put by the ſpeaker, there was a loud cry of No! and the motion was accordingly declared to have paſſed in the negative †.

On

* Probably alluding to an epitaph, ſaid to be written by him, on the Earl of Chatham.

† As the great importance of the ſubject of this propoſed addreſs, and the light which it throws upon matters that do not ſeem to have been in general well underſtood, would render its omiſſion inexcuſable, we have thought it adviſeable to inſert it as a note, in order not to interrupt the courſe of our narrative.——After ſome general expreſſions of duty and reſpect to his majeſty, it repreſents, that, in the ſpeech from the throne, his miniſters have thought proper to uſe a language of a very alarming import, unauthorized by the practice of good times, and irreconcileable to the principles of this government. That it is the privilege and duty of this houſe to guard the conſtitution from all infringement on the part of miniſters; and, whenever the occaſion requires it, to warn them againſt any abuſe of the authorities committed to them; but it is very lately ‡, that, in a manner not more unſeemly than irregular and prepoſterous, miniſters have thought proper, by admonition from the throne, implying diſtruſt and reproach, to convey the expectations of the people to us, their ſole repreſentatives; and have preſumed to caution us, the natural guardians of the conſtitution, againſt any infringement of it on our parts.

‡ See king's ſpeech, Dec. 5, 1782, and May 19, 1784.

On the 21ſt of June, the chancellor of the exchequer moved ſeveral reſolutions, as the foundation of the act, ſince known by the name of

This dangerous innovation we, his faithful commons, think it our duty to mark; and as theſe admonitions from the throne, by their frequent repetition, ſeem intended to lead gradually to the eſtabliſhment of an uſage, we hold ourſelves bound thus ſolemnly to proteſt againſt them.

This houſe will be, as it ever ought to be, anxiouſly attentive to the inclinations and intereſts of its conſtituents: nor do we deſire to ſtraiten any of the avenues to the throne, or to either houſe of parliament. But the ancient order, in which the rights of the people have been exerciſed, is not a reſtriction of theſe rights. It is a method providently framed in favour of thoſe privileges, which it preſerves and enforces by keeping in that courſe which has been found the moſt effectual for anſwering their ends. His majeſty may receive the opinions and wiſhes of individuals under their ſignatures, and of bodies corporate under their ſeals, as expreſſing their own particular ſenſe: and he may grant ſuch redreſs as the legal powers of the crown enables the crown to afford. This, and the other houſe of parliament, may alſo receive the wiſhes of ſuch corporations and individuals by petition. The collective ſenſe of his people his majeſty is to receive from his commons in parliament aſſembled. It would deſtroy the whole ſpirit of the conſtitution, if his commons were to receive that ſenſe from the miniſters of the crown, or to admit them to be a proper or a regular channel for conveying it.

That the miniſters in the ſaid ſpeech declare, "his majeſty has a juſt and con-
"fident reliance, that we (his faithful commons) are animated with the ſame
"ſentiments of loyalty, and the ſame attachment to our excellent conſtitution,
"which he had the happineſs to ſee ſo fully manifeſted in every part of the king-
"dom."

To repreſent, that his faithful commons have never failed in loyalty to his majeſty. It is new to them to be reminded of it. It is unneceſſary and invidious to preſs it upon them by any example. This recommendation of loyalty, after his majeſty has ſat for ſo many years, with the full ſupport of all deſcriptions of his ſubjects, on the throne of this kingdom, at a time of profound peace, and without any pretence of the exiſtence or apprehenſion of war or conſpiracy, becomes in itſelf a ſource of no ſmall jealouſy to his faithful commons; as many circumſtances lead us to apprehend that therein the miniſters have reference to ſome other meaſures and principles of loyalty, and to ſome other ideas of the conſtitution, than the laws require, or the practice of parliament will admit.

No regular communication of the proofs of loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution, alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne, have been laid before this houſe, in order to enable us to judge of the nature, tendency, or occaſion of them, or in what particular acts they were diſplayed; but if we are to ſuppoſe the manifeſtations of loyalty (which are held out to us as an example for imitation) conſiſt in certain addreſſes delivered to his majeſty, promiſing ſupport to his majeſty in the exerciſe of his prerogative, and thanking his majeſty for removing certain of his miniſters, on account of the votes they have given upon bills depending in parliament,—if this be the example of loyalty alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne, then we muſt beg leave to expreſs our ſerious concern for the impreſſion which has been made on any of our fellow-ſubjects by miſrepreſentations, which have ſeduced them into a ſeeming approbation of proceedings ſubverſive of their own freedom. We conceive, that the opinions delivered in theſe papers were not well conſidered; nor were the parties duly informed of the nature of the matters on which they were called to determine, nor of thoſe proceedings of parliament which they were led to cenſure.

We

of the *Commutation Act*. He ſtated to the houſe, that the illicit trade of the country had of late increaſed to ſo alarming a height, as to endanger almoſt

We ſhall act more adviſedly.—The loyalty we ſhall manifeſt will not be the ſame with theirs; but, we truſt, it will be equally ſincere, and more enlightened. It is no ſlight authority which ſhall perſuade us (by receiving as proofs of loyalty the miſtaken principles lightly taken up in theſe addreſſes) obliquely to criminate, with the heavy and ungrounded charge of diſloyalty and diſaffection, an uncorrupt, independent, and reforming parliament. Above all, we ſhall take care that none of the rights and privileges, always claimed, and ſince the acceſſion of his majeſty's illuſtrious family conſtantly exerciſed by this houſe (and which we hold and exerciſe in truſt for the commons of Great Britain, and for their benefit) ſhall be conſtructively ſurrendered, or even weakened and impaired, under ambiguous phraſes, and implications of cenſure on the late parliamentary proceedings. If theſe claims are not well-founded, they ought to be honeſtly abandoned; if they are juſt, they ought to be ſteadily and reſolutely maintained.

Of his majeſty's own gracious diſpoſition towards the true principles of our free conſtitution, his faithful commons never did, or could entertain a doubt: but we humbly beg leave to expreſs to his majeſty our uneaſineſs concerning other new and unuſual expreſſions of his miniſters, declaratory of a reſolution "to ſupport, "in their *juſt balance*, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legiſla-"ture."

It were deſirable that all hazardous theories concerning a balance of rights and privileges (a mode of expreſſion wholly foreign to parliamentary uſage) might have been forborne. His majeſty's faithful commons are well inſtructed in their own rights and privileges, which they are determined to maintain on the footing upon which they were handed down from their anceſtors; they are not unacquainted with the rights and privileges of the houſe of peers; and they know and reſpect the lawful prerogatives of the crown: but they do not think it ſafe to admit any thing concerning the exiſtence of a balance of thoſe rights, privileges, and prerogatives; nor are they able to diſcern to what object miniſters would apply their fiction of balance; nor what they would conſider as a juſt one. Theſe unauthorized doctrines have a tendency to ſtir improper diſcuſſions; and to lead to miſchievous innovations in the conſtitution.

That his faithful commons moſt humbly recommend, inſtead of the inconſiderate ſpeculations of unexperienced men, that on all occaſions, reſort ſhould be had to the happy practice of parliament, and to thoſe ſolid maxims of government which have prevailed ſince the acceſſion of his majeſty's illuſtrious family, as furniſhing the only ſafe principles on which the crown and parliament can proceed.

We think it the more neceſſary to be cautious on this head, as, in the laſt parliament, the preſent miniſters had thought proper to countenance, if not to ſuggeſt, an attack upon the moſt clear and undoubted rights and privileges of this Houſe *.

Fearing, from theſe extraordinary admonitions, and from the new doctrines, which ſeem to have dictated ſeveral unuſual expreſſions, that his majeſty has been abuſed by falſe repreſentations of the late proceedings in parliament, we think it our duty reſpectfully to inform his majeſty, that no attempt whatever has been made againſt his lawful prerogatives, or againſt the rights and privileges of the

* Reſolutions relative to the acceptance of India Bills.

peers,

almoſt the very exiſtence of ſeveral branches of the revenue, and more particularly that of tea. It had appeared before the committee on ſmuggling.

peers, by the late houſe of commons, in any of their addreſſes, votes, or reſolutions: neither do we know of any proceeding by bill, in which it was propoſed to abridge the extent of his royal prerogative: but, if ſuch proviſion had exiſted in any bill, we proteſt, and we declare, againſt all ſpeeches, acts, or addreſſes, from any perſons whatſoever, which have a tendency to conſider ſuch bills, or the perſons concerned in them, as juſt objects of any kind of cenſure and puniſhment from the throne. Neceſſary reformations may hereafter require, as they have frequently done in former times, limitations and abridgments, and in ſome caſes an entire extinction of ſome branch of prerogative. If bills ſhould be improper in the form in which they appear in the houſe where they originate, they are liable, by the wiſdom of this conſtitution, to be corrected, and even to be totally ſet aſide, elſewhere. This is the known, the legal, and the ſafe remedy: but whatever, by the manifeſtation of the royal diſpleaſure, tends to intimidate individual members from propoſing, or this houſe from receiving, debating, and paſſing bills; tends to prevent even the beginning of every reformation in the ſtate; and utterly deſtroys the deliberative capacity of parliament. We therefore claim, demand, and inſiſt upon it, as our undoubted right, that no perſons ſhall be deemed proper objects of animadverſion by the crown, in any mode whatever, for the votes which they give, or the propoſitions which they make, in parliament.

We humbly conceive, that beſides its ſhare of the legiſlative power, and its right of impeachment, that, by the law and uſage of parliament, this houſe has other powers and capacities, which it is bound to maintain. This houſe is aſſured, that our humble advice on the exerciſe of prerogative will be heard with the ſame attention with which it has ever been regarded; and that it will be followed by the ſame effects which it has ever produced, during the happy and glorious reigns of his majeſty's royal progenitors; not doubting but that, in all thoſe points, we ſhall be conſidered as a council of wiſdom and weight to adviſe, and not merely as an accuſer of competence to criminate*. This houſe claims both capacities; and we truſt that we ſhall be left to our free diſcretion which of them we ſhall employ as beſt calculated for his majeſty's, and the national ſervice.—Whenever we ſhall ſee it expedient to offer our advice concerning his majeſty's ſervants; who are thoſe of the public, we confidently hope, that the perſonal favour of any miniſter, or any ſet of miniſters, will not be more dear to his majeſty, than the credit and character of an houſe of commons. It is an experiment full of peril, to put the repreſentative wiſdom and juſtice of his majeſty's people in the wrong; it is a crooked and deſperate deſign, leading to miſchief, the extent of which no human wiſdom can foreſee, to attempt to form a prerogative party in the nation, to be reſorted to as occaſion ſhall require, in derogation from the authority of the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled: it is a contrivance full of danger, for miniſters to ſet up the repreſentative and conſtituent bodies of the commons of this kingdom, as two ſeparate and diſtinct powers, formed to counterpoiſe each other, leaving the preference in the hands of ſecret adviſers of the crown. In ſuch a ſituation of things, theſe adviſers, taking advantage of the differences which may accidentally ariſe, or may purpoſely be fomented between them, will have it in their choice to reſort to one or the other, as may beſt ſuit the purpoſes of their ſiniſter ambition. By exciting an emulation and conteſt be-

* "I obſerve at the ſame time, that there is *no charge or complaint* ſuggeſted againſt my preſent miniſters."—*The king's anſwer, 25th February, 1784, to the addreſs of the houſe of commons.*

tween

ſmuggling, that only 5,500,000 lb. weight of tea was ſold annually by the Eaſt India company, whereas the annual conſumption of the kingdom

tween the repreſentative and the conſtituent bodies, as parties contending for credit and influence at the throne, ſacrifices will be made by both; and the whole can end in nothing elſe than the deſtruction of the deareſt rights and liberties of the nation. If there muſt be another mode of conveying the collective ſenſe of the people to the throne than that by the houſe of commons, it ought to be fixed and defined, and its authority ought to be ſettled: it ought not to exiſt in ſo precarious and dependent a ſtate, as that miniſters ſhould have it in their power, at their own mere pleaſure, to acknowledge it with reſpect, or to reject it with ſcorn.

It is the undoubted prerogative of the crown to diſſolve parliament; but we beg leave to lay before his majeſty, that it is, of all the truſts veſted in his majeſty, the moſt critical and delicate, and that in which this houſe has the moſt reaſon to require, not only the good faith, but the favour of the crown. His commons are not always upon a par with his miniſters in an application to popular judgment: it is not in the power of the members of this houſe to go to their election at the moment the moſt favourable for them. It is in the power of the crown to chooſe a time for their diſſolution whilſt great and arduous matters of ſtate and legiſlation are depending, which may be eaſily miſunderſtood, and which cannot be fully explained before that miſunderſtanding may prove fatal to the honour that belongs, and to the conſideration that is due, to members of parliament.

With his majeſty is the gift of all the rewards, the honours, diſtinctions, favour, and graces of the ſtate; with his majeſty is the mitigation of all the rigours of the law; and we rejoice to ſee the crown poſſeſſed of truſts calculated to obtain good-will, and charged with duties which are popular and pleaſing. Our truſts are of a different kind. Our duties are harſh and invidious in their nature; and juſtice and ſafety is all we can expect in the exerciſe of them. We are to offer ſalutary, which is not always pleaſing, counſel: we are to enquire and to accuſe: and the objects of our enquiry and charge will be for the moſt part perſons of wealth, power, and extenſive connections: we are to make rigid laws for the preſervation of revenue, which of neceſſity more or leſs confine ſome action, or reſtrain ſome function, which before was free: what is the moſt critical and invidious of all, the whole body of the public impoſitions originate from us, and the hand of the houſe of commons is ſeen and felt in every burthen that preſſes on the people. Whilſt, ultimately, we are ſerving them, and in the firſt inſtance whilſt we are ſerving his majeſty, it will be hard, indeed, if we ſhould ſee a houſe of commons the victim of its zeal and fidelity, ſacrificed by his miniſters to thoſe very popular diſcontents which ſhall be excited by our dutiful endeavours for the ſecurity and greatneſs of his throne. No other conſequence can reſult from ſuch an example, but that, in future, the houſe of commons, conſulting its ſafety at the expence of its duties, and ſuffering the whole energy of the ſtate to be relaxed, will ſhrink from every ſervice, which, however neceſſary, is of a great and arduous nature; or that, willing to provide for the public neceſſities, and, at the ſame time, to ſecure the means of performing that taſk, they will exchange independence for protection, and will court a ſubſervient exiſtence through the favour of thoſe miniſters of ſtate, or thoſe ſecret adviſers, who ought themſelves to ſtand in awe of the commons of this realm.

An houſe of commons, reſpected by his miniſters, is eſſential to his majeſty's ſervice: it is fit that they ſhould yield to parliament, and not that parliament ſhould be new modelled until it is fitted to their purpoſes. If our authority is only to be held up when we coincide in opinion with his majeſty's adviſers, but is to be ſet at nought the moment it differs from them, the houſe of commons will

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dom was ſuppoſed, from good authority, to exceed twelve millions *, ſo that the illicit trade in this article was more than double the legal.

* The whole quantity of tea imported from China is about nineteen millions of pounds, of which it is conjectured that not more than ſeven is conſumed in the other countries of Europe.

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ſink into a mere appendage of adminiſtration, and will loſe that independent character which, inſeparably connecting the honour and reputation with the acts of this houſe, enables us to afford a real, effective, and ſubſtantial ſupport to his government. It is the deference ſhewn to our opinion, when we diſſent from the ſervants of the crown, which alone can give authority to the proceedings of this houſe, when it concurs with their meaſures.

That authority once loſt, the credit of his majeſty's crown will be impaired in the eyes of all nations. Foreign powers, who may yet wiſh to revive a friendly intercourſe with this nation, will look in vain for that hold which gave a connection with Great Britain the preference to an alliance with any other ſtate. An houſe of commons, of which miniſters were known to ſtand in awe, where every thing was neceſſarily diſcuſſed, on principles fit to be openly and publicly avowed, and which could not be retracted or varied without danger, furniſhed a ground of confidence in the public faith, which the engagement of no ſtate dependent on the fluctuation of perſonal favour, and private advice, can ever pretend to. If faith with the houſe of commons, the grand ſecurity for the national faith itſelf, can be broken with impunity, a wound is given to the political importance of Great Britain, which will not eaſily be healed.

That there was a great variance between the late houſe of commons and certain perſons, whom his majeſty has been adviſed to make and continue as miniſters, in defiance of the advice of that houſe, is notorious to the world. That houſe did not confide in thoſe miniſters; and they withheld their confidence from them for reaſons for which poſterity will honour and reſpect the names of thoſe who compoſed that houſe of commons, diſtinguiſhed for its independence. They could not confide in perſons who have ſhewn a diſpoſition to dark and dangerous intrigues. By theſe intrigues they have weakened, if not deſtroyed, the clear aſſurance which his majeſty's people, and which all nations ought to have, of what are, and what are not, the real acts of his government.

If it ſhould be ſeen that his miniſters may continue in their offices, without any ſignification to them of his majeſty's diſpleaſure at any of their meaſures, whilſt perſons conſiderable for their rank, and known to have had acceſs to his majeſty's ſacred perſon, can with impunity abuſe that advantage, and employ his majeſty's name to diſavow and counteract the proceedings of his official ſervants, nothing but diſtruſt, diſcord, debility, contempt of all authority, and general confuſion, can prevail in his government.

This we lay before his majeſty with humility and concern, as the inevitable effect of a ſpirit of intrigue in his executive government; an evil which we have but too much reaſon to be perſuaded exiſts and increaſes. During the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion it broke out in a manner the moſt alarming. This evil was infinitely aggravated by the unauthorized, but not diſavowed uſe which has been made of his majeſty's name, for the purpoſe of the moſt unconſtitutional, corrupt, and diſhonourable influence on the minds of the members of parliament, that ever was practiſed in this kingdom. No attention, even to the exterior decorum, in the practice of corruption, and intimidation employed on peers, was obſerved: ſeveral peers were obliged under menaces to retract their declarations, and to recall their proxies.

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The only remedy he could deviſe for this evil was, to lower the duties on tea to ſo ſmall an amount, as to make the profit on the illicit trade not

The commons have the deepeſt intereſt in the purity and integrity of the peerage. The peers diſpoſe of all the property in the kingdom, in the laſt reſort; and they diſpoſe of it on their honour and not on their oaths, as all the members of every other tribunal in the kingdom muſt do; though in them the proceeding is not concluſive. We have, therefore, a right to demand that no application ſhall be made to peers of ſuch a nature as may give room to call in queſtion, much leſs to attaint, our ſole ſecurity for all that we poſſeſs. This corrupt proceeding appeared to the houſe of commons, who are the natural guardians of the purity of parliament, and of the purity of every branch of judicature, a moſt reprehenſible and dangerous practice, tending to ſhake the very foundation of the authority of the houſe of peers;—and they branded it as ſuch by their reſolution.

The houſe had not ſufficient evidence to enable them legally to puniſh this practice, but they had enough to caution them againſt all confidence in the authors and abettors of it. They performed their duty in humbly adviſing his majeſty againſt the employment of ſuch miniſters; but his majeſty was adviſed to keep thoſe miniſters, and to diſſolve that parliament. The houſe, aware of the importance and urgency of its duty with regard to the Britiſh intereſts in India, which were and are in the utmoſt diſorder, and in the utmoſt peril, moſt humbly requeſted his majeſty not to diſſolve the parliament during the courſe of their very critical proceedings on that ſubject. His majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion to that requeſt was conveyed in the royal faith, pledged to an houſe of parliament, and ſolemnly delivered from the throne. It was but a very few days after a committee had been, with the conſent and concurrence of the chancellor of the exchequer, appointed for an enquiry into certain accounts delivered to the houſe by the court of directors, and then actually engaged in that enquiry, that the miniſters, regardleſs of the aſſurance given from the crown to an houſe of commons, did diſſolve that parliament. We moſt humbly ſubmit to his majeſty's conſideration the conſequences of this their breach of public faith.

Whilſt the members of the houſe of commons, under that ſecurity, were engaged in his majeſty's and the national buſineſs, endeavours were induſtriouſly uſed to calumniate thoſe whom it was found impracticable to corrupt. The reputation of the members, and the reputation of the houſe itſelf, was undermined in every part of the kingdom.

In the ſpeech from the throne relative to India, we are cautioned by the miniſters, "not to loſe ſight of the effect any meaſure may have on the conſtitution of "our country." We are apprehenſive that a calumnious report ſpread abroad of an attack upon his majeſty's prerogative by the late houſe of commons, may have made an impreſſion on his royal mind, and have given occaſion to this unuſual admonition to the preſent. This attack is charged to have been made in the late parliament, by a bill which paſſed the houſe of commons in the late ſeſſion of that parliament, for the regulation of the affairs, for the preſervation of the commerce, and for the amendment of the government of this nation, in the Eaſt Indies.

That his majeſty and his people may have an opportunity of entering into the ground of this injurious charge, we beg leave humbly to acquaint his majeſty, that, far from having made any infringement whatſoever on any part of his royal prerogative, that bill did, for a limited time, give to his majeſty certain powers never before poſſeſſed by the crown; and for this his preſent miniſters (who, rather than fall ſhort in the number of their calumnies, employ ſome that are contradictory) have ſlandered this houſe, as aiming at the extenſion of an unconſtitutional

not adequate to the riſk. It was well known, that in this trade the price of freight and inſurance to the ſhore was about 25 per cent. and the

unconſtitutional influence in his majeſty's crown. This pretended attempt to increaſe the influence of the crown, they were weak enough to endeavour to perſuade his majeſty's people was amongſt the cauſes which excited his majeſty's reſentment againſt his late miniſters.

Further, to remove the impreſſions of this calumny concerning an attempt in the houſe of commons againſt his prerogative, it is proper to inform his majeſty, that the territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies never have been declared, by any public judgment, act, or inſtrument, or any reſolution of parliament whatſoever, to be the ſubject-matter of his majeſty's prerogative; nor have they ever been underſtood as belonging to his ordinary adminiſtration, or to be annexed or united to his crown; but that they are acquiſitions of a new and peculiar deſcription, unknown to the ancient executive conſtitution of this country.

From time to time, therefore, parliament provided for their government according to its diſcretion, and to its opinion of what was required by the public neceſſities. We do not know that his majeſty was entitled, by prerogative, to exerciſe any act of authority whatſoever in the company's affairs, or that in effect ſuch authority has ever been exerciſed. His majeſty's patronage was not taken away by that bill; becauſe it is notorious that his majeſty never originally had the appointment of a ſingle officer, civil or military, in the company's eſtabliſhment in India; nor has the leaſt degree of patronage ever been acquired to the crown in any other manner or meaſure, than as the power was thought expedient to be granted by act of parliament; that is, by the very ſame authority by which the offices were diſpoſed of and regulated in the bill, which his majeſty's ſervants have falſely and injuriouſly repreſented as infringing upon the prerogative of the crown.

Before the year 1773 the whole adminiſtration of India, and the whole patronage to office there, was in the hands of the Eaſt India company. The Eaſt India company is not a branch of his majeſty's prerogative adminiſtration, nor does that body exerciſe any ſpecies of authority under it, nor indeed from any Britiſh title, that does not derive all its legal validity from acts of parliament.

When a claim was aſſerted to the India territorial poſſeſſions in the occupation of the company, theſe poſſeſſions were not claimed as parcel of his majeſty's patrimonial eſtate, or as a fruit of the ancient inheritance of his crown. They were claimed for the public. And when agreements were made with the Eaſt India company concerning any compoſition for the holding, or any participation of the profits of thoſe territories, the agreement was made with the public, and the preambles of the ſeveral acts have uniformly ſo ſtated it. Theſe agreements were not made (even nominally) with his majeſty, but with parliament; and the bills making and eſtabliſhing ſuch agreements always originated in this houſe, which appropriated the money to await the diſpoſition of parliament, without the ceremony of previous conſent from the crown even ſo much as ſuggeſted by any of his miniſters; which previous conſent is an obſervance of decorum, not indeed of ſtrict right, but generally paid when a new appropriation takes place in any part of his majeſty's prerogative revenues.

In purſuance of a right thus uniformly recognized, and uniformly acted on, when parliament undertook the reformation of the Eaſt India company in 1773, a commiſſion was appointed as the commiſſion in the late bill was appointed; and it was made to continue for a term of years, as the commiſſion in the late bill was to continue; all the commiſſioners were named in parliament, as in the late bill they were named. As they received, ſo they held their offices, wholly independent

the inſurance on the inland carriage about 10 per cent. more, in all 35 per cent. The duty on tea, as it then ſtood, was about 50 per cent.; ſo that

independent of the crown; they held them for a fixed term; they were not removeable by an addreſs of either houſe, or even of both houſes of parliament, a precaution obſerved in the late bill, relative to the commiſſioners propoſed therein; nor were they bound by the ſtrict rules of proceeding which regulated and reſtrained the late commiſſioners againſt all poſſible abuſe of a power which could not fail of being diligently and zealouſly watched by the miniſters of the crown, and the proprietors of the ſtock, as well as by parliament. Their proceedings were, in that bill, directed to be of ſuch a nature as eaſily to ſubject them to the ſtricteſt reviſion of both, in caſe of any malverſation.

In the year 1780, an act of parliament again made proviſion for the government of thoſe territories for another four years, without any ſort of reference to prerogative; nor was the leaſt objection taken at the ſecond, more than at the firſt of thoſe periods, as if an infringement had been made upon the rights of the crown; yet his majeſty's miniſters have thought fit to repreſent the late commiſſion as an entire innovation on the conſtitution, and the ſetting up a new order and eſtate in the nation, tending to the ſubverſion of the monarchy itſelf.

If the government of the Eaſt Indies, other than by his majeſty's prerogative, be, in effect, a fourth order in the commonwealth, this order has long exiſted; becauſe the Eaſt India company has for many years enjoyed it in the fulleſt extent, and does at this day enjoy the whole adminiſtration of thoſe provinces, and the patronage to offices throughout that great empire, except as it is controuled by act of parliament.

It was the ill-condition, and ill-adminiſtration of the company's affairs, which induced this houſe (merely as a temporary eſtabliſhment) to veſt the ſame powers which the company did before poſſeſs, (and no other) for a limited time, and under very ſtrict directions, in proper hands, until they could be reſtored, or further proviſion made concerning them. It was therefore no creation whatever of a new power, but the removal of an old power, long ſince created, and then exiſting, from the management of thoſe perſons who had manifeſtly and dangerouſly abuſed their truſt. This houſe, which well knows the parliamentary origin of all the company's powers and privileges, and is not ignorant or negligent of the authority which may veſt thoſe powers and privileges in others, if juſtice and the public ſafety ſo require, is conſcious to itſelf, that it no more creates a new order in the ſtate, by making occaſional truſtees for the direction of the company, than it originally did in giving a much more permanent truſt to the directors, or to the general court of that body. The monopoly of the Eaſt India company was a derogation from the general freedom of trade belonging to his majeſty's people. The powers of government, and of peace and war, are parts of prerogative of the higheſt order. Of our competence to reſtrain the rights of all his ſubjects by act of parliament, and to veſt thoſe high and eminent prerogatives even in a particular company of merchants, there has been no queſtion. We beg leave moſt humbly to claim as our right, and as a right which this houſe has always uſed, to frame ſuch bills, for the regulation of that commerce, and of the territories held by the Eaſt India company, and every thing relating to them, as to our diſcretion ſhall ſeem fit: and we aſſert and maintain, that therein we follow, and do not innovate on the conſtitution.

That his majeſty's miniſters, miſled by their ambition, have endeavoured, if poſſible, to form a faction in the country againſt the popular part of the conſtitution; and have therefore thought proper to add to their ſlanderous accuſation againſt a houſe of parliament, relative to his majeſty's prerogative, another of a different

that the ſmuggler had an advantage over the fair dealer of 15 per cent.

as the voyage from England to the continent might be eaſily repeated

different nature, calculated for the purpoſe of raiſing fears and jealouſies among the corporate bodies of the kingdom, and of perſuading uninformed perſons belonging to thoſe corporations to look to, and to make addreſſes to them as protectors of their rights, under their ſeveral charters, from the deſigns which they, without any ground, charged the then houſe of commons to have formed againſt charters in general. For this purpoſe they have not ſcrupled to aſſert, that the exertion of his majeſty's prerogative in the late precipitate change in his adminiſtration, and the diſſolution of the late parliament, were meaſures adopted in order to reſcue the people and their rights out of the hands of the houſe of commons, their repreſentatives.

We truſt that his majeſty's ſubjects are not yet ſo far deluded as to believe that the charters, or that any other of their local or general privileges, can have a ſolid ſecurity in any place but where that ſecurity has always been looked for, and always found, in the houſe of commons. Miſerable and precarious indeed would be the ſtate of their franchiſes, if they were to find no defence but from that quarter from whence they have always been attacked. But the late houſe of commons, in paſſing that bill, made no attack upon any powers or privileges, except ſuch as an houſe of commons has frequently attacked, and will attack (and they truſt, in the end, with their wonted ſucceſs) that is, upon thoſe which are corruptly and oppreſſively adminiſtered; and this houſe do faithfully aſſure his majeſty, that we will correct, and, if neceſſary for the purpoſe, as far as in us lies, will wholly deſtroy every ſpecies of power and authority exerciſed by Britiſh ſubjects to the oppreſſion, wrong, and detriment of the people, and to the impoveriſhment and deſolation of the countries ſubject to it.

The propagators of the calumnies againſt that houſe of parliament have been indefatigable in exaggerating the ſuppoſed injury done to the Eaſt India company by the ſuſpenſion of the authorities which they have, in every inſtance, abuſed; as if power had been wreſted, by wrong and violence, from juſt and prudent hands; but they have, with equal care, concealed the weighty grounds and reaſons on which that houſe had adopted the moſt moderate of all poſſible expedients for reſcuing the natives of India from oppreſſion, and for ſaving the intereſts of the real and honeſt proprietors of their ſtock, as well as that great national, commercial concern, from imminent ruin.

The miniſters aforeſaid have alſo cauſed it to be reported, that the houſe of commons have confiſcated the property of the Eaſt India company. It is the reverſe of truth. The whole management was a truſt for the proprietors, under their own inſpection (and it was ſo provided for in the bill) and under the inſpection of parliament. That bill, ſo far from confiſcating the company's property, was the only one which, for ſeveral years paſt, did not, in ſome ſhape or other, affect their property, or reſtrain them in the diſpoſition of it.

It is proper that his majeſty and all his people ſhould be informed, that the houſe of commons have proceeded, with regard to the Eaſt India company, with a degree of care, circumſpection, and deliberation, which has not been equalled in the hiſtory of parliamentary proceedings. For ſixteen years the ſtate and condition of that body has never been wholly out of their view: in the year 1767 the houſe took thoſe objects into conſideration, in a committee of the whole houſe: the buſineſs was purſued in the following year: in the year 1772, two committees were appointed for the ſame purpoſe, which examined into their affairs with much diligence, and made very ample reports: in the year 1773, the proceedings were carried to an act of parliament, which proved ineffectual to its purpoſe; the

oppreſſions

peated four or five times in the year: he therefore propoſed to reduce the duty on tea to 12*l.* 10*s.* per cent. As this regulation would cauſe a deficiency in the revenue of about 600,000*l.* per annum, he propoſed to

oppreſſions and abuſes in India having ſince rather increaſed than diminiſhed, on account of the greatneſs of the temptations and convenience of the opportunities, which got the better of the legiſlative proviſions calculated againſt ill practices then in their beginnings: inſomuch that, in 1781, two committees were again inſtituted, who have made ſeventeen reports. It was upon the moſt minute, exact, and laborious collection and diſcuſſion of facts, that the late houſe of commons proceeded in the reform which they attempted in the adminiſtration of India, but which has been fruſtrated by ways and means the moſt diſhonourable to his majeſty's government, and the moſt pernicious to the conſtitution of this kingdom. His majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the diſorders in the company's adminiſtration, that the conſideration of that ſubject was no leſs than ſix times recommended to this houſe in ſpeeches from the throne.

The reſult of the parliamentary enquiries has been, that the Eaſt India company was found totally corrupted, and totally perverted from the purpoſes of its inſtitution, whether political or commercial; that the powers of war and peace given by the charter had been abuſed, by kindling hoſtilities in every quarter for the purpoſes of rapine; that almoſt all the treaties of peace they have made, have only given cauſe to ſo many breaches of public faith; that countries once the moſt flouriſhing are reduced to a ſtate of indigence, decay, and depopulation, to the diminution of our ſtrength, and to the infinite diſhonour of our national character; that the laws of this kingdom are notoriouſly, and almoſt in every inſtance, deſpiſed; that the ſervants of the company, by the purchaſe of qualifications to vote in the general court, and, at length, by getting the company itſelf deeply in their debt, have obtained the entire and abſolute maſtery in the body, by which they ought to have been ruled and coerced. Thus their malverſations in office are ſupported inſtead of being checked by the company. The whole of the affairs of that body are reduced to a moſt perilous ſituation; and many millions of innocent and deſerving men who are under the protection of this nation, and who ought to be protected by it, are oppreſſed by a moſt deſpotic and rapacious tyranny. The company and their ſervants having ſtrengthened themſelves by this confederacy, have ſet at defiance the authority and admonitions of this houſe employed to reform them; and when this houſe had ſelected certain principal delinquents, whom they declared it the duty of the company to recall, the company held out its legal privileges againſt all reformation; poſitively refuſed to recall them; and ſupported thoſe who had fallen under the juſt cenſure of this houſe, with new and ſtronger marks of countenance and approbation.

The late houſe diſcovering the reverſed ſituation of the company, by which the nominal ſervants are really the maſters, and the offenders are become their own judges, thought fit to examine into the ſtate of their commerce; and they have alſo diſcovered that their commercial affairs are in the greateſt diſorder; that their debts have accumulated beyond any preſent or obvious future means of payment, at leaſt under the actual adminiſtration of their affairs; that this condition of the Eaſt India company has begun to affect the ſinking fund itſelf, on which the public credit of the kingdom reſts, a million and upwards being due to the cuſtoms, which that houſe of commons, whoſe intentions towards the company have been ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, were indulgent enough to reſpite. And thus, inſtead of confiſcating their property, the company received without intereſt (which in ſuch a caſe had been before charged) the uſe of a very large ſum of the public money. The revenues are under the peculiar care of this houſe, not only as the

to make good the ſame by an additional window tax. This tax, he ſaid, would not be felt as an additional burthen, but ought to be conſidered as a commutation, and would in fact prove favourable to the ſubject:

revenues originate from us, but as, on every failure of the funds ſet apart for ſupport of the national credit, or to provide for the national ſtrength and ſafety, the taſk of ſupplying every deficiency falls upon his majeſty's faithful commons, this houſe muſt, in effect, tax the people. The houſe therefore, at every moment, incurs the hazard of becoming obnoxious to its conſtituents.

The enemies of the late houſe of commons reſolved, if poſſible, to bring on that event. They therefore endeavoured to miſrepreſent the provident means adopted by the houſe of commons for keeping off this invidious neceſſity, as an attack on the rights of the Eaſt India company; for they well knew, that on the one hand if, for want of proper regulation and relief, the company ſhould become inſolvent, or even ſtop payment, the national credit and commerce would ſuſtain an heavy blow; and that calamity would be juſtly imputed to parliament, which after ſuch long enquiries, and ſuch frequent admonitions from his majeſty, had neglected ſo eſſential and ſo urgent an article of their duty: on the other hand they knew, that, wholly corrupted as the company is, nothing effectual could be done to preſerve that intereſt from ruin, without taking for a time the national objects of their truſt out of their hands; and then a cry would be induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the houſe of commons, as depriving Britiſh ſubjects of their legal privileges. The reſtraint, being plain and ſimple, muſt be eaſily underſtood by thoſe who would be brought with great difficulty to comprehend the intricate detail of matters of fact, which rendered this ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of India abſolutely neceſſary on motives of juſtice, of policy, of public honour, and public ſafety.

The houſe of commons had not been able to deviſe a method, by which the redreſs of grievances could be effected through the authors of thoſe grievances; nor could they imagine how corruptions could be purified by the corruptors and the corrupted; nor do we now conceive, how any reformation can proceed from the known abettors and ſupporters of the perſons who have been guilty of the miſdemeanors which parliament has reprobated, and who for their own ill purpoſes have given countenance to a falſe and deluſive ſtate of the company's affairs, fabricated to miſlead parliament, and to impoſe upon the nation.

Your commons feel, with a juſt reſentment, the inadequate eſtimate which your miniſters have formed of the importance of this great concern. They call on us to act upon the principles of thoſe who have not enquired into the ſubject; and to condemn thoſe who, with the moſt laudable diligence, have examined and ſcrutinized every part of it. The deliberations of parliament have been broken; the ſeaſon of the year is unfavourable; many of us are new members, who muſt be wholly unacquainted with the ſubject, which lies remote from the ordinary courſe of general information.

We are cautioned againſt an infringement of the conſtitution; and it is impoſſible to know, what the ſecret adviſers of the crown, who have driven out the late miniſters for their conduct in parliament, and have diſſolved the late parliament for a pretended attack upon prerogative, will conſider as ſuch an infringement. We are not furniſhed with a rule, the obſervance of which can make us ſafe from the reſentment of the crown, even by an implicit obedience to the dictates of the miniſters who have adviſed that ſpeech: we know not how ſoon thoſe miniſters may be diſavowed; and how ſoon the members of this houſe, for our very agreement with them may be conſidered as objects of his majeſty's diſpleaſure. Until by his majeſty's goodneſs and wiſdom the late example is completely done away, we are not free.

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ject: a house, for instance, of nine windows, which would be rated at 10*s.* 6*d.* might be supposed to consume 7lb. of tea; the difference between the old duties on which, and the new duty proposed, might, at an average, amount to 1*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* so that such a family would gain by the commutation 15*s.* 4*d.*

But the principal benefit he expected from this measure was the absolute ruin of the smuggling trade, which, he said, subsisted almost entirely on the profit of their teas. Another benefit would be, the timely and necessary relief it would afford the East India company. By this regulation they would find a vent for thirteen, instead of five millions of pounds of tea, and would be enabled to take twenty more large ships into their service.

The act met with a warm opposition in both houses of parliament. It was denied to have any claim to the principle of commutation—Tea, though an article of pretty general use, was still an article of luxury; the admission of light into houses was indispensably necessary; the act therefore, in effect, compelled all persons, whether they drank tea or not, to pay a tax for it. The chief benefit from the measure would accrue to the Chinese, who, by the increasing consumption of tea, and demands for a higher-priced sort, would draw out of this country money to double the amount they had done before. The company might, indeed, derive considerable gains; but they must all come out of the pockets of the people, without any return; and one truth would be made very clear, that the trade of the company was not a matter of such infinite consequence to the revenues of the kingdom, since, without the intervention of their imports, we could raise the same sums upon our houses and windows at home.

But allowing the general principles of the bill to be unexceptionable, it was reprobated as a dangerous experiment. The duty on tea

We are well aware, in providing for the affairs of the East, what an adult strength of abuse, and of wealth and influence growing out of that abuse, his majesty's commons had, in the last parliament, and we still have, to struggle with. We are sensible that the influence of that wealth, in a much larger degree and measure than at any former period, may have penetrated into the very quarter from whence alone any real reformation can be expected.

If, therefore, in the arduous affairs recommended to us, our proceedings should be ill adapted, feeble, and ineffectual; if no delinquency should be prevented; and no delinquent should be called to account; if every person should be caressed, promoted, and raised in power, in proportion to the enormity of his offences; if no relief should be given to any of the natives unjustly dispossessed of their rights, jurisdictions, and properties; if no cruel and unjust exactions shall be forborne; if the source of no peculation, or oppressive gain should be cut off; if, by the omission of the opportunities that were in our hands, our Indian empire should fall into ruin irretrievable, and in its fall crush the credit, and overwhelm the revenues of this country, we stand acquitted to our honour, and to our conscience, who have reluctantly seen the weightiest interests of our country, at times the most critical to its dignity and safety, rendered the sport of the inconsiderate and unmeasured ambition of individuals, and by that means the wisdom of his majesty's government degraded in the public estimation, and the policy and character of this renowned nation rendered contemptible in the eyes of all Europe.

was one of the main pillars of the revenue; it was paid without a murmur, and by prudent regulations might be very greatly extended. It was alſo much doubted, whether it would produce the effects expected from it in the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling. The price of tea on the continent was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. cheaper than at the company's ſales, and this, added to the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty, it was contended, would be a ſufficient compenſation for all the riſks run by the ſmuggler.

The public meaſures next brought forward by the miniſter, related to an object that required all the addreſs and management he poſſeſſed. The firſt was a bill to enable the Eaſt India company to divide 8 per cent. intereſt on their capital. By the ſudden diſſolution of the late parliament, the committee to whom the examination of the ſtate of the company's affairs had been referred, was prevented from making any progreſs in that buſineſs; and tho' the enquiry was reſumed as early as poſſible in the preſent ſeſſion, yet, before any report could be made, the houſe was reduced to the neceſſity, either of authorizing the company to make a dividend, without any information relative to their abilities ſo to do, or to endanger their credit, by refuſing its conſent. All the diſgraceful and dangerous circumſtances of this dilemma were ſtrongly urged by the late miniſters againſt their ſucceſſors; and as the beſt and ſafeſt means of extricating the public out of the difficulty, it was propoſed to make the dividend 6 per cent. inſtead of 8. It was admitted on all ſides, that the affairs of the company were, at leaſt, not in the moſt flouriſhing condition; and it was ſtated, not only as a mockery, but as an act of real injuſtice to the public, that, while the company was applying to parliament for a conſiderable pecuniary relief, they ſhould take care to divide amongſt themſelves as much as they had divided under the moſt favourable circumſtances; and that they ſhould not take upon themſelves any part of the diſtreſſes occaſioned by their own miſmanagement, but lay all upon the public.

On the other ſide, the neceſſity of the caſe, and the probable grounds for ſuppoſing that the company might be indulged in a dividend of 8 per cent. without any detriment to the public, were chiefly inſiſted on. It was alſo urged in favour of the company, that their diſtreſſes did not ariſe from their own faults, but that they had partaken in the general calamity which, in conſequence of the war, had involved the whole country.

The bill, as originally propoſed, paſſed the houſe of commons without a diviſion; and after a warm debate in the houſe of lords, paſſed, on a diviſion of 28 to 9.

The ſecond act was to allow the company a further reſpite of duties due to the Exchequer; to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount preſcribed by former acts of parliament; and to eſtabliſh their future dividends.

Theſe propoſitions gave riſe to frequent debates. The partiality of the miniſter towards the India company was allowed to be highly and juſtly merited; and the proofs he gave them of his gratitude in the commutation act, the dividend act, and the preſent bill, kept pace with his ſenſe of the obligation he owed them. But hitherto, it was obſerved, he had been diſcharging

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the debt out of other people's pockets, and it remained to be ſeen, in his bill for the better government of their affairs, whether he would be as ready to ſurrender to them his miniſterial power, as he was to aſſiſt them with the public money.

As an amendment to the firſt object of the bill, it was propoſed by Mr. Dempſter, that the company ſhould pay 5 per cent. for the money owing to the public; but the motion was negatived.

With reſpect to the authorizing the acceptance of bills, an objection was ſtarted by Mr. Fox, which, if it be allowed any weight, would be of the utmoſt conſequence to the public. Parliament, he obſerved, having a ſuperintending power over the company, and its conſent being neceſſary to the acceptance of the bills in queſtion, the public might well conclude that the reſources of the company were equal to their payment of thoſe bills, if parliament ſhould authorize their acceptance, and might thereby be induced to take them as good ſecurity: as therefore parliament, which is alſo the guardian of the public intereſts, would be the cauſe why the money was advanced, ſo, in caſe of inſolvency, it would be bound in equity to ſee that no one ſuffered from the effects of its partiality, negligence, or incapacity.

This doctrine, it was contended on the other ſide of the houſe, was totally inadmiſſible; and the caſe was ſtated in the following manner:—By the act of 1773 the public became entitled to a certain ſhare in the company's profits, after a dividend of 8 per cent.; and, as a ſecurity for this ſhare, the company were bound not to accept of bills beyond a certain amount, until it was paid, without the conſent of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. When therefore parliament gives ſuch conſent, it amounts only to this, that the public conſents to give up, for the preſent, the ſecurity it poſſeſſed for the payment of its ſhare in the company's profits.

The extreme inconſiſtency between the third object of the bill and the firſt was handled with great ſeverity. To ſupport the firſt, it would be neceſſary to ſhew, that the affairs of the company were in ſo deplorable a ſtate as to ſtand in need of every poſſible aſſiſtance. To juſtify the laſt, it was required to prove, that they were in ſo flouriſhing a condition as to afford an enormous dividend. The preference given by the miniſter to the company's intereſts over thoſe of the public, weighed down and ſinking under the burthen of taxes, was again reverted to; and the houſe was warned againſt the rapid ſtrides with which the factions of the India company, after plundering and ravaging the Eaſt, were advancing to controul and domineer over the government and councils of this kingdom.

After ſeveral diviſions, the bill paſſed both houſes, and was followed by an act "for the better "government of the affairs of the "Eaſt India company," &c. This act, though framed upon the ſame model with that brought in by Mr. Pitt in the laſt parliament, yet differed from it conſiderably in ſeveral material points. The powers of the board of controul, which, in contraſt to the plan of the late miniſtry, and in compliance with the temper of thoſe times, was kept as ſubordinate as poſſible, were now

greatly enlarged. In cases of urgency, which might not admit the delays of consultation, and in cases of secrecy, which might not admit of previous communication, they are enabled to issue and transmit their own orders to India, without their being subject to the revision of the court of directors. It also vests in the governor-general and council an absolute power over the other presidencies in all points relative to transactions with the country powers, and in all applications of the revenues and forces in time of war, with a power of suspension in case of disobedience.

The second part of the bill contains a variety of internal regulations respecting the affairs of India. The clauses relative to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, to the disputes between him and the Rajah of Tanjore, and to the relief of dispossessed Zemindars, and other native landholders, were adopted from Mr. Fox's India bill, with some exceptions and limitations. Various restrictions are also laid upon the patronage of the directors, and retrenchments directed to be made in the company's establishments.

The third part of the bill relates to the punishment of Indian delinquency. All British subjects are made amenable to the courts of justice in England for all acts done in India. The receiving of presents is declared to be extortion, and disobedience of orders, and all corrupt bargains to be misdemeanors, and punishable as such. Power is given to the governors of the several settlements to seize all persons suspected of carrying on illicit correspondence, and, if necessary, to send them to England. Every company's servant is required, within two months after his return to England, to deliver in upon oath to the court of exchequer, an inventory of his real and personal estates, and a copy thereof to the court of directors for the inspection of the proprietors; and, in case any complaint should be made thereupon by the board of controul, the court of directors, or any three proprietors possessing stock to the amount conjunctively of 10,000 l. the court of exchequer are required to examine the person complained of upon oath, and to imprison him until he shall have answered the interrogatories put to him to their satisfaction; and any neglect or concealment herein is punished by imprisonment, forfeiture of all his estates, both real and personal, and an incapacity of ever serving the company again.

Lastly; for the more speedy and effectual prosecution of persons charged with crimes committed in the East Indies, a new court of justice is appointed, consisting of three judges, appointed by the three courts, four peers, and six members of the house of commons: the four peers to be taken by lot out of a list of 26, which shall be chosen by ballot at the commencement of every session of parliament, and the six commoners out of a list of 40 members, chosen in the same manner; liberty being given to the party accused, and to the prosecutor, to challenge a certain number of the same. The act also directs, that all depositions of witnesses taken in India, and all writings received by the court of directors, and copies of those sent out by them, shall be received as legal evidence. The judgment of the court is made final, and to extend to fine and imprisonment, and

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to declaring the party incapable of ever ſerving the company in any capacity whatever.

This bill met with a ſtrenuous oppoſition in almoſt every ſtage of its progreſs through both houſes. As the principle of the firſt part of the bill is the ſame with that brought in by Mr. Pitt in the late parliament, it is unneceſſary for us to go over again the grounds on which it was oppoſed and defended. The extenſion of the power of the board of controul, a meaſure adopted for the purpoſe of giving greater vigour and efficacy to the whole ſyſtem, was objected to as incongruous to the avowed principle of the bill, and inſufficient for the purpoſes alledged to be aimed at by it. The enlarged powers conferred on the governor-general were alſo objected to as an inverſion of the order of government, which requires that authority, exerciſed at a diſtance from the controuling power, and ſubject to almoſt inſuperable temptations, ſhould be as limited as poſſible. The bill was founded on theſe notorious facts—that the government of the company at home, in the hands of the directors, was weak and impolitic, and that the conduct of their ſervants abroad was diſobedient, cruel, and rapacious; yet the bill confirmed the government in the hands of the former, and increaſed the powers of the latter. A board of controul was indeed inſtituted; but this confuſion of all the eſſential powers of government, the nominal ſovereignty of the court of directors, the arbitrary ſuperintendance of the board of controul, and the deſpotic power conferred on the governor-general, ſeemed to be the moſt complete recipe for compoſing a weak, inefficient, and corrupt government, that human invention could ſuggeſt.

In anſwer to theſe objections it was aſſerted, that the adjuſtment of theſe ſeveral powers had been regulated by a due attention to the nature of the object, to the rights of individuals, and to the ſafety of the conſtitution. That the whole plan was neceſſarily an experiment; but that it was evident, from the form of our own polity, that a mixed government did not imply one weak or inefficient. With reſpect to the great authority veſted in the governor-general, it was defended as moſt ſuitable to the genius and prejudices of the country where it was to be exerciſed.

In the ſecond part of the bill, it was remarked, that the clauſes reſpecting diſobedience of orders, the commencing of wars, and the ſucceſſion to offices by ſeniority, were rendered nugatory by ſeveral exceptions and limitations. Theſe exceptions were, on the other hand, defended as neceſſary precautions againſt circumſtances and events in which it might be neceſſary to permit the exerciſe of a diſcretionary power. The inefficiency of the clauſe relative to the oppreſſed native landholders, the ruinous delay which would attend the mode of proceeding directed for their relief, and the abuſes to which it was liable, were alſo ſtrongly objected to; but the clauſe was adopted by the majority on the ſame grounds as the former.

The laſt part of the bill encountered a more vehement oppoſition, and the miniſter was called on, but in vain, to ſubmit it to the free judgment of the houſe by making it a ſeparate act. The trial by a

jury of peers has ever been conſidered in this kingdom as a right of ſo ſacred a nature, that the ſlighteſt attempt to infringe upon it had hitherto never failed to occaſion an univerſal alarm. But the inſtitution of a new court of judicature was not the only innovation which the bill made upon the conſtitution. The obligation to ſwear to the amount of property, and the powers granted to the courts of enforcing interrogatories, tended to force perſons to criminate themſelves, and were modes of inquiſitorial proceedings unknown to the ſubjects of this iſland. It was confidently denied, that there was any neceſſity for ſo alarming a departure from the eſtabliſhed principles and practice of the conſtitution; and it was therefore preſumed, that it could have been done with no other than a corrupt view, to draw the rich and powerful ſervants of the Eaſt India company into a dependance upon the crown for its protection.

Notwithſtanding the weight of popular odium, which the miniſter was likely to incur by this proceeding, he nevertheleſs perſiſted in ſupporting his meaſure. He declared his conviction, that the ordinary courts of juſtice were totally inadequate to the taſk of doing ſubſtantial juſtice upon Indian delinquents, and that there were many crimes committed there for which the common law had provided no redreſs.—At the ſame time he did not conceive that the principle on which he proceeded was ſo totally unknown in the juriſprudence of this kingdom. It was recognized in the whole code of martial law. As to the influence of the crown, he truſted he had ſufficiently guarded againſt any apprehenſions, by the mode directed for the conſtitution of the new court of judicature.

The bill at length paſſed both houſes, after frequent diviſions, in which very large majorities followed the opinion of the miniſter.

On the 30th of June Mr. Pitt opened the national accounts for the preſent year, or what is generally termed the Budget.

After having recapitulated the ſupplies which had been granted by parliament, and the ways and means for raiſing them, he ſtated, that the ways and means fell juſt within 6,000,000 l. of the ſum voted for the *ſupplies*; and this laſt ſum he propoſed to raiſe by a loan. The terms which he had come to with the ſubſcribers were as follows; viz. for every £. 100 ſubſcribed, the public would give

£. 100 3 per cents. valued at	—	£. 57	12	6
50 4 per cents. valued at	—	37	8	9
5 s. 6 d. by annuities, valued at		4	17	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Total	—	99	19	$2\frac{1}{2}$

Thus the ſum to be paid by the public would be ſomewhat ſhort of what would be lent: however this would be made up to the money-lender by a douceur of lottery tickets, which would coſt the public nothing: to a ſubſcriber of £. 1,000 ſhould be given ſix lottery tickets, and

and ſo on in proportion to the increaſed amount of each ſubſcription.

With reſpect to the unfunded debt, which amounted to upwards of £.12,000,000 in navy bills, and £.1,000,000 in ordnance debentures, though he intended to fund only ſeven millions of this debt, ſtill, as moſt of the navy bills actually bore intereſt, and as the intereſt on that part which he did not mean to fund this year, would amount to £.280,000, he propoſed to lay on taxes * this year for the intereſt of the whole, notwithſtanding only half of it would be funded.

Agreeable to this calculation, the ſum neceſſary for paying the intereſt on the loan, the part of the unfunded debt which he propoſed to fund, and the four per cents. on that which he would leave unfunded till the next year, would amount to a little more than £.900,000; ſo that if the new taxes ſhould produce the ſums that he expected from them, there would be a ſurplus of ſomewhat more than £.30,000 in favour of the public.

The taxes which he produced, met in general but with little oppoſition, if we except that which propoſed an additional duty on coals, and which was finally rejected, and ſome others ſubſtituted in its room.

He concluded with declaring, that he had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to do what he held to be the indiſpenſable duty of every perſon honoured with the high office he held; viz. to diſguiſe nothing from the public that affected their real intereſt, but to bring every particular of that nature forward; and, however great the perſonal riſque and inconvenience, however great the danger of incurring popular odium by propoſing heavy burthens on the people might be, not to ſhrink from that painful part of duty, if ſuch burthens were by the exigency of affairs required to be impoſed.

The ſeſſions cloſed with a motion brought forward by Mr. Dundas, for the reſtoration of the eſtates forfeited in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745.—As this meaſure had for its object the relief of individuals, whoſe unequivocal attachment and loyalty to his preſent majeſty and his family could not be ſuppoſed, even in a leſs liberal and leſs enlightened age than the preſent, to be tainted or affected by the crimes of their anceſtors, it met with the perfect approbation of the commons.—In the houſe of lords, however, it was oppoſed by the lord chancellor, both on the grounds of its impolicy and its partiality. It was impolitic, he ſaid, as far as it rendered nugatory the ſettled maxim of the Britiſh conſtitution, that treaſon was a crime of ſo deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its puniſhment but the total eradication of the perſon, the name, and the family, out of the ſociety which he had attempted to hurt. This was the wiſdom, he ſaid, of former times. But if a more enlightened age choſe to relax from the eſtabliſhed ſeverity, he thought it ought to be done with gravity and deliberation.

It was, he ſaid, partial, becauſe the eſtates forfeited in 1715, and which were forfeited upon the ſame grounds and principles as thoſe in

* For theſe taxes, and their computed amount reſpectively, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 304.

1745, were passed over in silence, whilst even a person who had forfeited in 1690 was included in the provision.—The bill nevertheless passed the lords, and received the royal assent.

Aug. 20th, 1784. The king, on the 20th of August, put an end to the session, by a speech from the throne; in which, after expressing his approbation of their proceedings, and his concern for the additional burthens which they had been obliged to lay upon the public, he adverted to the important objects, with respect to trade and commerce, yet to be provided for; and he trusted, that such regulations would be framed, upon a full investigation, as might be calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of every part of the empire.

CHAP. X.

The second session of the parliament opened. The king's speech recommends the final adjustment of the commercial intercourse with Ireland, the further suppression of smuggling, the consideration of the reports of the commissioners of accounts, and the making regulations in different offices. Earl of Surrey's exceptions to the speech. The minister's answer. Lord North's animadversions on the motion which had been made of a parliamentary reform. Mr. Burke objects to the speech, on account of its taking no notice of India affairs, and proposes an amendment in the address. Minister replies to Lord North.—History of the celebrated Westminster election, which continued for upwards of six weeks, and was concluded only on the day previous to the return of the writ. High bailiff grants a scrutiny, which is protested against by Mr. Fox. Brought before parliament and often discussed. Arguments for and against the scrutiny. Mr. Fox's animated appeal, sarcastically attacking the minister. Mr. Pitt's reply, charging Mr. Fox with detestable conduct in politics. Various questions and divisions on the subject. The scrutiny at last quashed, and Lord Hood and Mr. Fox in consequence returned.—Provisions by Mr. Fox's India bill, for adjusting the Nabob of Arcot's debts; also by Mr. Pitt's. Court of directors pursue measures, in consequence of directions in the latter, which are superseded by the board of controul. Earl of Carlisle's motion thereon—warmly debated, but negatived without a division. The same transaction agitated in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, and defended by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Smith, chairman of the company's, sentiments. Sir Thomas Rumbold's. Mr. Burke's full investigation of the subject. The motion negatived, 164 to 69.—Mr. Pitt's motion to amend the representation in parliament; particulars of his proposal. Not generally approved. Mr. Fox's objections. Arguments for and against the measure. Negatived.—General review of the national finances by the minister. Objections by the opposition. Contents of the budget.—Bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into abuses, and report observations for better conducting business, in the public offices, brought in by the minister. Objections thereto. Arguments in its

its favour. Paſſes in the commons by a large majority. In the lords receives very material amendments.—Mention of the ſteps taken to ſettle the commercial intercourſe with Ireland. Cloſe of the ſeſſion.

THE ſecond ſeſſion opened on the 25th day of January 1785. In the ſpeech from the throne, the object particularly recommended to the attention of both houſes, was the final adjuſtment of the *Commercial Intercourſe* between Great Britain and Ireland. The ſucceſs that had attended the meaſures taken laſt ſeſſion, for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, was next mentioned, as an encouragement to apply, with continued aſſiduity, to that important object. And, finally, the reports of the commiſſioners of accounts, and ſuch further regulations as might appear neceſſary in the different offices of the kingdom, were ſubmitted as matters worthy of their early conſideration.

The addreſs, which, as uſual, was an echo to the ſpeech, paſſed in the houſe of lords without either comment or any ſort of oppoſition. In the houſe of commons, the earl of Surrey made a few remarks, on what he looked upon as important deficiencies in the ſpeech.

Firſt, the form of expreſſion, by which the annual eſtimates were mentioned, left the public altogether at a loſs, whether any new burthens were to be impoſed or not: and, in the next place, he was aſtoniſhed that, among other affairs of importance, the reduction of the army had not been ſo much as glanced at. Such a matter was of the moſt eſſential conſequence to this country, and therefore demanded the moſt ſerious attention of parliament.

With reſpect to his majeſty's aſſurance of his hearty concurrence in every meaſure that could tend to ſecure the *true principles of the conſtitution*, he remarked; that expreſſions of ſo general a nature, coming from the throne, and unapplied to any particular object, required ſome explanation. He then ſarcaſtically demanded, whether the rights of juries, which had lately ſuffered ſo violent an attack, was the matter alluded to? or whether the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, by which the rights of election had been violated, was the object to which the expreſſion bore reference? or perhaps it might be the reform of the repreſentation in parliament that was meant; and this, when he called to mind the opinions of the gentleman whom he concluded to be the framer of the ſpeech, he could not but hope and believe to be the caſe; and he wiſhed him to conſider, that the ſpirit which had lately diſcovered itſelf both in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in many parts of England, made it neceſſary for the houſe, as well as the public, to know whether the queſtion of a more equal repreſentation was to be brought forward as a meaſure ſanctioned by government.

The chancellor of the exchequer roſe to anſwer the objections made by Lord Surrey. With regard to the firſt, whether there was to be a loan, and any new taxes? it was a point which he conceived that was not the proper day for diſcuſſing.—The language of his majeſty to that houſe, on the ſubject of ſupply, was the language proper for his majeſty

to

to hold: he had told them, that he had ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before them, and that he confided in their liberality and zeal to grant the neceſſary ſupplies. In the addreſs, they had promiſed to fulfil his majeſty's expectations. This being the caſe, they muſt have the eſtimates before them, and know what the exigencies of the public ſervices did require, before it would be poſſible for any man to ſay what quantum would be wanted.—The other matter pointed out by the noble lord, as a matter that ought to have been mentioned in the ſpeech, viz. Whether there was to be any further reduction of the army? was a queſtion which belonged to a ſeparate and diſtinct diſcuſſion, which gentlemen well knew would be brought on at a future day, but certainly was not entitled to make any part of his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne.—With regard to the meaſure of a reform in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, he was not of opinion that the moſt practicable mode of accompliſhing that object, would have been to bring it explicitly forward in his majeſty's ſpeech. Great and wiſe men had entertained various conceptions of that important matter. He was willing to give it all the fair play to which the ardent deſire of the people, its own momentous conſequence, and his ſincere inclination, entitled it to. On this buſineſs he laboured inceſſantly. It was that which of all others was the neareſt his heart: but at this very early period of the ſeſſion, to have ſtated it ſpecifically, was impoſſible. Much was ſtill to do. His ideas were not matured. It comprehended a great variety of conſiderations. It related to the eſſentials and vitals of the conſtitution: it therefore required the moſt delicate attention. It was a path which he was determined to tread, but he knew with what tenderneſs and circumſpection it became him to proceed. He ſhould undoubtedly give ſufficient previous intimation; and he muſt entreat and conjure every gentleman in the houſe to come on that day with a mind free from all prejudices, and give the ſubject that impartial, fair, and ſolid diſcuſſion, which its importance required.

Lord North declared himſelf a determined enemy to any alteration of the conſtitution in ſo delicate and important a point. Convinced as he was of the excellence of our conſtitution, he conſidered all attempts at innovation as highly dangerous to the very being of the conſtitution itſelf, and therefore he ſhould uniformly oppoſe them. To talk of ſecuring the true principles of the conſtitution by any innovation, appeared to him to be ſo direct a contradiction in terms, that he could by no means agree with the noble earl in the conſtruction he wiſhed to put on the words ſpoken from the throne.

He then adverted to Mr. Wyvill's circular letter on the ſubject, and particularly to that part of it which ſtated, that Mr. Pitt had promiſed to exert his whole power, as *a man and as a miniſter, honeſtly and boldly*, to carry a propoſition of parliamentary reform. He aſked, What was meant by the oppoſition of the word *miniſter* to the word *man?* He ſaid, he preſumed the meaning was, that the miniſter was to do ſomething more than the man could do, and what that ſomething was, he declared he was at a loſs to imagine.

He

He aſked alſo, What was meant by the words *honeſtly* and *boldly?* and enumerated the former efforts made by Mr. Pitt, to procure a parliamentary reform, in order to prove that a miniſter *could do no more* than a man: but by the introduction of the words honeſtly and boldly, it appeared, he ſaid, as if a ſuſpicion had been entertained, that the miniſter *would not do ſo much* as the man. He then reminded ſuch gentlemen who had formerly voted againſt a reform, of the indelible diſgrace they would infallibly entail on themſelves, if they gave the miniſter that ſupport which they had formerly refuſed to the man.

The total ſilence which the king's ſpeech obſerved, relative to the affairs of India, called up Mr. Burke; who, after ridiculing the ſpeech, on account of the contradictory meanings that had been put upon it, adverted to what he conſidered as an unpardonable omiſſion therein. This ſilence (proceeded Mr. Burke) is indeed an alarming confeſſion of that diſtreſs which it forbears to mention. But though the ſpeech of the miniſter conveys no information, I have lately ſeen a king's ſpeech, which was ſufficiently explicit on the dreadful occaſion: a king (alluding to Mr. Haſtings) who rules even with more authority than the Britiſh monarch; who has told of diſtreſſes which were not before believed, and proved the falſhood of thoſe repreſentations, on the faith of which the nation had been induced to grant the aids of laſt ſeſſion. After dwelling for ſome time on the enormous degree of profuſion and peculation prevalent in our government in the Eaſt Indies, he pledged himſelf, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to ſupport his aſſertions with proofs the moſt irrefragable; and concluded his ſpeech, by moving an amendment to the addreſs, to the following purport:

"Convinced, by fatal experience, that every diverſion of the revenues of the Eaſt Indies, from the local eſtabliſhments, or juſt appropriation, muſt ultimately tend to the ruin of that country, and to lay additional burthens upon this, your faithful commons beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we will enquire minutely into the circumſtances, to prevent peculation in future, and to puniſh the offenders, if they can poſſibly be diſcovered."

He ſaid he would not preſs the houſe to a diviſion upon this amendment, but content himſelf with putting it on the journals of the houſe.

The chancellor of the exchequer roſe a ſecond time to take notice of the manner in which Lord North had treated the words quoted from Mr. Wyvill's letter. The letter, he ſaid, was not his, neither was he accountable for any particular phraſes it contained: but it was to his mind very clear, from the words "as a miniſter and as a man," what the gentleman meant to convey; namely, that in any ſituation, public or private, in office, or out of office, he would give the propoſition his full ſupport. With reſpect to the words "boldly and "honeſtly," upon which the noble lord had thrown ſo much ſarcaſm, he ſuppoſed the noble lord, from the experience of his own uſe of power when in office, was induced to think it an impoſſible thing for a miniſter to act boldly and honeſtly.

The queſtion of the amendment was

was afterwards put, and negatived without a diviſion; and the addreſs paſſed *nem. con.*

The moſt prominent feature of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, whether we conſider its real importance as a conſtitutional queſtion, or the warmth and energy with which it was diſcuſſed, was the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny.

At the late general election, Lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and Sir Cecil Wray, offered themſelves as candidates to repreſent that city in parliament.

The firſt of theſe gentlemen was elected by a very large majority; the ſtruggle betwixt the two laſt was long and obſtinate: after continuing the conteſt for upwards of ſix weeks, it was finally concluded on the 17th day of May 1784, leaving a majority of 235 voters in favour of Mr. Fox. The high bailiff, at the requiſition of Sir Cecil Wray, the unſucceſsful candidate, granted a ſcrutiny into the poll which he had taken, on the day on which it cloſed, and which was the day previous to the return of his writ.

This mode of proceeding was on the ſpot formally proteſted againſt by Mr. Fox, and alſo by ſeveral of the electors *.

Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament, the conduct of the high bailiff in granting the ſcrutiny, under the circumſtances above-mentioned, was warmly taken up by the oppoſition, and as warmly defended by the miniſter and his friends.

After the ſubject had been debated, as well by counſel at the bar of the houſe, as by the members themſelves, in every ſhape, and as often as it could be brought before them, both by petitions from Mr. Fox and the electors, the proceeding of the high bailiff was juſtified; and it was reſolved, by a very conſiderable majority, on a motion of Lord Mulgrave's, "That the high "bailiff of Weſtminſter do proceed "in the ſcrutiny for the ſaid city, "with all practicable diſpatch."

Agreeable to this reſolution of the houſe, the high bailiff proceeded with the ſcrutiny during the remainder of the ſeſſion, and during the receſs. Not quite two pariſhes out of the ſeven, into which Weſtminſter is divided, were finiſhed, when the parliament met the ſecond time, and yet the ſcrutiny had then continued for eight months. It was calculated (taking into conſideration that one of the pariſhes already ſcrutinized was comparatively ſmall) that the buſineſs already gone through was not more than an eighth of the whole. Of the votes on the ſide of Mr. Fox, ſeventy-one had been objected to in the firſt pariſh, and the objections made good only againſt twenty-five: in the ſame pariſh, out of thirty-two of the voters for Sir Cecil Wray, which were objected to, twenty-ſeven were declared *illegal*.

In the ſecond pariſh, out of two hundred objected to, Mr. Fox loſt eighty; Sir Cecil Wray, out of ſeventy-five, at that time objected to (for the examination was not cloſed) had ſixty ſtruck off.

In this ſtate did the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny again come before the

* See an official copy of the high bailiff's return, and alſo of theſe proteſts, page 279, in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

houſe,

houſe, upon a petition from ſeveral of the electors, the 8th of February, when the high bailiff, and his counſel, Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Murphy, underwent a long examination at the bar of the houſe, touching the practicability of carrying on the ſcrutiny, and the difficulties and delays attending the ſame. The high bailiff gave in evidence, that, calculating from what had been already done, it would take certainly not leſs, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finiſh the ſcrutiny. The day following, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "That Thomas Corbett, eſq; high bailiff of the city of Weſtminſter, having finally cloſed the poll for members to repreſent the ſaid city, do forthwith obey the ſaid writ, and make a return of the precept directed to him for that purpoſe." This motion brought the merits of the whole queſtion again before the houſe, and was long and ably debated, during ſeveral days, by Lord Mulgrave, the maſter of the rolls, the attorney and ſolicitor-general, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt, on the one ſide; and on the other, by Mr. Lee, Sir Thomas Davenport, Mr. Anſtruther, Mr. Adam, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Powis, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu, Lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox.

The arguments uſed in this debate are reducible to two heads; firſt, the legality of the ſcrutiny, under the circumſtances of the caſe; and ſecondly, its expediency.

On the firſt head it was argued, in ſupport of the motion, that by ſtatute the writ was returnable on the day ſpecified in it; and that this appeared clearly from an act of Henry the Sixth, by which an action of debt was given to a perſon aggrieved by any return, the act expreſsly providing that ſuch action ſhould be brought within three months after the meeting of parliament. The meeting of parliament and the return of the writ muſt therefore have been conſidered as co-exiſtent in point of time, or it would have been abſurd in them to give a man an action, which could be ſo eaſily defeated if the practice introduced by the preſent parliament ſhould prevail; for the ſheriff not making any return for three months, or, as it might happen in the preſent caſe, three years, after the meeting, no action could be brought againſt him, becauſe by law it muſt be brought within three months after the meeting, or not at all.

The ſtatute of the 10th and 11th of William III. was next inſiſted on, which requires the ſheriff to make his return on or before the day of the meeting of parliament: this clauſe, it was ſaid, virtually included all inferior returning officers, who, by making their returns to the ſheriff, muſt enable him to obey his writ, and tranſmit it to the crown-office in due time, before the opening of the ſeſſion; and this conſtruction of the ſtatute is further confirmed by what is directed in the caſe of writs for the election of members during the ſitting of parliament, which are not made returnable within any limited time. The difference between the two caſes is very ſtriking; the king was ſuppoſed to know beſt when a new parliament ought to meet, and therefore he ſummons it to meet on a certain day; and it is neceſſary the writs ſhould be all returned on that day, that the commons may be as fully repreſented as poſſible, before

parliament

parliament proceeds to make laws. But it is different with reſpect to a vacancy made by death or otherwiſe, in a houſe of commons already ſitting: the houſe cannot poſſibly be full; but a reaſonable diſpatch is requiſite in filling the vacancy, and the act therefore only directs that the return ſhall be made within fourteen days after the election.

The ground of legal analogy was next reſorted to, and it was maintained, that no ſheriff, or other officer, could legally continue to act under the authority of any writ or precept after the date when the ſame was made returnable: on the day, therefore, that the precept iſſued to the high bailiff was directed to be returned to the ſheriff, he was, quoad hoc, *functus officio*, and became as incompetent to continue the poll or ſcrutiny, as if the writ had never iſſued at all.

It was maintained, in the third place, that the protraction of a ſcrutiny beyond the exigence of the writ was contrary to the uniform and invariable practice of parliament. In the great Oxfordſhire conteſt, the ſheriff granted a ſcrutity, which laſted till the day before the writ was returnable, and then cloſed it, contrary to the wiſhes and entreaties of the parties that had demanded it. He then returned all the four candidates. The houſe did not condemn the ſheriff; on the contrary, it ſat from day to day to determine who ought to have been returned. Laſtly, the illegality of the proceeding was argued, on the ground of its being contrary to reaſon, and leading to the moſt abſurd as well as dangerous conſequences. If the power aſſumed by the high bailiff, of protracting the return beyond the time ſpecified in the writ, were once recognized, it would inveſt returning officers with a power of controlling one of the moſt arbitrary and irreſiſtible prerogatives of the ſovereign, that of aſſembling his parliament at ſuch time and place as he may think proper. On the other hand, it might become the means of depriving the people of their rights, by packing a parliament, in which the members of the moſt inconſiderable boroughs would take their ſeats, whilſt the repreſentatives of counties, of Weſtminſter, Norwich, Liverpool, Briſtol, Newcaſtle, and every other populous place, might be engaged in attending ſcrutinies.

It was further obſerved, that if the legiſlature had intended to authorize a ſcrutiny in every caſe in which it might be demanded, it would doubtleſs have expreſsly provided for the ſame, and not have left it entirely in the diſcretion of the returning officer; but it was generally agreed that no ſuch obligation exiſted, except in the city of London, where a proviſion was made for it by a ſpecial act of parliament. In the late elections, the ſheriff of Bedfordſhire had refuſed a ſcrutiny, though at the cloſe of the poll there was only a majority of one vote; yet the houſe had not conſidered his conduct as in any way reprehenſible. The returning officers of Southwark, Lancaſter, &c. had alſo refuſed to grant a ſcrutiny, although it had been demanded.

But if it ſhould be granted, that the ſcrutiny was within the ſtrict line of legality, yet it was contended, that the authorizing the high bailiff to proceed therein was neither expedient nor equitable. If it had been the intention of the houſe

to

to do the moſt ſpeedy and effectual juſtice to all the parties concerned, they would doubtleſs have directed the bailiff to make ſuch a return as his judgment ſhould dictate (the only thing required of him by his oath) and would have themſelves proceeded to correct the return, if it had been vitiated by any errors in the election. The act of Mr. Grenville had eſtabliſhed the proper tribunal, with adequate powers, for the trial of conteſted elections; whereas the court of ſcrutiny had neither power to compel the attendance of evidence, nor authority to examine them on oath, or to puniſh them for contempt or prevarication: it had, therefore, at leaſt a ſuſpicious appearance for the houſe to wave its own privileges, and to recur to inadequate modes of trial, by which the city might be deprived of its repreſentatives for three years, and the houſe be at laſt obliged to reviſe the whole proceeding in a committee. The partiality and injuſtice of their proceeding was ſtill farther marked, by their not only authorizing, but *directing*, the bailiff to proceed in the ſcrutiny, even after they had eſtabliſhed his diſcretion, either to continue it or not, and after he had himſelf declared, that he was ready to make a return, if the houſe ſhould permit him.

Mr. Fox, who bore a moſt diſtinguiſhed part in the debate, concluded theſe arguments by a pathetic appeal to the feelings, the honour, and the juſtice of the houſe. He ſaid, he believed no one could doubt, that the only object the miniſter could have in view was, to harraſs and perſecute an individual, whom he had choſen to make the victim of his reſentment. He had always wiſhed to ſtand well with the right honourable gentleman; he remembered the day he had firſt congratulated the houſe on the acquiſition of his abilities; it had been his pride to fight, ſide by ſide with him, the battles of the conſtitution, little thinking that he would one day deſert his principles, and lend himſelf to be the inſtrument of that ſecret influence, which they had both combated ſo ſucceſsfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman; a rival that would leave him far behind in the purſuit of glory; but he never could have expected, that he would have deſcended ſo low as to be the court perſecutor of any man. I fancied, ſaid Mr. Fox, I ſaw in him ſo much generoſity of ſoul, ſo much elevation of mind, that ſo groveling a paſſion as malice could not have found an aſylum in his breaſt. If he thinks that it is merely for a ſeat in parliament that I am contending, he knows me not; but I was willing to take the hard taſk of ſtemming the tide of miſrepreſentation, that had artfully and ſtudiouſly been diſſeminated through the kingdom. I was deſirous that the citizens of Weſtminſter, to whom my public meaſures were beſt known, who knew even my private foibles, as I had been bred, and had always lived among them, ſhould paſs judgment on my political conduct; and proud I am of the iſſue, which has taught the more diſtant parts of the kingdom that they were miſled. But he declared upon his honour, that when he recollected that the greateſt ornaments of this country had been ſacrificed to popular prejudices; that Lord John Cavendiſh had been thrown out by the citizens of York; that General Conway, Mr. Coke, Mr. Baker, &c. had loſt their elections, he ſhould be ſorry if, by an

election for any other place than Weſtminſter, he had been robbed of the glory of ſuffering in ſuch company. He ſaw plainly, he ſaid, that it was a pecuniary conteſt, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expence of the conteſt. The ſcrutiny on both ſides could not coſt leſs than £.30,000 a year. This was enough to ſhake the beſt fortunes. His own laſt ſhilling might be eaſily got at, as he was poor; but ſtill, little as he had, he would ſpend to the laſt ſhilling. If, in the end, he ſhould loſe his election, it would not be, he well knew, for want of a legal majority, but for want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Weſtminſter of the man of their choice, becauſe he was not able to carry on a pecuniary conteſt with the treaſury.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, it was contended, that the ſtatutes adduced did not directly apply to the caſe, which they would doubtleſs have done, if it had been within the intention of the legiſlature, ſince the circumſtances were ſuch as might eaſily have been foreſeen; that there is nothing ſo urgent and poſitive in what is called the exigence of the writ, as to take from the returning officer his diſcretion; but that, on the contrary, he is obliged by his oath to ſatisfy his conſcience before he proceeds to make a return.

The journals of parliament, otherwiſe than by indirect and far-fetched analogies, were alſo totally ſilent upon the ſubject; and, in oppoſition to the caſes adduced, that of Sir Rowland Wynne and others, who had petitioned againſt falſe returns on the very ground of a ſcrutiny being denied, was ſtrongly inſiſted on. With reſpect to writs in the courts below, it was maintained, that the analogy was equally in favour of the proceeding then adopted; it being well known, that upon reaſonable grounds being aſſigned, time was frequently allowed to the ſheriff beyond the period ſpecified in the writ.

With reſpect to the argument drawn from the dangerous purpoſes to which the power granted to returning officers might be abuſed, this was the caſe with every diſcretionary power; and ſimilar miſchiefs might on the other hand be apprehended, if the power of refuſing a ſcrutiny was lodged in them.

On the ground of expediency it was remarked, that no arguments drawn from that ſource, however plauſible, could be admitted againſt the poſitive law of the land. The committee appointed by Mr. Grenville's act was a tribunal to try an election, not to make one, and the election was certainly not completed till the return was made. And what return could the high bailiff make in the preſent ſtate of the buſineſs? it muſt be a double return; in which caſe the city would remain unrepreſented, probably, for as long a period as by the preſent mode of proceeding; nay, perhaps, for a much longer, as no one could pretend to ſay that their enquiries would be finiſhed within one ſeſſion; and if that ſhould happen, the whole buſineſs muſt be taken up *de novo* in the next.

In reply to the addreſs of Mr. Fox to the houſe, Mr. Pitt remarked, that he wondered not at that gentleman's zeal and eagerneſs to hold himſelf out to the world as the object of miniſterial perſecution; it was well worth his while to endeavour to appear in that light; nay, he had no doubt but he would ſuf-

fer martyrdom itſelf, if he imagined it would reſtore him to that rank in the eſteem of the public, which he had forfeited by his deteſtable conduct in politics, and thereby loſt every portion of popular confidence. He acknowledged, that it would have been more for the eaſe and convenience of adminiſtration, to have let Mr. Fox take his ſeat quietly for Weſtminſter; and that meaſure they ſhould certainly have adopted, had they been more inclined to conſult their own accommodation than the juſt rights of the electors, and the true purpoſes of ſubſtantial juſtice.

An amendment was moved by Lord Mulgrave, to leave out of the original motion, all the words but *that*, and to inſert the words following, "the ſpeaker do acquaint the "high bailiff—firſt, that he is not "precluded by the reſolution of "this houſe, communicated to him "on the eighth of June laſt, from "making a return whenever he "ſhall be ſatisfied in his own judg-"ment that he can ſo do; and ſe-"condly, that this houſe is not ſa-"tisfied that the ſcrutiny has been "proceeded in as expeditiouſly as "it might have been;—that it is "his duty to adopt and enforce "ſuch juſt and reaſonable regula-"tions as ſhall appear to him moſt "likely to prevent unneceſſary de-"lay in future; that he is not pre-"cluded from ſo doing by want of "conſent in either party; and that "he may be aſſured of the ſupport "of this houſe in the diſcharge of "his duty."

On the diviſion there appeared, for the amendment, 174; againſt it, 135; and accordingly the high bailiff was called to the bar, and informed by the ſpeaker of the foregoing reſolution.

It appeared from this laſt diviſion, that the proſecution of the ſcrutiny was not defended by any thing like ſo numerous a majority as during the preceding ſeſſion. The novelty of the caſe, the fear of its being drawn into a precedent, the difficulties and delays attending it, and the appearance, whether well or ill founded, that it exhibited of a perſonal perſecution, began to have their effect in the houſe. It was not therefore to be expected, that a conteſt, which was commenced by the oppoſition under the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances, ſhould be abandoned at the moment when it began to take a turn in their favour. Accordingly another petition, on the 18th of February, was preſented by Colonel Fitzpatrick from the electors, praying to be heard by counſel at the bar, in defence of their juſt rights and privileges, and to *ſtate new facts*, which they were not apprized of at the time of preſenting their former petition. The new facts, mentioned in the petition, related to an offer which was made by Mr. Fox's counſel, whilſt in the pariſh of St. Anne, to go next into the pariſhes of *Saint Margaret* and *Saint John* (wherein Mr. Fox was ſtated to be moſt vulnerable) but this propoſition was refuſed by the counſel for Sir Cecil Wray.

On the motion made by Colonel Fitzpatrick for calling in the counſel to be heard, an amendment was moved by lord Frederick Campbell, "that the counſel be reſtrained from going into any other matter than ſuch as may prove the evidence offered at this bar on Wedneſday, the 9th of February, defective and incomplete; or into ſuch other matters as may have

ariſen ſubſequent to the order of the houſe on the ſaid day."

This amendment his lordſhip propoſed, he ſaid, to check the accuſed from arguing againſt the legality of the ſcrutiny, which ought not now to be impeached, as the houſe had already given judgment on that head. The amendment, after much debate, was carried by a majority of 51—the numbers being, for the amendment, 203—againſt it, 145.

The counſel refuſing to plead under the reſtrictions impoſed on them by the reſolution, the high bailiff was called to the bar, and examined as to the offer made by Mr. Fox's counſel, to go immediately into the pariſhes of *Saint Margaret* and *Saint John*. The high bailiff gave in evidence, that ſuch an offer was made, and not accepted by the other party; and after being examined to ſome other points, he was taken very ill, and obliged to withdraw. Colonel Fitzpatrick then moved, "That it appearing to this houſe, that Thomas Corbett, Eſquire, high bailiff, having received a precept from the ſheriff of Middleſex, for electing two citizens to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, and having taken and finally cloſed the poll on the 17th of May laſt, being the day next before the day of return of the ſaid writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members choſen in purſuance thereof."

This motion was rejected by a majority of nine only, the numbers for it being 136, againſt it 145. The ſame motion was again brought forward on the 3d of March, by alderman Sawbridge, and the queſtion of adjournment was moved on it by the chancellor of the exchequer, which paſſed in the negative—the numbers being, for the adjournment 124, againſt it 162. The main queſtion was then put, and carried without a diviſion.

Thus, after a ſtruggle in parliament for two ſeſſions, terminated the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, and the high bailiff the day following made a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

Feb. 18th, 1785. We have already mentioned the reſolution moved by Mr. Dundas, relative to the debts of the nabob of Arcot in the month of April 1782, together with the ſuſpicious nature of thoſe debts, and their miſchievous influence upon the government of the Carnatic. In the India bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, the new commiſſioners were directed, without delay, to examine into the origin and juſtice of theſe claims; and a cautionary clauſe was inſerted, to forbid in future any of the company's ſervants to acquire mortgages, or have any pecuniary tranſactions with the native princes of India.

In the regulating bill of the laſt ſeſſions, the cautionary clauſe was omitted by Mr. Pitt, but the examination into the nature and circumſtances of the debt is referred to the court of directors, "*as far as the materials they are in poſſeſſion of ſhall enable them to do*;" and it is enacted, "*that they ſhall give ſuch orders to their preſidencies and ſervants abroad, for compleating the inveſtigation thereof, as the nature of the caſe ſhall require, and for eſtabliſhing, in concert with the ſaid nabob, ſuch funds for the diſcharge of thoſe debts which ſhall appear to be juſtly due, according to their reſpective rights of priority,*

priority, as ſhall be conſiſtent with the rights of the ſaid united company, the ſecurity of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the ſaid nabob."

The court of directors, in execution of the truſt repoſed in them, prepared orders to be ſent to their council at Madras, in which, after ſtating the ſuſpicious circumſtances under which many of the debts appeared to them to have been contracted, they direct them, in obedience to the poſitive injunctions of the act, to proceed to a more complete inveſtigation of the nature and origin thereof. Theſe orders being communicated to the board of controul, were rejected by them, and a new letter drawn up, in which the claims of the creditors were all, with ſome little limitation, eſtabliſhed, and a fund for their diſcharge aſſigned out of the revenues of the Carnatic, and the priority of payment ſettled amongſt the ſeveral claſſes of creditors. At a meeting of ſuch of the nabob's creditors as were in England, theſe orders were publicly read; and, on the ground of this proceeding, a motion was made in the houſe of lords, by the earl of Carliſle, on the 18th of February, "That there be laid before the houſe, copies or extracts of all letters or orders iſſued by the court of directors, in purſuance of the injunctions contained in the 37th and 38th clauſes of the regulating act of the laſt ſeſſion."

In ſupport of the motion, the dangerous conſequences of ſuffering the board of controul to ſuperſede the authority of a poſitive act of parliament, and the ſuſpicious circumſtance of its clandeſtinely interfering in an enormous money tranſaction, the management of which had been expreſsly delegated to other perſons by an act of the legiſlature, were ſtrongly inſiſted on by the noble earl who made the motion, and by lord viſcount Stormont. Lord Loughborough, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, entered largely into the fraudulent and illegal nature of the nabob's debts, and into the ſtate of the revenues, in order to prove, that, even allowing the board of controul not to have been guilty of an arbitrary aſſumption of power, directly contrary to the proviſions of the ſtatute, yet, that their orders tended to authorize and give effect to tranſactions of the moſt corrupt and atrocious nature, highly injurious to the intereſts of the company, and ruinous in their conſequences to the whole country of the Carnatic.

On the other ſide, Lord Sydney declared he ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould conſent to the production of the papers called for. The noble earl had not thought proper to inform the houſe for what purpoſe he moved for them. Parliament had, for ſeveral ſeſſions, been employed in debating upon the affairs of India, and it had not appeared that their affairs were the more proſperous on that account. A new plan had juſt been adopted for their better management; and would the houſe be ſo uncandid as again to interfere, and not to give credit to the perſons entruſted with ſo important a charge for the rectitude even of their firſt meaſures? Lord Walſingham declared, that he believed the facts, upon which the motion was grounded, to be falſe. Lord Rawdon was apprehenſive, leſt the papers called for might convey dangerous information to our enemies. The lord chancellor took

the ſame ground, and alſo argued on the indecency, as well as the miſchief, of diſturbing the operations of government upon mere ſuggeſtions and ſurmiſes. But the motion, he ſaid, was neither becoming their wiſdom nor their convenience to adopt, ſince no length of ſeſſion would be capable of comprehending the whole of their buſineſs, if their time was to be taken up in debating on motions for papers, not founded upon any plea of neceſſity, and ſupported only by alluſions to rumours from places which it was even below their dignity to hear named. Theſe arguments prevailed with the majority, and the motion was rejected without a diviſion.

Feb. 28th. On the 28th, a motion to the ſame effect was made by Mr. Fox in the houſe of commons. On this occaſion, Mr. Dundas himſelf undertook the defence of the board of controul. In the firſt place he maintained, that the conduct of the board had been within the ſtrict letter of the ſtatute, inſomuch as they are enabled, by a clauſe in the act, to originate orders in caſes of urgent neceſſity, and to direct their being tranſmitted to India; nor had theſe orders been given till after a careful and ſufficient examination into the ſubject. He contended, that the papers in the company's records at the India houſe contained as full information on every tranſaction relative to the debts as the court of directors could ever expect to receive. They had been examined and ſtated by the court; they had been laid before the board of controul, and the arrangement directed by them had been ſuch as appeared the moſt fair and juſt to all the parties concerned.

He next entered into a juſtification of the debts themſelves. The debt of 1767, he ſaid, was incurred by the nabob, for the purpoſe of paying off a ſum he owed the company, which was at that time in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and was borrowed at the rate of from 30 to 36 per cent. It was afterwards recognized by the court of directors, and the intereſt reduced to 10 per cent. though the creditors had themſelves borrowed the money at a higher rate. The cavalry debt was not leſs juſt. It had been our policy to keep the troops of the nabob inferior to thoſe of the company; and an intimation had been given to the nabob, that a part of his cavalry might be ſpared. To the reduction propoſed, the nabob made no other objection than the want of money to pay the arrears, for which his men were in a ſtate of mutiny. This the company was as little able to advance as the nabob, and the old method of borrowing was had recourſe to; the company engaging its credit for the loan, and being therefore as much concerned for the payment of it as if they had borrowed the money themſelves. With reſpect to the conſolidated debt of 1777, he declared, that the board of controul had only ſo far authorized thoſe claims, as to leave them ſtill ſubject, firſt to the objections of the nabob, next to thoſe of the company, and laſtly, to thoſe of all the other creditors. This, he conceived, would be the moſt likely means to bring about the detection of the fraudulent claims, ſince it would make it the intereſt of the honeſt creditors to bring to light thoſe debts which will not bear an enquiry *. He concluded,

* In the official letter directed by the board, other reaſons are aſſigned; firſt, the

concluded, with cautioning the houſe, if they wiſhed to have an eſtabliſhed government in India, not to ſuffer themſelves to imbibe prejudices againſt a board that was but newly inſtituted, nor idly and lightly to interfere with the executive power on all frivolous occaſions.

Mr. Smith, the chairman of the court of directors, roſe next, and admitted, that ſome of the debts ordered to be paid by the board of controul were juſt and unexceptionable; but that others were of a very different complexion. He was followed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, who ſaid, that the old debt of 1767 was not ſo free from ſuſpicion as the learned gentleman wiſhed the houſe to believe, and that the fairneſs of the cavalry debt was ſtill more liable to doubt. The time at which it was contracted, and the circumſtances of Lord Pigot's fate, rendered it ſo ſuſpicious as to influence all good men againſt it. But as to the conſolidated debt of 1777, it ſwallowed up all the others, both by its magnitude and enormity. He declared, that he had ſpared no pains to come at the truth, yet he never could get a ſatisfactory account of it, either from the nabob or his creditors. The ſums were lent in direct contradiction to the ſtanding orders of the company, which forbad their ſervants from lending money to the princes of the country on any account whatſoever; but this, he believed, was not the worſt circumſtance attending the buſineſs.

Mr. Burke, in a ſpeech, which, notwithſtanding the unpromiſing nature of the ſubject, was perhaps one of the moſt eloquent that was ever made in either houſe of parliament, went into a full detail of the ſubject. He contended, that the board of controul had no right whatſoever to intermeddle in the buſineſs; that when a ſpecial authority is given to any perſons by name, to do ſome particular act, no others, by virtue of general powers, could obtain a legal title to exerciſe thoſe ſpecial functions in their place. But admitting the legality of the proceeding, they were undoubtedly ſubject to the ſame regulations, and bound to make the ſame enquiries, that had been preſcribed to the court of directors.

After ſome pointed animadverſions on the narrow policy of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, whilſt he was attempting, by a rigid inquiſition into fees of office, to ſqueeze the laborious ill-paid drudges of Engliſh revenue, was laviſhing millions, without examination, on thoſe who never ſerved the public in any honeſt occupation at all, Mr. Burke called the attention of the houſe to the nature and circumſtances of the pretended debts, on which this marvellous donation was founded, as well as to the perſons from whom, and by whom, it was claimed.

He began with ſtating, that ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh power in India, Madras and its dependencies, which, before that time, were among the moſt flouriſhing territories of Aſia, had waſted away under a gradual decline, inſomuch that in the year 1779, not one merchant of eminence was to be found in the whole country. During this period of decay, near a million had

the inexpediency of keeping the nabob's debts longer afloat; 2dly, the tranquillity which the final concluſion of the buſineſs would tend to promote; and laſtly, becauſe the debtor had concurred with the creditors in eſtabliſhing the validity of the debts.

been drawn from it annually by Engliſh gentlemen, on their private account only.

Beſides this annual accumulation of wealth, tranſmitted to Europe, it appeared that the nabob had contracted a debt with the company's ſervants to the amount of £. 888,000 ſterling, which, in the year 1767, was ſettled at an intereſt of ten per cent. About the ſame time, the court of directors were further informed, that one million ſterling had been lent by Britiſh ſubjects to the merchants of Canton, in China; and that this ſum bore an intereſt of 24 per cent. In the year 1777, a ſecond debt from the nabob of Arcot, amounting to £. 2,400,000, was ſettled at 12 per cent. intereſt; to this was added another, called the cavalry debt, of £. 160,000, at the ſame intereſt. The whole of theſe four capitals amounting to £. 4,440,000, produced, at their ſeveral rates, annuities amounting to £. 623,000 a year, more than half of which ſtood chargeable on the public revenues of the Carnatic. Theſe annuities, equal to the revenues of a kingdom, were poſſeſſed by a ſmall number of individuals, of no conſequence, ſituation, or profeſſion.

As one proof, amongſt many, that theſe ſums, if lent at all (and if not lent, the tranſaction was not a contract, but a fraud) was not property legally acquired, but *ſpoil*, he quoted the following paſſage from a letter written by the nabob himſelf to the court of directors—"Your ſervants "*have no trade in this country*, nei- "ther do you pay them high wages, "yet in a few years they return to "England with many lacks of pa- "godas. How can you or I ac- "count for ſuch immenſe fortunes, "acquired in ſo ſhort a time, with- "out any viſible means of getting "them?" Either way, therefore, Mr. Burke contended, if light enough could not be furniſhed to authoriſe a full condemnation of thoſe demands, they ought to be left to the parties, who beſt underſtood each other's proceedings; and that it was not neceſſary the authority of government ſhould interpoſe in favour of claims, whoſe very foundation was a defiance of that authority, and whoſe object was its entire ſubverſion.

But, ſaid Mr. Burke, the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe know as well as I do, and they dare not contradict me, that the nabob and his creditors are not adverſaries, but colluſive parties; and that the whole tranſaction is under a falſe colour, and falſe names. The litigation is not, nor ever has been, between their rapacity and his hoarded riches. No; it is between him and them, combining and confederating on one ſide, and the public revenues and the miſerable inhabitants of a ruined country on the other. Theſe are the real plaintiffs and the real defendants in this ſuit. Refuſing a ſhilling from his hoards for the ſatisfaction of any demand, the nabob of Arcot is always ready, nay he earneſtly, and with eagerneſs and paſſion, contends for delivering up to theſe pretended creditors his territory and his ſubjects. It is therefore not from treaſuries and mines, but from the food of your unpaid armies, from the blood withheld from the veins, and whipt out of the backs of the moſt miſerable of men, that we are to pamper extortion, uſury, and peculation, under the falſe names of debtors and creditors of ſtate.

After theſe general obſervations on the debt, Mr. Burke proceeded

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to examine the grounds on which Mr. Dundas had endeavoured to juſtify them ſeparately. The loan of 1767, he allowed to ſtand the faireſt of the whole, and that, whatever his ſuſpicions might be concerning a part of it, he could *convict* it of nothing worſe than the moſt enormous uſury;—but that the loans had been made with the knowledge of the company, or had their approbation, he poſitively denied, and proved from their own records, that the very reverſe was the fact *. With reſpect to the moderate intereſt which it was ſaid to bear, he ſtated, from the nabob's own letter, the fact to be as follows:—that the ſum originally advanced bore an intereſt of 36 per cent.; that it was afterwards brought down to 25 per cent. and at length to 20; that there it remained, the intereſt being all along added to the principal, till, by a regulation of the company's, the ſum conſolidated was fixed at the rate of 10 per cent. On the whole, Mr. Burke expreſſed his doubts, whether, for this debt of £. 880,000, the nabob ever ſaw £. 100,000 in real money.

The cavalry debt ſtood next. This debt was contracted, and the company's credit engaged for its payment, by the uſurped power of the perſons, who had rebelliouſly, in conjunction with the nabob, overturned the lawful government of Madras in the memorable year of 1777; and it is well known, that the delinquents, in order to make themſelves a party to ſupport them in power, dealt jobs about to any who were willing to receive them. Of this loan Mr. Burke alſo doubted whether the nabob ever received a ſhilling. The facts relative to it were ſtated to be as follow:—inſtead of ready money, the Engliſh money-jobbers engaged to pay the nabob's cavalry in bills payable in four months, for which they were to receive immediately at leaſt one per cent. per menſem, but probably two, that being the rate generally paid by the nabob, and the receipt of a territorial revenue, for that purpoſe, was aſſigned to them. Inſtead of four months, it was upwards of two years before the arrears of the cavalry were diſcharged; and being, during all this time, in the conſtant receipt of the aſſigned revenue, it is not impro-

* The following extracts, amongſt many others, were read by Mr. Burke.—In a letter written upon the ſubject of this loan, in 1769, the court of directors tell the preſidency of Madras—"to your great reproach, *it has been concealed from us.* "We cannot but ſuſpect this debt to have had its weight *in the propoſed aggran-* "*dizement of Mahomed Ali*" (the nabob of Arcot) "but whether it has or has "not, certain it is, you are guilty of an high breach of duty *in concealing it from* "*us.*" In 1770, after ſtating that the truſtees of the private creditors had received an aſſignment from the nabob to the amount of £. 360,000 annually, they add, "*this aſſignment was obtained by three of the members of your board in Janu-* "*ary* 1767, *yet we do not find the leaſt trace of it upon your conſultations till Auguſt* "1768." As to their approbation of it, he read the following extract from the ſame letter,—"We had the mortification to find, that the ſervants of the company, "who had been *raiſed, ſupported, and owed their preſent opulence* to the advan- "tages gained in ſuch ſervice, have in this inſtance *moſt unfaithfully betrayed* "*their truſt, abandoned the company's intereſt, and proſtituted its influence to accom-* "*pliſh the purpoſe of individuals; whilſt the intereſt of the company is almoſt wholly* "*neglected, and payment to us rendered extremely precarious.*"

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bable but that they paid off the nabob's troops with his own money.

With reſpect to the conſolidated debt of 1777, Mr. Burke obſerved, that though it had influence enough to obtain a protector, it had not plauſibility enough to find an advocate. If ever a tranſaction called for inveſtigation, it was this. The amount of the demand, in different accounts, roſe from £. 1,300,000 to £. 2,400,000 principal money. The proprietors had never appeared the ſame in any two liſts handed about for their own particular purpoſes. One circumſtance indeed reſpecting it was on record. In the year 1781, the agents of the creditors, in the arrangement they propoſe to make at Calcutta, were ſatisfied to have 25 per cent. at once ſtruck off from the capital of a great part of this debt; and prayed to have a proviſion made for this reduced principal, without any intereſt at all. This was an arrangement of their own, an arrangement made by thoſe who beſt knew the true conſtitution of their own debt; who knew how little favour it merited, and how little hopes they had to find any perſons in authority abandoned enough to ſupport it as it ſtood.

But, ſaid Mr. Burke, what corrupt men, in the fond imaginations of a ſanguine avarice, had not the confidence to propoſe, they have found a chancellor of the Exchequer in England hardy enough to undertake for them. He has cheered their drooping ſpirits. He has thanked the peculators for not deſpairing of their commonwealth. He has told them they were too modeſt. He has replaced the 25 per cent. which, in order to lighten themſelves, they had abandoned in their conſcious terror. Inſtead of cutting off the intereſt, as they had themſelves conſented to do, with the fourth of the capital, he has added the whole growth of four years uſury of 12 per cent. to the firſt over-grown principal; and has again grafted on this meliorated ſtock a perpetual annuity of 6 per cent. to take place from the year 1781. Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. All the acts and monuments of the records of peculation; the conſolidated corruption of ages; the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of this ſingle act. Never did Nero, in all the inſolent prodigality of deſpotiſm, deal out to his prætorian guards a donation fit to be named with the largeſs ſhowered down by the bounty of our chancellor of the Exchequer on the faithful band of his Indian Sepoys.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to invalidate the arguments urged by Mr. Dundas in defence of the orders of the board of controul reſpecting the debts. The end propoſed, it had been ſaid, was the detection of the fraudulent claims. But by whom was this detection to be made? By the nabob, who was himſelf accuſed as a colluſive party. Beſides, in the only complaint he ever made, that reſpecting the cavalry loan, how had he been attended to? It was fixed on him with intereſt on intereſt, and excepted from all power of litigation. But the other creditors! were they authorized to enter into the exchequer of the nabob, and to ſearch his records? Without his concurrence, what evidence of the fraud of the ſmalleſt of thoſe demands could be obtained? Had not the company

company itſelf ſtruggled for a preference for years, without any detection of the nature of the debts with which they contended?

After having thus inveſtigated the nature and amount of the enormous load of debt, with which miniſters had thought fit to load the revenues of the Carnatic, Mr. Burke called the attention of the houſe to the ruined condition of that country, in order to diſcover how much would remain, after ſatisfying thoſe demands, to provide for the public debt, and the neceſſary eſtabliſhments of government. Mr. Burke here entered into a ſhort ſtate of the internal politics of the Carnatic, and of the cauſes which produced the war with Hyder Ali. He then deſcribed the ravages of that deſolating war, which raged for eighteen months, without intermiſſion, from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore, and the redoubled horrors of the famine that enſued; inſomuch that when the Britiſh armies traverſed, as they did the central provinces of the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not ſee one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beaſt of any deſcription. He next proved, from the nature of the ſoil of the country, and the mode of cultivation, that it would require a long time, a ſerious attention, and much coſt, to re-eſtabliſh it in its former condition.

And what, added Mr. Burke, would a virtuous and enlightened miniſtry do on the view of the ruins of ſuch works before them; on the view of ſuch a chaſm of deſolation as that which yawned in the midſt of thoſe countries to the north and ſouth, which ſtill bore ſome veſtiges of cultivation? They would have reduced all their moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhments; they would have ſuſpended the juſteſt payments; they would have employed every ſhilling derived from the producing to re-animate the powers of the unproductive parts. While they were performing this fundamental duty, whilſt they were celebrating theſe myſteries of juſtice and humanity, they would have told the corps of fictitious creditors, whoſe crimes were their claims, that they muſt keep an awful diſtance; that they muſt ſilence their inauſpicious tongues; that they muſt hold off their profane unhallowed paws from this holy work; they would have proclaimed, with a voice that ſhould make itſelf heard, that on every country the firſt creditor is the plow; that this original indefeaſible claim ſuperſedes every other demand.

This is what a wiſe and virtuous miniſtry would have done and ſaid. This, therefore, is what our miniſter could never think of ſaying or doing. A miniſtry of another kind would have firſt improved the country, and have thus laid a ſolid foundation for future opulence and future force. But on this grand point of the reſtoration of the country, there is not one ſyllable to be found in the correſpondence of our miniſters, from the firſt to the laſt: they felt nothing for a land deſolated by fire, ſword, and famine; their ſympathies took another direction; they were touched with pity for bribery, ſo long tormented with a fruitleſs itching of its palms; their bowels yearned for uſury, that had long miſſed the harveſt of its returning months; they felt for peculation, which had been for ſo many years raking in the duſt of an empty treaſury; they were melted into

into compaſſion for rapine and oppreſſion, licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws. Theſe were the objects of their ſolicitude. Theſe were the neceſſities for which they were ſtudious to provide.

He entered, laſtly, into an examination of the actual ſtate of the revenue of the Carnatic; contending, from ſeveral authentic documents, that the whole net revenue amounted, in the year 1782, to no more than £. 480,000, nearly the preciſe ſum that the miniſters had appropriated to the emolument of their creatures, the private creditors. With regard to the public debt due to the company, nothing was provided for it, but an eventual ſurplus, to be ſhared with one claſs of the private demands, after ſatisfying the two firſt claſſes. Never, he ſaid, was a more ſhameful poſtponing a public demand, which, by the reaſon of the thing, and the uniform practice of all nations, ſuperſedes every private claim.

Mr. Burke took this occaſion to make ſome obſervations on the mode of ſettling accounts between the nabob and the company, by which, ſays he, the public and the private debts are made to play into each other's hands a game of utter perdition to the unhappy natives of India. The nabob falls into an arrear to the company. The preſidency preſſes for payment. The nabob's anſwer is, I have no money. Good. But there are ſoucars who will ſupply you on the mortgage of your territories. Then ſteps forward ſome Paul Benfield, and from his grateful compaſſion to the nabob, and his filial regard to the company, he unlocks the treaſures of his virtuous induſtry; and for a conſideration of twenty-four or thirty-ſix per cent. on a mortgage of the territorial revenue, becomes ſecurity to the company for the nabob's arrear. In conſequence of this double game, the whole Carnatic has, at one time or other, been covered by thoſe locuſts, the Engliſh ſoucars. During theſe operations, what a ſcene has that country produced! The uſurious European aſſignee ſuperſedes the nabob's native farmer of the revenue—The farmer flies to the nabob, to claim his bargain; whilſt his ſervants murmur for wages, and his ſoldiers mutiny for pay. The mortgage to the European aſſignee is then reſumed, and the native farmer replaced; replaced, again to be removed on the new clamour of the European aſſignee. Every man of rank and landed fortune being long ſince extinguiſhed, the remaining miſerable laſt cultivator, who grows to the ſoil, after having his back ſcored by the farmer, has it again flayed by the aſſignee; and is thus, by a ravenous, becauſe a ſhort-lived ſucceſſion of claimants, laſhed from oppreſſor to oppreſſor, whilſt a drop of blood is left, as the means of extorting a ſingle grain of corn.—Far from painting, he added, that he did not reach the fact, nor approach it. This tyrannous exaction brought on ſervile concealment, and that again called forth tyrannous coercion;—till at length nothing of humanity was left in the government, no trace of integrity, ſpirit, or manlineſs in the people, who drag out a precarious and degraded exiſtence under ſuch a ſyſtem of outrage upon human nature.

The miniſters, he obſerved, had thought fit to renew the company's old order againſt contracting private debts in future. They begin by rewarding the violation of the ancient law; they then gravely re-

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enact provisions, of which they had given bounties for the breach; and they conclude with positive directions for again contracting the debts they positively forbid. They order the nabob to allot £. 480,000 a year, as a fund for the debts before us. For the punctual payment of this annuity, they order him to give soucar [bankers] security. These soucars are no other than the creditors themselves, who thus become creditors again on a new account, and receive an additional twenty-four per cent. for condescending to take the country in mortgage, and being security to themselves for their own claims.

Mr. Burke, after some observations on the motives to this shameful conduct, and on the person [Mr. Paul Benfield] in whose favour all these rules had been violated, concluded with declaring his opinion, that if the scene on the other side of the globe, which tempts, invites, almost compels to tyranny and rapine, be not inspected with the eye of a severe and unremitting vigilance, shame and destruction must ensue. For one, says he, the worst event of this day, though it may deject, shall not break or subdue me—The call upon us is authoritative—Let who will shrink back, I shall be found at my post—Baffled, discountenanced, subdued, discredited, as the cause of justice and humanity is, it will be only the dearer to me—Whoever, therefore, shall at any time bring before you any thing towards the relief of our distressed fellow-citizens in India, and towards a subversion of the present most corrupt and oppressive system for its government, in me shall find, a weak I am afraid, but a steady, earnest, and faithful assistant.

The house then divided, when there appeared, for the motion 69, against it 164.

The business of a reform in parliament, the consideration of which had now for a certain period annually occupied the attention of parliament, was this session brought to a final determination.

The weight and influence of government had hitherto been exerted more or less in opposition to this measure; but the present minister having pledged himself to exercise the whole weight of his official situation to attain it, the present opportunity was looked upon as the most favourable it could ever experience.

The question was accordingly brought before the house of commons on the 18th day of April, by Mr. Pitt himself, who concluded a speech of considerable length with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament."

The plan which he proposed for this purpose, was to transfer the right of chusing representatives from 36 of such boroughs as had already, or were falling into decay, to the counties, and to such chief towns and cities as were at present unrepresented—That a fund should be provided, for the purpose of giving to the owners and holders of such boroughs disfranchised, an appreciated compensation for their property—That the taking this compensation should be a voluntary act of the proprietor, and if not taken at present, should be placed out at compound interest, until it became an *irresistible* bait to such proprietors. He also meant to extend the right of voting for knights of the shire to copyholders as well as freeholders. Such was the

the outline of his ſyſtem, which was not altogether approved of by thoſe who ſupported the motion in general. Mr. Fox, particularly, objected to the mode laid down, of purchaſing the boroughs, though he adopted the transferring of the right of chuſing repreſentatives from them to the counties and principal towns and cities.

The chief arguments delivered in favour of a reform, were derived from what was ſtated to be the preſent defective and partial repreſentation of the kingdom at large—That an active, reforming, and regulating principle, which kept pace with the alterations in the ſtate, was requiſite to preſerve the conſtitution in its full force and vigour—That as any part of the conſtitution decayed, it had ever been the wiſdom of the legiſlature to renovate and reſtore it by ſuch means as were moſt likely to anſwer the end propoſed; and that hence had ariſen the frequent alterations that had taken place with reſpect to the rule of repreſentation, both before and at the revolution.

On the other hand, it was objected to the motion, that it was not called for by the people, and particularly not by the unrepreſented large towns and cities, which it was ſtated had a right to claim the benefit which would reſult from ſuch a meaſure—That if a bill of reform was once introduced, men's minds were ſo unſettled and various on the ſubject, that there was no knowing to what extent it might be carried—That what were called rotten and decayed boroughs, were frequently repreſented by gentlemen who had the greateſt ſtake in the country, and conſequently were as much concerned in its welfare, and in that of the conſtitution, as any other ſpecies of repreſentatives, in whatſoever manner they might be choſen, could be;—and, finally, that whilſt no neceſſity was ſhewn for ſuch a reform, and whilſt the rights and liberties of the people remained ſafe and ſecure under the preſent mode of repreſentation, it was hazardous in the extreme to alter what was found to be good by experience, the only teſt of truth.

The motion, after much extraneous debate, and much perſonal alluſion and animoſities from both ſides of the houſe, at length paſſed in the negative, the numbers againſt it being 248, for it 174.

Previous to the opening the budget for the preſent year, Mr. Pitt called the attention of the houſe to a general review of the national finances. The whole of the public expenditure (including the intereſt of the public debt, together with the probable expences of the peace eſtabliſhment) he eſtimated at £. 14,400,000 per annum; and, in order to compare this yearly expenditure with the yearly income of the ſtate, he propoſed examining the net produce of the taxes for the quarters ending the 5th of January and the 5th of April 1784, and the produce of thoſe ending the 5th of January and the 5th of April 1785. The reſpective produce of theſe four reſpective quarters in progreſſion was ſtated to be as follows:—the firſt at £. 2,585,000, the ſecond at £. 2,198,000, the third at £. 2,738,000, the fourth at £. 3,066,000. According to the increaſed produce of the taxes in theſe quarters, he made a variety of calculations on their probable amount for the whole year; the higheſt of which he placed at £. 12,600,000, and the loweſt at near £. 12,000,000 per annum.

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There was another calculation, on which he did not lay ſo much ſtreſs, and that was by expecting a progreſſive increaſe in each ſucceeding quarter, proportionate to the ſuperiority of the quarter ending on the 5th of April 1785, over thoſe preceding, which would raiſe the yearly amount of the taxes to upwards of fourteen millions and a half. The land and malt tax (at £. 2,450,000) added to this computed product of the other taxes, he expected would leave an overplus of nearly £. 1,000,000, for the purpoſe of a ſinking fund, to be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt; but the neceſſary meaſures for ſuch an appropriation, although he wiſhed parliament well to conſider the ſubject, he did not intend to put in execution until the year following.

Many objections were made by the oppoſition to the mode of calculation purſued by Mr. Pitt; the chief of which were, that it was impoſſible to get at the true annual amount of taxes, by extracting particular quarters and ſeaſons of the year in which perhaps the greateſt part of the taxes were received, inſtead of taking the whole twelve months together; and it was particularly ſhewn, from a table of the amount of the cuſtoms, that whenever the ſpring quarters roſe ſingularly high, the ſummer quarters were proportionably low: alſo, that the two quarters taken by Mr. Pitt, contained together 15 days more than half a year.

The aggregate amount of the ſupplies voted this year, was ſtated by Mr. Pitt at £. 9,737,868; the ways and means which had already been voted towards providing for theſe ſupplies, including the computed growing produce of the ſinking fund up to the 10th of October next, the money ſtill remaining in the exchequer, and what had been paid in by the paymaſters, left together a deficiency of £. 1,000,000: this ſum he intended borrowing from the bank at 5 per cent. and he ſhould do ſo, becauſe the bank would pay the money in as government called for it, and the intereſt was to be calculated only from the time the ſums were advanced. The intereſt of this loan he ſhould ſtate at £. 50,000.

But the moſt ſerious part of the preſent budget was, the funding the remainder of the navy bills and ordnance debentures, which had ſtood over from the laſt ſeſſion. Theſe together, notwithſtanding they amounted to £. 10,010,000, he intended funding, he ſaid, the preſent year.

He obſerved, that £. 6,000,000 of the navy bills had been provided for laſt year at an intereſt of 4 per cent.; that the ſum required for the intereſt of the remainder would now be no more than £. 320,000, and which, together with the £. 50,000 for the loan from the bank, and £. 40,000 to replace the tax on callicoes, which was now repealed, would make the whole ſum to be raiſed about £. 413,000.

With regard to what ſtock he ſhould fund in, he gave a preference to the 5 per cents. becauſe, although in the 5 per cents. there was a preſent loſs of about 6 *s.* per £. 100, or about £. 30,000 in all, yet it would be amply repaid from the nature of that ſort of ſtock affording a more eaſy and expeditious means of paying it off; in conſequence of which, whenever that came to be done, there would be a ſaving of near £. 3,000,000.

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The taxes *, which were impoſed, in order to raiſe the ſum of £. 413,000, for the intereſt upon this funded debt, paſſed with a few regulations and amendments.

That on female ſervants met with the moſt oppoſition.

In addition to the different bills which had paſſed for the purpoſe of regulating the public offices of the kingdom, Mr. Pitt brought one in this ſeſſion "for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are or lately have been received in the ſeveral public offices to be therein mentioned; to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame; and to report ſuch obſervations as ſhall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the buſineſs tranſacted in the ſaid offices." The oppoſition this meaſure encountered was conſiderable. The bill was ſtated to be needleſs, futile, and illegal. Needleſs, becauſe the treaſury board had every power neceſſary to make ſuch enquiries as the bill propoſed, already veſted in them. Futile, becauſe nothing ſubſtantial, or equivalent to the extenſive powers granted by it, could be obtained, it being the appearance of a reform, without the effect. And illegal, inaſmuch as there was a clauſe enabling the commiſſioners to ſend for perſons, and to examine them when and where they pleaſed; a principle directly militating againſt magna charta, and the law of the land. On the other hand, it was argued, that the bill, appointing the commiſſioners of public accounts, afforded a very recent precedent for granting ſuch powers as were now complained of; and that, although the objects of the reform in queſtion were not of equal magnitude with ſome others which had appeared before the houſe, yet, on the other hand, they became important on account of their number and extent. The queſtion on this bill was finally put and carried, in the houſe of commons, on the 14th of June, the numbers for it being 74, againſt it 15. It afterwards paſſed the houſe of lords, where it received ſeveral amendments, and one in particular which ſubjected the commiſſioners to the controul of the board of treaſury. The commiſſioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of the army accounts, and Mr. Francis Baring.

The arrangement of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland took up a conſiderable part of this ſeſſion; but as the preſent volume has already ſwelled greatly beyond its uſual ſize, we muſt beg leave to defer the hiſtory of that important ſubject to another year.

As ſoon as the reſolutions which were to be the baſis of this arrangement had paſſed both houſes, they adjourned, on a meſſage from the king, till the 27th of October, in order to receive the deciſion of the Iriſh parliament; and in the mean time were prorogued by proclamation to the 1ſt of December. Aug. 2d, 1785.

* For a recapitulation of theſe ſeveral taxes, with their reſpective computed amounts, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle for 1785.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY 1784.

Conſtantinople, Dec. 10, 1783.

WE have had ſeveral accidents of the plague ſince laſt poſt; notwithſtanding which the mortality is almoſt entirely ceaſed. We now flatter ourſelves, that the cold weather may put a total ſtop to the contagion, which has coſt this city at leaſt eighty thouſand inhabitants ſince June laſt.

14th. Gen. ſir Guy Carleton, late commander in chief at New-York, arrived in town on Wedneſday. He came home in the Ceres ſloop of war of 16 guns, arrived at Plymouth. When he ſailed, all the Britiſh and Heſſian troops, with the loyaliſts, had left New-York, and the Americans, with Gen. Waſhington at their head, were in peaceable poſſeſſion of that city.

Came on at the Eaſt-India houſe, Leadenhall-ſtreet, the ballot for three directors of the ſaid company's affairs, in the room of ſir William James, bart. deceaſed; ſir Henry Fletcher, bart. and Jacob Wilkinſon, eſq; reſigned: upon the caſting the ballot, the numbers were,

For	John Woodhouſe, eſq;	457
	George Johnſtone, eſq;	391
	Richard Atkinſon, eſq;	372
	Thomas Pattle, jun. eſq;	262
	John Grant, eſq;	254
	George M. Macaulay, eſq;	161

15th. At the cloſe of the poll for alderman of Queenhithe ward, in the room of Frederick Bull, eſq; deceaſed, the numbers were,

For	John Bates, eſq;	87
	Geo. M. Macaulay, eſq;	49
	Majority for Mr. Bates,	38

Extract of a letter from a paſſenger on board the Vanſittart Eaſt Indiaman; dated at ſea, Auguſt 22, 1783.

" Yeſterday, about half paſt eleven, A. M. we were alarmed with the cry of fire; when running upon deck, we perceived a great ſmoke iſſuing from the Duke of Kingſton Eaſt Indiaman, Captain Nutt; ſoon after which ſhe burſt out in flames from head to ſtern. We were then about half a mile a-head of her, and the Pigot and Earl of Oxford Indiamen about four miles a-head of us. The weather being calm, our captain immediately ordered out the engine, and all the boats, at the ſame time firing two guns as a ſignal to the ſhips a-head. It is impoſſible to conceive a more dreadful ſpectacle than at this moment preſented itſelf; numbers of the poor wretches throwing themſelves overboard, with oars, ſpars, &c. to keep them from ſinking;

ing; others crowding on the bowſprit, where they hung in cluſters till received into the boats. Our jolly-boat got out firſt, and returned in a ſhort time with five men; the long-boat, yawl, and cutter, were hoiſted out with equal diſpatch, and uſed every effort to ſave as many of the crew as they could, the fire having by this time increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was impoſſible to attempt ſaving the ſhip. The boats from the other two ſhips were now got out; ſoon after which our yawl returned full of people, among whom were the firſt mate and a midſhipman, whom they had picked up drowned; we uſed every effort to recover them, but in vain. At three P. M. our long-boat returned with 150 people; the boats belonging to the other Indiamen were alſo filled; and having ſaved every perſon they could find, they left the ſhip, which at five in the afternoon blew up with a terrible exploſion. On the whole 79 ſouls periſhed by this melancholy accident, among whom were ſeveral women and children, ſome ſoldiers, and a few paſſengers.

Captain Nutt, with two military officers, had paid us a viſit in the morning, and was on board the Pigot at the time the fire broke out, which was occaſioned by a ſailor's drawing ſome ſpirits out of a caſk in the ſpirit room, which catching fire, communicated to the other caſks, and burnt with ſuch fury, that it was impoſſible to ſave a ſingle article.

17th. John Lee was indicted for forging an order for payment of money, which order ran in the following words:

Nov. 24, 1783.

Pay to Mr. John Lee, or order, upon demand, the ſum of fifteen pounds ſterling, which place to his account of office.

Pay-Office,
Ordnance-Office,
Whitehall. *Townſhend, M. G.*

There were eight counts in the above indictment; one with forging it, to defraud lord Townſhend, the maſter-general of the ordnance; the ſecond, uttering it, knowing it to be forged, &c. and varying it as it paſſed different hands.

Mr. James Cuſden, who keeps the Roſe coffee-houſe, in Bridges-ſtreet, Covent-garden, depoſed, that in December laſt, the priſoner came to his houſe, and drank two bottles of wine; that ſoon after a third gentleman came in, and they had a third bottle, when the priſoner ſent for Mr. Cuſden, who came up ſtairs, and the priſoner produced the above bill, wiſhing to get five guineas upon it; but Mr. Cuſden only advanced him one guinea and a half. When he preſented the note to Meſſrs. Cox, &c. agents at Charing-croſs, the forgery was diſcovered, and the priſoner apprehended.

Mr. Cox proved it was not lord Townſhend's writing, and Mr. Pinder produced the bill.

The evidence for the proſecution reſted here. On the croſs examination, it was urged by Mr. Sylveſter, counſel for the priſoner, that the indictment did not correſpond with the bill, for it ſtated M. G. to be maſter-general, which the proſecution had no right ſo to conſtruct: that there was no ſuch office at Whitehall as the pay-office; that it could not be to defraud lord Townſhend, as lord Townſhend was not then in office, and conſequently not maſter-general of the ordnance. Theſe and ſeveral other legal objections

jections were ſtated by the counſel, but over-ruled; as judge Heath was of opinion, that they were not averments, but ſtated in the indictment to be purports. The evidence being ſummed up, the jury found the priſoner guilty of uttering the bill, knowing it to be forged. The caſe, however, is referred to the twelve judges, on a number of exceptions ſtated in the indictment.

St. James's, January 20th. Yeſterday being kept as the anniverſary of the queen's birth-day, there was a very numerous and ſplendid appearance of the nobility, foreign miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, to compliment their majeſties on the occaſion. The guns in the park, and at the tower, were fired at one o'clock. There was a ball at court in the evening, and illuminations and other public demonſtrations of joy in London and Weſtminſter.

24th. This night's gazette contains the addreſſes of the mayor, ſheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Norwich; of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes of the borough of Leiceſter; and of the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and inhabitants of the borough of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, to his majeſty; expreſſing their firm attachment to his majeſty's perſon and family, and offering their ſincere thanks on his majeſty's diſmiſſion of the late miniſtry.

26th. At half paſt twelve o'clock, the ſheriffs met at Guildhall, on the huſtings, in order to declare the numbers for a repreſentative of this city, in the room of Frederick Bull, eſq; when there appeared for Brook Watſon, eſq; 2097; and for alderman Croſby, 1043; upon which Brook Watſon, eſq; was declared duly elected.

31ſt. This night's gazette contains addreſſes to his majeſty from the merchants and traders of London; from the lord provoſt, magiſtrates, and council of Edinburgh; from the aldermen, burgeſſes, &c. of Southampton; from the manufacturers, traders, &c. of Taunton; and from the mayor and inhabitants of Plymouth, upon the removal of the late miniſtry, &c.

FEBRUARY 1784.

3d. This night's gazette contains addreſſes to his majeſty from the dean, ſteward, burgeſſes, &c. of Weſtminſter; from the freemen and citizens of York; from the mayor, clergy, &c. of Exeter; from the mayor, bailiffs, &c. of Lancaſter; from the inhabitants of Reading; from the inhabitants of Colcheſter; and from the mayor and aldermen of Eveſham, in Worceſterſhire, on the removal of the late miniſtry, &c.

10th. At a court of common council, before the right honourable the lord mayor, the aldermen Alſop, Croſby, Townſhend, Eſdaile, Wilkes, Lewes, Plomer, Newnham, Clark, Wright, Hart, Sainſbury, Kitchen, Burnell, Sanderſon, Gill, Hopkins, Bates, the two ſheriffs, and a very reſpectable number of commoners:

The thanks of the court were voted to the right honourable William Pitt, for his able, upright, and diſintereſted conduct, as firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer, on the preſent alarming and critical juncture of affairs.

The court alſo unanimouſly voted the freedom of the city to be preſented to Mr. Pitt, in a gold box of

the value of one hundred guineas, as a mark of gratitude for and approbation of his zeal aud affiduity in ſupporting the legal prerogatives of the crown, and the conſtitutional rights of the people; and appointed a committee to wait on him therewith.

A motion was then made, to acknowledge, with the deepeſt gratitude, the late timely interference of the houſe of lords for the preſervation of our excellent conſtitution, and the ſecurity of the rights of every branch of the legiſlature; which, after ſome debate, was carried by a great majority.

This night's gazette contains an addreſs to his majeſty from the citizens and principal inhabitants of Exeter, expreſſive of their attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and declaring that it is not their intention to engage in any meaſure that may tend to embarraſs his majeſty's government, to foment the alarming diviſions that at preſent prevail, and impede the progreſs of thoſe conciliatory meaſures by which alone the public peace can be reſtored; they therefore hope his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to call to his councils men whoſe abilities and integrity may recommend them to his royal favour, and whoſe meaſures may entitle them to the full confidence and ſupport of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects. Likewiſe addreſſes from the inhabitants of New Sarum; from the mayor, aldermen, &c. of Chipping Wycombe; from the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeſſes of Preſton, in Lancaſhire; from the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes of Berwick upon Tweed; and from the bailiff, burgeſſes, and inhabitants of Chippenham; on the removal of the late miniſtry.

St. James's, Feb. 11. A meſſenger arrived this morning from his excellency ſir Robert Ainſle, his majeſty's ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, with an account of the pacification between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte being happily accompliſhed; and that a definitive arrangement was ſigned by Monſ. de Bulgakow, the Ruſſian envoy, and the Ottoman miniſters, on the 8th of laſt month.

St. James's, Feb. 14. The king has been pleaſed to approve of Don Diego de Gardoqui, to be conſul and agent general for the Spaniſh nation in England and Ireland.

20th. The cauſe between Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, was determined in the court of King's-bench, after having been outſtanding nearly eleven years. The ground of the ſuit was this: Mr. Macklin, in September, 1773, entered upon an engagement as an actor of the Covent-garden company, for three years, at a ſalary of 400l. per ſeaſon, with a benefit. On the 18th of November, in conſequence of a quarrel that had ariſen between him and ſome of the playhouſe frequenters of that day, a riot took place in the theatre, and he was driven from the ſtage, the managers not daring to let him appear again. The latter conſidered this as an incapacitation of Macklin to perform his part of the engagement, and ſuppoſed the contract neceſſarily diſſolved. Macklin, on the contrary, having ſent regularly to demand his ſalary, and offered to play any character the manager ſhould appoint, commenced a ſuit in chancery for the recovery of his

ſalary, and an averaged amount of profits for his benefits. After filing bills and croſs bills, and various expenſive and tedious proceedings in equity, he was adviſed to try for a remedy at common law, and accordingly brought an action on the caſe in the court of King's-bench, which came on for hearing laſt Friday. Sir Thomas Davenport, as counſel for Mr. Macklin, opened his caſe to the court, and called evidence to prove the ſubſtantial facts. Mr. Bearcroft then, as counſel for Mr. Colman, opened the defence, and, if he could have ſubſtantiated it, a very ſtrong one it was: before, however, any witneſſes were called in its ſupport, lord Mansfield recommended a compromiſe. Mr. Macklin roſe, and informed the court he had offered long ſince to leave it to the arbitration of any one merchant, or any one lawyer in the kingdom, and that he was then ready to abide by the deciſion of any one of the jury. Lord Mansfield complimented Mr. Macklin on his candour and fairneſs; and it reſted with Mr. Colman how the matter was to terminate. Mr. Colman declared, that he had never before heard of the plaintiff's being ready to ſubmit the caſe to the arbitrament of an individual, or he would have cloſed with him on the propoſition; and that he would do ſo then, provided the matter could be ſo adjuſted that he could be ſecure that no more than his proportion of the ſum awarded to Mr. Macklin ſhould fall upon him. Mr. Colman explained what he meant, by ſtating, that the engagement was for three years, in only the firſt of which he had an intereſt in Covent-garden theatre, though the action was brought againſt him nominally for the whole ſum claimed, as the acting manager at the time Mr. Macklin was engaged for the three years. Lord Mansfield told Mr. Colman, that being the defendant, he muſt pay the whole ſum, be the award what it might; but that his partners were bound to pay their proportions to him, and it could not be ſuppoſed that they would heſitate to diſcharge what the law would oblige them to pay, if they did make any heſitation upon the ſubject. His lordſhip then ſaid, he would ſettle the matter, if the parties approved. This being aſſented to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, his lordſhip ſaid, he conſidered a riot in a theatre, of the ſort in queſtion, as a common calamity by which the manager and performer were equal ſufferers, and therefore he ſhould halve the matter; and as Mr. Macklin had brought his action for 1000l. award him 500l. and each party to pay their own coſts. This was cheerfully acceded to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, and a rule drawn to enforce the deciſion, and tie up the plaintiff and defendant from commencing any future ſuit or ſuits upon the ſubject. Some civilities paſſed between lord Mansfield and Mr. Macklin; and the latter, before he went out of court, aſſured his lordſhip, that he had never known what juſtice or equity was before.

24th. This night's gazette contains addreſſes to his majeſty from the county of Berks; from the county of Cornwall; from the city of Aberdeen; from the county of Oxford; from the town of Shrewſbury; from the town of Kingſton-upon-Hull; from the town and port of Folkſtone; from the town

and port of Dover; from the county of Wilts; from the county of York; and from the borough of Abingdon, on the diſmiſſion of the late miniſtry, &c. &c.

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 24. The duke of Rutland, who embarked at Holyhead laſt night, on board his majeſty's yacht, the Dorſet, arrived ſafe in the harbour about one o'clock this afternoon. His grace was received at landing by the lord mayor and ſheriffs of the city of Dublin. The regiments of foot in garriſon lined the ſtreets through which his grace paſſed to the Caſtle, attended by a ſquadron of horſe. His grace, on his arrival at the Caſtle, was introduced in form to the earl of Northington, who received him, ſitting under the canopy of ſtate, in the preſence chamber. A council met at five o'clock, and a proceſſion was made from the preſence chamber to the council chamber, where his grace's commiſſion was read, and the oaths adminiſtered to him; after which, his grace having received the ſword from the earl of Northington, and being inveſted with the collar of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, the great guns in his majeſty's park the Phœnix were fired, and anſwered by the regiments on duty. His grace then repaired to the preſence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility and other perſons of diſtinction, upon his grace's ſafe arrival to take upon him the government of this kingdom.

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 26. This day about two o'clock, the earl of Northington, late lord lieutenant of this kingdom, left the caſtle, in order to embark on board his majeſty's yacht the Dorſet, on his return to England.

His grace the duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant, and the earl of Northington, went together from the caſtle in a coach drawn by ſix horſes, and preceded by a leading coach and ſix, in which were the officers of ſtate, to the South Wall. They were eſcorted by a ſquadron of horſe, and attended by a great number of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction, the lord mayor, ſheriffs, ſeveral of the aldermen and principal citizens in their carriages, followed by a concourſe of people, to the water ſide. The ſtreets were lined by the regiments of infantry on Dublin duty; and the earl of Northington received every demonſtration of reſpect as he paſſed through the ſtreets, from the people, who teſtified their regard by repeated wiſhes for his welfare and ſafe return to England.

DIED. At Llan Vair y Medd, in Angleſea, Hugh Rowland Hughes, gent. aged 114 years, 11 months, and 27 days. He was born March 1, 1670, married in the year 1700, and had nine children; he was married the ſecond time in 1734, and had five children; he was married the third time, and had two children, viz. Hugh Evan Hughes, the Welch poet, and a daughter; and in the year 1748, he married his fourth wife, whom he left a widow with ſeven children, all men and women now alive; 84 of his offſpring were at his burying in Amlwich church, on St. David's day laſt.

MARCH 1784.

1ſt. The ſervants of the duke de Chartres arrived at the duke's houſe in Portland Place, and his grace is hourly expected from France.

4th. At

4th. At a general court of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, William Pitcairn, M. D. president of the College of Physicians, was unanimously elected treasurer of the said hospital, in the room of John Darker, esq. deceased.

6th. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the citizens of Bristol; from the borough of Truro; from the town of Chard; from the borough of Warwick; from the borough of Tamworth, in the counties of Warwick and Stafford; from the county of Devon; from the county of Bucks; from the borough of Bridport; from the county of Fife; from the borough of Kirkcaldy; from the shire of Linlithgow; and the ancient and loyal burgh of Ayr, on the present state of affairs, the dismission of the late ministry, &c. &c.

9th. The following is the substance of the letter from Scilly, which gives an account to the directors of the India company of the loss of the Nancy packet.

"A person, whose business is to attend at the Scilly islands, on seeing some letters washed on shore, which, on opening, he found came from India, suspecting some vessel from that part of the world to be lost, offered a large reward for any person to go off; they accordingly discovered a wreck under water with great difficulty, and got up a packet bag, which contained several letters.

"The following are a part of the passengers known to have been on board the Nancy at the time; Mr. Percy, surgeon to Sir Edw. Hughes; Mr. Ashburner, late of the council at Bombay; Mr. Bond; Mr. Page and son; Miss A. Thomson; Capt. Haldane; his first and second mate; Mr. M'Kenzie; Mrs. Cargill, and an infant child of twenty months old. The bodies were mostly naked, and supposed to have been in bed at the time."

10th. The entertainment at Carleton house was one of the grandest spectacles that we have had in this country for years, and was becoming the prince of a free nation. The dinner was given to the whole of that most respectable body of gentlemen who have assembled at the St. Alban's Tavern, with the laudable view of reconciling the hostile parties by which the nation has been distracted, and bringing about an union capable of conducting the strong measures necessary in so critical a moment. The ball at night exhibited a scene of beauty and magnificence unparalleled. Lady Beauchamp's groupe, consisting of herself, her sisters, the Miss Ingrams, and the Miss Talbots, were said to be the most exquisitely beautiful of any in the room. They were all five in Spanish dresses, uniform, of white crape spangled with gold, and ornamented with precious stones. They had the finest effect in the dance.

11th. At a meeting of the gentlemen interested in the island of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, held at the London Tavern, Sir William Young, Bart. in the chair:

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting, impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude for the humanity, justice, and generosity, so exemplarily displayed by his excellency Monsieur le Marquis de Bouille, in his several conquests and chief command over the above islands, during the late

late war, beg leave to offer to his excellency this public teſtimony of their veneration and eſteem.

Reſolved, That a committee, conſiſting of Sir William Young, Bart. lieutenant-general Robert Melville, William Woodley, eſq; Richard Neave, eſq; Walter Niſbet, eſq; Robert Udney, eſq; John Anthony Rucker, eſq; do wait upon his excellency with a copy of theſe proceedings, and requeſt that he will honour this meeting with his company to dinner at this place, on ſuch a day as may be moſt agreeable to him to appoint, with ſuch of his friends and countrymen as he may pleaſe to introduce.

Reſolved, That a piece of plate be preſented to Monſieur le Marquis de Bouille, in the name and on behalf of this meeting, as a ſmall, but grateful tribute due to his magnanimity and juſtice, and that the above committee do cauſe the ſaid piece of plate to be prepared, and to have ſubſcribed thereon the ſubſtance of the firſt reſolution.

William Young, Chairman.

A copy of the above proceedings being preſented by the committee to Monſieur le Marquis de Bouille, his excellency was pleaſed to make the following reply:

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my acknowledgments for the very great and diſtinguiſhed honour you have done me, of which I entertain the warmeſt ſenſe.

"My conduct towards the Weſt India colonies, which fell, by the fate of war, under the dominion of France, was ſuch, as not only flowed from the examples of magnanimity and juſtice given by my ſovereign, but was the natural reſult of that high eſteem and conſideration, which I have always held for a nation ſo reſpectable and renowned as that of Great Britain.—I cannot, therefore, but wholly attribute the value you are pleaſed to ſet on my actions, to the generoſity of your ſentiments, of which I ſhall preſerve a conſtant remembrance."

16th. At twelve o'clock laſt night the lord mayor received a letter from the right hon. W. Pitt, chancellor of the Exchequer, relative to an execution for 180,000l. being levied on the hon. the Eaſt India company. Early this morning his lordſhip ſent for the ſword-bearer, and ordered ſummonſes for a court of aldermen yeſterday. His lordſhip, the ſheriffs, and ſeveral aldermen, had a conference for two hours on this extraordinary occaſion, as the execution was ſaid to be not ſtrictly regular. The officer who levied, notwithſtanding the largeneſs of the demand, executed the writ without the knowledge of his principals, and his fees amount to 1s. 6d. in the pound, being 13,000l. The execution was for duties to government, and it is ſaid to be withdrawn by conſent of miniſtry.

The court of aldermen have ſuſpended the ſecondary of the Compter for having, on his own mere motion, and without previous authority from the ſheriffs, levied the above execution.

This night's gazette contains addreſſes from the county of Eſſex, from the town of Sunderland, from the corporation of Penzance, from the borough of Tregony, from the borough of Aſhburton, from the borough of Ludlow, from the town of Paiſley, from the town of Kilmarnock, from the burgh of Kirkcudbright,

cudbright, and from the city of Aberdeen, humbly thanking his majesty for the appointment of his present ministers. Likewise a second address from the inhabitants of Tregony, expressive of their concern at the present distracted state of the British empire, and humbly imploring his majesty to call such men into his service as have the confidence of the representatives of the people.

17th. The following affair was discovered in a court by the side of Fleet-Market. Some of the lodgers smelt something offensive up two pair of stairs, where a man and his family lodged, and calling to the children to open the door, they replied they could not: on which the people burst it open, when they found the poor woman dead upon the bed, and four children, two boys and two girls, naked, and almost starved to death, three of them so weak for want of food, that they could not stand. The eldest boy, who could just speak to be understood, said, that his mother died the 13th of February, and that their father left them soon after. The parish officers were sent for, who ordered them to be carried in chairs to the workhouse, and great care to be taken of them. The deceased was with difficulty, being in a state of putrefaction, put into a coffin, to be carried to the workhouse for interment.

Petersburgh, Feb. 13.

The Empress has appointed Prince Potemkin to be President of the Board of War; with the rank of Field Marshal; Count Soltskow to be Aid de Camp General, and General Paul Potemkin to be Governor General of Astracan, and of the countries bordering upon Mount Caucasus. Her Imperial Majesty has conferred the order of St. Andrew on the Vice Chancellor, Count Osterman, with a valuable present; the order of St. Alexander Newski, and a grant of lands, with the rank of Privy Counsellor, on Monf. Besberodko; and the same order on Monf. de Simolin, Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of London, and Prince Baratinski, Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles; the order of St. Wolodomir, with a grant of lands, on Monf. Bakounin; and the second cross of the same order, with the rank of Counsellor d'Etat, on Monf. Markoff, Minister Plenipotentiary at Versailles. Her Imperial Majesty has also made presents of very considerable value to Prince Repnin, Prince Wasemsky, Monf. Bulgakow, and Count Cobenzel, the Imperial Minister at this Court.

24th. Early this morning some thieves broke into the back part of the house inhabited by the lord chancellor, in Great Ormond-street; having got over the wall, from the fields, into the garden, and from thence into the area, they forced two bars of the kitchen window, and entered the house. Having thus gained an entrance, they went up stairs, into a room adjoining the study, where they found the great seal of England; this they took from out the two bags in which it is always kept, carrying away with them the plain seal only, or rather the two parts, which constitute the whole; they also took a sum of money, not very considerable, and two silver-hilted swords, having first drawn them, and leaving the scabbards behind. Not one of his lordship's servants heard them during their stay, and of course they got off

off with rather more eaſe than they got in. Theſe midnight robbers left behind them their implement of induſtry, a plain tool well tempered, and calculated as well for a weapon of defence (if oppoſed) as an inſtrument for forcing of locks.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and was pleaſed to prorogue the parliament with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

25th. The parliament was diſſolved by royal proclamation.

27th. This night's gazette contains addreſſes from Northumberland, Leiceſter, Warwick, Wenlock in Salop, Dorſet, Wigtown, and two from Aberdeen, in favour of the preſent miniſtry, &c.

30th. At the cloſe of the poll for the borough of Hertford, the numbers were

For Mr. Calvert,	365
Baron Dimſdale,	292
Mr. Baker,	223

Whereupon the two former were declared duly elected.

31ſt. Came on the election for the town of Kingſton upon Hull, and at the cloſe of the poll, the following day at noon, the numbers were

For W. Wilberforce, eſq;	807
Samuel Thornton, eſq;	751
David Hartley, eſq;	337

	Tu.	W.	Th.
Watſon,	101	717	1148
Lewes,	90	637	1078
Newnham,	100	635	1066
Sawbridge,	73	435	673
Atkinſon,	57	362	583
Smith	20	257	
Pitt,	52		

Upon which the two former were declared duly elected.

Died. On the 3d inſt. at Romſey, the widow Poore, a native of Weſt Wellow, aged 108 and upwards.

On Saturday ſe'nnight, at Chewton Mendip, near Briſtol, Thomas Pope, aged 101. He could walk ten miles in a day in his 100th year.

APRIL 1784.

1ſt. This night's gazette contains addreſſes from Yorkſhire; from the high ſheriff and grand jury of Surry; from Devonſhire; from Oxfordſhire; from the high ſheriff and grand jury of Devonſhire; from Denbighſhire; from the county of Air; from Scarborough; and from Henley upon Thames, in favour of the preſent miniſtry.

5th. The election ended for the city of Norwich, when the numbers were, for

Sir Harbord Harbord,	2305
Mr. Windham,	1297
Mr. Hobart,	1233

6th. At three o'clock the poll for members to ſerve in parliament for the city of London finally cloſed. The numbers of each day's poll were as follow:

F.	S.	M.	Tu.	Total.
1057	497	718	551	4789
1008	488	724	537	4562
1010	482	684	494	4471
573	292	420	357	2823
614	293	471	424	2804
				277
				52

The

The poll for the city of York finally closed, when the numbers stood as follow:

For Lord Galway,	1086
R. S. Milnes, esq;	1019
Lord J. Cavendish,	911
Sir William Milner,	802

Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel declined the poll for Yorkshire.

On the close of the poll for Cambridge, the numbers were,

For Mr. Pitt,	334
Lord Euston,	288
Mr. Townshend,	267
Mr. Mansfield,	181

Extract of a letter from Bath.

7th. Our election is this minute over, when the numbers appeared thus:

Hon. J. J. Pratt,	27
Abel Moysey, esq;	17
Right hon. W. Pitt,	12

It is remarkable, that through the whole principality of Wales there is not a single contest on the present general election.

10th. The right honourable Edmund Burke was installed in the office of lord rector of the university of Glasgow; he was attended by several persons of rank and eminence; the spectators were very numerous, and testified their satisfaction by the highest marks of approbation and applause. His lordship, after taking the oaths of office, addressed the meeting in a polite and elegant speech suited to the occasion. Having attended public worship in the college chapel, he was afterwards entertained by the gentlemen of the university.

13th. The following are the amended lists to fill up the vacancy of East India directors.

HOUSE LIST amended.

John Manship, esq.
Francis Baring, esq.
John Harrison, esq.
George Cumming, esq.
James Moffatt, esq.
Richard Lewin, esq.

PROPRIETORS LIST amended.

John Manship, esq.
Francis Baring, esq.
John Motteux, esq.
Edmund Boehm, esq.
Hugh Inglis, esq.
Richard Lewin, esq.

14th. The election for six directors of the East India company came on at the India house: upon casting up of the ballot, the numbers were as follow:

John Manship, esq.	778
Francis Baring, esq.	621
Edmund Boehm, esq.	597
Hugh Inglis, esq.	567
John Motteux, esq.	470
Paul Le Mesurier, esq.	469
James Moffatt, esq.	468
John Harrison, esq.	435
George Cumming, esq.	414
James King, esq.	337
Richard Lewin, esq.	63

20th. This evening, at ten o'clock, the poll was finally closed at Bedford, when there appeared,

For Lord Ossory,	1050
Mr. St. John,	974
Lord Ongley,	973

A scrutiny was demanded by lord Ongley; but as the whole had been a strict scrutiny, and deeds fetched from a great distance, to settle the business, it was refused, as the poll had been open twelve days, and there never was an instance of its not being settled in two days before.

Vienna, March 31. The Emperor arrived in this capital yesterday in perfect health, after an absence of near four months.

Constantinople,

Conſtantinople, March 23d. The plague has broken out here with very alarming ſymptoms.

22d. Came on the election for the county of Middleſex, at Brentford, for two members to ſerve in parliament; at the cloſe of the poll, the numbers were as follow:

For Mr. Mainwaring,	1792
Mr. Wilkes,	1518
Mr. Byng,	1504

23d. For W. Mainwaring, eſq. } 2117
John Wilkes, eſq. 1858
George Byng, eſq. 1787

Majority for Mr. Mainwaring, 330
Ditto for Mr. Wilkes, 71

After which a ſcrutiny was demanded by Mr. Byng, and ſix or ſeven of his friends, which was allowed by the ſheriff, and the county court was thereupon adjourned to Friday next, at ſix o'clock in the evening, at the ſheriff's office, in Took's-court, Curſitor-ſtreet, Chancery-lane, then and there to proceed on the ſaid ſcrutiny.

At one part of the firſt day's poll at Brentford, Mr. Byng was a-head of Mr. Wilkes above 230.

24th. The right hon. Charles James Fox was preſented by the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeſſes, with the freedom of the borough of Bridgewater, Somerſet, and therewith choſen recorder for the ſame, in the room of Vere Poulett, brother to Anne Poulett, member for the ſaid borough, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Kirkwall.

26th. This day came on the election of a member for the northern diſtrict of the boroughs in Scotland, when the delegates from the towns of Wick and Dornock voted for John Sinclair, eſq; late member for Caithneſs, and ſince returned for Leſtwithiel, in Cornwall; and the delegates from Tain, Dingwall, and Kirkwall, for the right honourable Charles James Fox, upon which Mr. Fox was declared duly elected. Objections, however, were ſtated to the delegates from Kirkwall and Dingwall; and it was farther contended, that Mr. Fox, not being a qualified burgeſs in any of the towns, was conſequently ineligible; from which it is ſuppoſed, that the merits of the election will yet undergo the conſideration of a committee.

MAY 1784.

Conſtantinople, March 24. Two Ruſſian officers arrived here on the 15th inſtant, with the ratification of the late convention, and a great many very valuable preſents from the Empreſs for the different miſſions who co-operated in the late negotiation; among which are a grant of lands, the Second Order of St. Vlodomir, and the rank of Major General, to Monſ. Bulgakow, her Imperial Majeſty's Envoy, and a magnificent gold ſnuff-box, enriched with diamonds, and a ſable fur to the Imperial internuncio, and Britiſh and French ambaſſadors.

Venice, April 16. An expreſs from Spalatro has brought an account that the plague had broken out there, and had begun its ravages by the death of thirty perſons.

4th. Guildhall. At eleven o'clock, the ſheriffs, Mr. Sawbridge, his ſcrutineers, and counſel, Mr. Brook Watſon, and ſeveral of the livery, attended in the new council chamber, when the books were examined, and the rejected votes caſt up,

up, and the numbers finally adjusted. At twelve the sheriffs, &c. adjourned to the hustings, when Sir Barnard Turner declared the numbers following:

Brook Watson, esq;	4776
Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt.	4541
Nath. Newnham, esq;	4467
John Sawbridge, esq;	2812
Richard Atkinson, esq;	2803
Samuel Smith, esq;	286
The Hon. W. Pitt, esq;	56

Upon which the sheriffs declared, that the majority of legal votes upon the scrutiny appeared in favour of Brook Watson, esq. Sir Watkin Lewes, knt. Nathaniel Newnham, esq. and John Sawbridge, esq. The court was then adjourned to Friday next, at the same time and place, when those gentlemen will be declared duly elected, and the return signed.

Numbers at the end of the poll.

Watson,	4789
Lewes,	4554
Newnham	4479
Sawbridge	2823
Atkinson	2816
Smith	277

End of the scrutiny.

Watson	4776
Lewes	4541
Newnham	4467
Sawbridge	2812
Atkinson	2803
Smith	276

Bad votes for Watson 13

Lewes	13
Newnham	12
Sawbridge	11
Atkinson	13
Smith	1

The hon. Mr. Grenville and John Aubrey, esq; returned members for the county of Bucks.—lord Verney lost it by 24. A scrutiny was demanded for lord Verney, but refused by the sheriff.

Came on at Holyrood House, the election of the sixteen peers to represent the nobility of Scotland. There was a very strong contest; and at the close the following noblemen were chosen, having the greatest number of votes: 8th.

Duke of Queensberry,	42 votes
Marquis of Lothian,	38
*Earl of Morton	38
Eglintown,	47
Cassilis	43
*Moray	42
Abercorn	44
Galloway	39
Dalhousie	48
*Balcarras	40
*Breadalbane	39
Aberdeen	39
Dunmore	39
*Hopetown	42
Viscount Stormont	48
*Lord Elphingstone	41

Those marked thus (*) are new members.

The following were the unsuccessful candidates:

Earl of Glencairn	18 votes.
Kelly	17
Lauderdale	26
Dysart	9
Selkirk	26
Dumfries	34
Marchmont	37
Roseberry	34
Lord Salton	15
Cathcart	30
Kinnaird	36
Cranston	30

Copenhagen, April, 17th. The king of Denmark has been pleased to make a new arrangement in his council of state, in which the Prince Royal took his seat on the 14th. That council now consists of his Royal

Royal Highneſs, with Prince Frederic, the King's brother, and the following members: Count Thott, Monſ. de Roſencrantz, Monſ. de Schack Rathlou, Count de Bernſtoff, General Huth, and Monſ. de Stampe.

Extract of a letter from Briſtol, May 8.

"This afternoon the poll for members for this city, which had laſted exactly five weeks, was finally cloſed by the conſent of all the candidates—the numbers were as follows:

Brickdale	3458
Cruger	3052
Daubeny	2982
Peach	373

whereupon the two firſt were returned by the ſheriffs.—Colonel Cruger is to be chaired on Monday, in the abſence of his brother, who is at New York."

Mr. Bembridge, who had been confined in the king's bench theſe ſix months paſt, was brought up to the bar at Weſtminſter-hall, and on giving bail was diſcharged.

At three o'clock the poll for members to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter finally cloſed. 16th.

The numbers of each day's poll were as follows:

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
April 1.		
264	302	238
2.		
970	941	866
1234	1243	1104
3.		
951	680	871
2185	1923	1975
5.		
1077	955	1010
3262	2868	2985
6.		
574	545	637
3936	3413	3622
7.		
616	414	495
4452	3827	4117
8.		
345	299	303
4797	4120	4420
9.		
80	65	69
4877	4201	4489
10.		
341	271	299
5218	4472	4788
12.		
246	205	207
5464	4677	4995
13.		
117	142	97
5581	4819	5092
14.		
151	186	116
5732	5005	5208
15.		
143	143	113
5875	5148	5312
16.		
96	82	88
5971	5230	5400
17.		
81	75	65
6052	5305	5465
19.		
68	65	68
6120	5370	5533
20.		
54	73	41
6174	5443	5574
21.		
65	76	49
6239	5519	5623
22.		
35	51	27
6274	5570	5650
23.		
52	45	49
6323	5615	5699
24.		
51	56	38
6377	5671	5737
26.		
52	79	40
6429	5750	5776
27.		
39	77	40
6468	5827	5806
28.		
39	56	36
6507	5883	5842
29.		
25	38	23
6532	5921	5865
30.		
16	42	12
6548	5963	5877
May 1.		
14	29	13
6562	5992	5890
3.		
12	24	12
6574	6016	5902

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
4.		
14	33	11
6588	6049	5913
5.		
12	35	5
6600	6084	5918
6.		
14	20	11
6614	6104	5929
7.		
10	9	8
6624	6113	5937
8.		
11	21	9
6635	6134	5946
10.		
23	15	19
6658	6149	5965
11.		
5	16	6
6663	6165	5971
12.		
5	11	6
6668	6182	5977
13.		
4	12	3
6672	6194	5980
14.		
3	7	2
6675	6201	5982
15.		
6	17	5
6681	6218	5987
16.		
13	15	11
6694	6233	5938

17th. This day, at twenty minutes before three, the high-bailiff came from the veſtry-room, took his ſeat upon the huſtings, and in a few minutes the candidates were ſeated by his ſide. Sir Cecil Wray, previous to the cloſing of the poll, delivered a paper to the following purport:

To Thomas Corbett, eſq; high-bailiff of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter.

I Sir Cecil Wray, bart. one of the candidates to ſerve in parliament for the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, and we the underwritten electors of the ſaid city and liberty, do hereby demand of you a ſcrutiny of the votes taken at the preſent election of two citizens to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid city and liberty, as witneſs our hands this 17th day of May, 1784.

CECIL WRAY.

Mountmorres,	Bateman,
R. Butler,	Francis Atkinſon,
J. Meyer,	William Adams,
D. Mackenzie,	Peter Paul,
James Croft,	John Jackſon,
Morris Marſault,	Rev. John Lloyd,
John Robertſon.	

Cir Secil ſpoke a very few words in juſtification of the motives that induced his friends to proceed on the ſcrutiny; and Mr. Fox immediately informed the bailiff, that his commiſſion muſt of neceſſity end to-morrow (this day), that he had no farther controul in the buſineſs, and that, in fact, he muſt be under the neceſſity of returning the writ, and finiſhing the election. Mr. Corbett ſaid, "It is a new caſe, and therefore I muſt well conſider the ſeveral circumſtances of it." Mr. Fox obſerved, that in the moſt ſevere and hard-fought election battles that he was acquainted with, either by his own experience, or that he had learned from the Journals, he knew but of two ſuch ſpecial returns, one of the county of Cumberland, and the other of the city of Coventry, and both made on account of the utter impoſſibility of the returning officer making a due return, owing to riotous proceedings; that at the great ſcrutiny for Oxford, the officer thought it neceſſary to complete the return before the enquiry was ended, rather than run the riſk of diſobeying the precept. The high-bailiff then adjourned to the veſtry-room, when a violent altercation took place, the event of which was, that Mr.

Mr. Corbett, the bailiff, agreed to grant the ſcrutiny. In the mean time the populace, not being able to reſiſt the temptation of demoliſhing the huſtings, began their operation, and in about twenty minutes they were totally demoliſhed, and the materials carried away.

The chair was then taken out of the church, and at five o'clock Mr. Fox was lifted into it, and a moſt ſplendid proceſſion ſucceeded, in which joined the principal electors, and the committees and inhabitants of the different pariſhes. The whole was cloſed by the coaches and ſix of the dukes of Devonſhire and Portland, with numerous attendants.

After the proceſſion was over, Mr. Fox addreſſed the numerous aſſembly, and deſired that their conduct might be marked by order and regularity, and by that means prevent their enemies from throwing the leaſt reproach upon them or their cauſe. The electors immediately departed, and the proceſſion ended.

21ſt. Mr. Chriſt. Atkinſon was again brought before the court of King's Bench, when, on reading the affidavit, and hearing Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wood in behalf of Mr. Atkinſon, lord Mansfield, in a ſpeech that did him infinite honour, declared the unanimous opinion of the court, that the record ſhould be amended as prayed. Lord Manſfield concluded his addreſs in words to this effect:—

"There is a certain principle which I have laid down in this, as well as other places, which was never more properly applicable than in the preſent inſtance:

"That no fiction of law ſhall ever ſo far prevail againſt the real truth of the fact, as to prevent the execution of juſtice."

By conſent of the attorney general, the judgment of the court againſt Mr. Atkinſon was poſtponed till the next term, in order that his counſel may inſpect the record when amended; they being ſtill entitled to take any further objection that may yet appear on the face of the record.

At a quarter before ſeven o'clock in the evening came on the final hearing of Mr. Morris's cauſe, to eſtabliſh his matrimonial contract with Miſs Harford. Doctor Scott recapitulated the heads of the forcible arguments derived from the laws of nature and nations which he adduced on laſt Tueſday ſe'nnight.—Doctor Wynne replied; the doctor very ably contended, that the marriage being contracted in fraud, was void *ab origine*. To prove this poſition, he adverted to Mr. Morris's conduct during the time the young lady was under the care of Mrs. Latouche for education, when that lady found herſelf under the neceſſity of informing Mr. Morris, "that his frequent viſits prevented the young lady from making a progreſs in her education." He then traced him to every part of the continent, and ſhewed the probability of a like advantage being taken at Liſle, where Miſs Harford "deſired the ceremony to be performed in the Engliſh language." He next proved from the *lex loci* of the country in which the marriage contract was celebrated, that it was illegal; that it was likewiſe illegal under the Marriage Act of 1753; that it was void by the common law antecedent to that period; that it was equally condemned by the principles of the Roman and the canon law. His argument, which embraced an immenſe ſcope of learning and law, both

both juriſprudential and canonical, laſted two hours. At nine o'clock Mr. Mansfield began his argument, and continued until ten, in the courſe of which he concluded that the marriage in queſtion was founded in fraud and illegality; particularly with reſpect to the *lex loci* of the two places (French Flanders and Denmark) in which it was performed. He quoted the opinions of the ableſt lawyers in thoſe places to prove his aſſertions.—After a profundity of argument, he concluded with craving judgment in favour of Miſs Harford.

The court was immediately cleared, and after half an hour's conſideration the court was opened, and final judgment was given.—"That both pretended marriages were void—that Miſs Harford, falſely in the libel called Morris, was at full liberty to marry again, and that Mr. Morris was condemned in full coſts."

29th. Laſt night's Gazette contains an addreſs from the county of Kent, in favour of the preſent adminiſtration.

JUNE 1784.

Extract of a Letter from Paris, June 3.

"The king has been pleaſed to eraſe the ſentence of the court-martial at l'Orient, that the affair be no longer agitated, which is ineffectual to anſwer the public expectation. It is ſaid, that a ſecond council of war will be held, ſolely to examine and judge the conduct of comte de Graſſe, who, in his quality of admiral and captain, ought, according to the marine law, to juſtify himſelf, by explaining the motives which obliged him to give up the Ville de Paris.

"On the 30th ult. the Pariſians reſorted in crowds to Verſailles, to ſee the ceremony of inveſting Mr. le Bailli de Suffrein with the blue ribbon. In the proceſſion were all the princes of the blood, and all the knights of the order of the Holy Ghoſt."

16th. The recorder made his report to his majeſty of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, viz. Thomas Randall, Robert Ganley, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Davis, Joſeph Hawes, James Hawkins, John Lynch, James Farrell, Patrick Birmingham, Samuel Hall, William Hobbs, John Taylor, Drummond Clarke, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, William Smith, Iſaac Torres, Elizabeth Vickry, Peter Haſlett, alias Edward Verilly, Charles Criſwell, John Moſeley, Simon Young, and John Boyle; when Robert Ganley, Patrick Birmingham, Peter Haſlett, Patrick Burne, Iſaac Torres, Charles Barton, Thomas Randall, William Smith, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Farrell, John Lynch, James Hawkins, Joſeph Hawes, and James Davis, were ordered for execution on Wedneſday next, the 23d inſtant.

19th. Came on to be tried before the lord chief baron of the exchequer, at the Guildhall, London, the cauſe captain Sutton againſt commodore Johnſtone. The trial began at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, and continued twenty-two hours. The jury retired about ſeven o'clock, and at eight on Sunday morning gave a verdict of 5,000l. damages for captain Sutton.

23d. The following convicts were executed on the ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe before Newgate: William Smith, Iſaac Torres, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, Patrick

trick Birmingham, John Lynch, James Farrell, James Davis, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, Robert Ganley, and Thomas Randall, for burglary; Peter Haſlett, alias Edward Verilly, for perſonating and aſſuming the name of Thomas Howard, of his majeſty's ſhip the Pallas, with intent to receive his wages; and Joſeph Hawes and James Hawkins for a ſtreet robbery. The above unhappy men came upon the ſcaffold a little before ſeven o'clock; they all ſeemed devout and penitent, and behaved in every reſpect as became their miſerable ſituation. The platform dropped about a quarter before eight, and at the ſame moment they were all launched into eternity. The concourſe was immenſe; the windows and roofs of the houſes commanding a view of the fatal ſpot were crowded, and many thouſands of people were aſſembled in the Old Bailey before ſix o'clock.

24th. This afternoon, at four o'clock, the poll for a repreſentative for the borough of Southwark finally cloſed, when the numbers ſtood as follow:

	22.	23.	24.
For P. Le Meſurier,	533	863	935
Sir R. Hotham,	506	842	924
Majority			11

A ſcrutiny was demanded in favour of Sir Richard Hotham.

25th. This day, at four o'clock, Mr. Holder, the high bailiff of the borough, held the adjourned huſtings in Mill-lane, Tooley-ſtreet. He ſaid, that his very ill ſtate of health obliged him to decline granting a ſcrutiny; the fatigue he had already gone through in the election having very much injured his health, which was before much impaired, he therefore made the return to the writ, declaring, that by the number of the poll Mr. Le Meſurier was elected. After this declaration, Mr. Le Meſurier came forward, and made a ſhort ſpeech to the electors, thanking them for the honour done him.

Sir Richard Hotham alſo came forward; thanked his friends for the trouble and fatigue they had undergone, and declared his intention of appealing to the houſe of commons, in juſtice to them as well as himſelf; as he had ample proof to found a petition againſt his opponent, not only of bad votes, but of other illegal practices. The huſtings was then adjourned.

29th. In the court of King's-bench, ſeveral gentlemen ſurrendered themſelves at the bar, to receive judgment for being concerned in a riot in the priſon of the King's-bench ſome time ago, whereof they were tried and convicted; ſome affidavits were read in extenuation of their offence, and the court were about to ſend them to the New Gaol in the Borough, but the defendants begged hard to be committed to the former priſon, which was granted, and they are to be confined one month in the ſtrong room of the King's-bench.

St. James's, June 29. One of the king's meſſengers arrived on Sunday laſt with the ratification, on the part of the States General of the United Provinces, of the definitive treaty of peace, ſigned at Paris on the 20th of May laſt, which was exchanged with Daniel Hailes, eſq; his majeſty's plenipotentiary, againſt his majeſty's ratification on the 19th inſt. at Paris, by the plenipotentiaries of their high mightineſſes.

JULY

JULY 1784.

Extract of a Letter from Hanover, July 1.

"The prince biſhop of Oſnaburgh, ſecond ſon of his Britannic majeſty, ſet out this morning for Vienna. His royal highneſs will afterwards viſit ſeveral other courts of Germany, and will not return hither till towards the end of October next.

Naples, July 3. The Britiſh ſquadron under the command of commodore ſir John Lindſey, conſiſting of the Truſty, Thetis, Andromache, Sphynx, and Rattleſnake, which ſailed from Leghorn on the 12th of June laſt, anchored in this bay on the 17th. On hearing of its arrival the king of Naples was pleaſed to command that it ſhould be immediately admitted to Pratique, notwithſtanding the quarantine lately laid on all ſhips, from whatever quarter they come.

The king and queen of Naples having previouſly ſignified to the commodore their intention of honouring the ſquadron with a viſit, their majeſties ſet out on the 24th in the morning from the Galley Mole, attended by general Acton, and ſeveral other officers of the court, and by the captains of the ſquadron in their reſpective barges. As ſoon as their majeſties were at a little diſtance from the ſhore, all the ſhips manned their yards, except the Sphynx and Rattleſnake, which being dreſſed with colours, diſplayed them at the ſame inſtant the others manned; and after their majeſties were on board the Truſty, all the reſt of the ſquadron fired a royal ſalute.

Their majeſties viſited the ſhip above and below, and the king went into the commodore's barge, and viſited all the other ſhips of the ſquadron, returning again to the Truſty. On leaving the ſquadron their majeſties were ſaluted by all the ſhips with 21 guns each; and the commodore with the captains had the honour of dining with their majeſties on ſhore, and the following day on board the king's yacht, which, with two of the king's gallies, was dreſſed with colours after the Engliſh manner, the Engliſh flag being at the yacht's foretopmaſt head.

At dinner on board the yacht their Sicilian majeſties drank to the health of the king and queen of Great Britain, when a royal ſalute was immediately fired from the yacht and the two gallies. Their majeſties, during the dinner, were pleaſed repeatedly to expreſs their ſatisfaction at ſeeing an Engliſh ſquadron in the bay of Naples; and appeared deſirous, by every means in their power, to manifeſt their friendſhip for his Britannic majeſty.

His Sicilian majeſty having fixed on Thurſday the 1ſt of July to honour the ſquadron again with his preſence, and to ſee a few evolutions performed in the Bay, his majeſty, attended by the nobles of diſtinction, and the officers of the court, came at the time appointed; and the ſhips being in all reſpects prepared, and quite ready, ſlipped their cables, and ſailed in good order about eleven o'clock, with a very fine ſea breeze.

The exerciſing of the ſquadron began immediately, and ſuch manœuvres as could be performed by ſo ſmall a number of ſhips, were executed at half paſt two o'clock. His majeſty was pleaſed to honour

the commodore with his company at dinner, when the commodore took an opportunity of drinking the queen's health, and fired a royal ſalute from the whole ſquadron.

About four o'clock the evolutions re-commenced, and were continued until half paſt ſix, when the ſhips reſumed their former anchoring ſtations in the bay of Naples. The ſeveral manœuvres of the ſquadron were honoured with repeated expreſſions of applauſe by his Sicilian majeſty, who teſtified a perfect knowledge in every part of that buſineſs. He was ſaluted on his coming on board and going on ſhore, by all the ſhips, with 21 guns each, and attended on both occaſions by the captains in their reſpective barges.

7th. At one o'clock, William Bishop, common cryer of this city, attended by proper officers, read at the Royal Exchange gate two proclamations, one relative to the definitive treaty being ſigned at Paris between Great Britain and the States General, and the United States of America; and alſo a proclamation for a general thankſgiving to be obſerved on the 29th inſtant, on the peace; they were all afterwards ſtuck up in divers parts of the city.

8th. This morning Mr. Linton, one of the principal muſicians belonging to Covent-garden and the Haymarket theatres, was attacked ſomewhere (as it is imagined) about St. Martin's lane. A woman accidentally looking out of a window about one o'clock, ſaw a gentleman purſuing three fellows up Bedford-bury, into New-ſtreet, St. Martin's lane, where Mr. Linton was ſoon after found, with a wound in his belly, ſuppoſed to have been given with a knife. He was bled, and every endeavour uſed to recover him, notwithſtanding which he ſoon after expired. A piece of a watch chain was found in Mr. Linton's hand; from which circumſtance it is not improbable that his watch was taken from him by force, and that his not parting with it eaſily was the cauſe of the villains ſtabbing him. Two perſons are already in cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in this horrid murder; and every ſtep is taken to bring the offenders to juſtice.

10th. A medal has lately been ſtruck to perpetuate the memory of capt. Cook, the execution of which is equal to the ſubject. On one ſide is a bold relief of captain Cook, with this inſcription, *Jac. Cook, Oceani Inveſtigator acerrimus*; immediately under the head is expreſſed in leſſer characters, *Reg. Soc. Lond. Socio ſuo.* On the reverſe appears an erect figure of Britannia ſtanding on a plain. The left arm reſts upon an hieroglyphic pillar. Her ſpear is in her hand, and her ſhield placed at the foot of the pillar. Her right arm is projected over a globe, and contains a ſymbol expreſſive of the celebrated circumnavigator's enterpriſing genius. The inſcription round the reverſe is, *Nil intentatum noſtri liquere*; and under the figure of Britannia, *Auſpiciis Georgii III.*

The above medal was engraved at the expence of the royal ſociety. Six impreſſions were ſtruck in gold, and two hundred and fifty in ſilver. The gold medals are diſpoſed of as follow:

One to his Britannic majeſty, under whoſe auſpices capt. Cook proceeded on his diſcoveries.

One to the king of France, for his

his great courteſy in giving a ſpecific charge to his naval commanders, to forbear ſhewing hoſtility to the Reſolution and Diſcovery, the two ſloops under captain Cook's command, and to afford him every ſuccour in their power in caſe they fall in with him.

One to the empreſs of Ruſſia, for her great hoſpitality to capt. Cook when he touched at Kamtſchatka.

One to Mrs. Cook, the captain's relict.

One to be depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum; and

One to remain in the college of the Royal Society.

The ſilver medals were diſtributed among the members of the Royal Society, ſome particular lords of the admiralty, and a few other diſtinguiſhed perſons.

13th. We are happy at having an opportunity of informing the public, that the two murderers of Mr. Linton are now in cuſtody; one of the parties was ſeized on Saturday evening by Mr. Smith, the keeper of Tothill-fields, to which place he went up in a viſit to Dixon, one of the men committed by Mr. Addington upon ſuſpicion. The man taken on Saturday is named Morgan, and is well known to the officers of the police; he has made a confeſſion of the whole melancholy tranſaction, acquitting Smith, one of the two firſt taken in cuſtody, acknowledging that Dixon and himſelf were the only perſons concerned in the murder and robbery. We cannot too much applaud the activity of Mr. Bond and Mr. Smith, in purſuit of the perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Linton, and the addreſs with which Morgan was got to confeſs the particulars.

14th. A cauſe was tried before Mr. juſtice Buller, and a ſpecial jury, in which Mr. Edmund Burke was plaintiff, and the printer of the Public Advertiſer defendant. The action was brought for a libel againſt Mr. Burke, and the damages laid at 5000l. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, July 15.

"Early yeſterday morning a number of people armed, ſeized on Mr. Plowman, woollen-draper, the corner of John's-lane, and hurried him to the Weaver's-ſquare, where in a few minutes they ſtripped and tarred him. Sheriff Kirkpatrick, having received intelligence, paſſed off to the Liberty, and imprudently threw himſelf among the crowd, without guards, or any other aſſiſtance. The ſheriff reſcued the unhappy man; but on attempting to ſeize ſome of the ringleaders, he was moſt violently oppoſed. Swords were drawn, and the ſheriff received two moſt ſevere cuts on the head. At this moment alderman Hart appeared, with a ſtrong military force, and came up moſt opportunely, as ſheriff Kirkpatrick was knocked down, and lay in the utmoſt danger of his life. Mr. Plowman had, it ſeems, made ſome very conſiderable importation of Engliſh goods the day before he was waited upon, directly infringing the non-importation agreement, and which, it is alledged, drew upon him the reſentment of the populace.

27th. The following convicts were executed this morning before Newgate, purſuant to their ſentence, viz. William Thompſon, alias Peter Smith, John Branton, Thomas

Thomas White, George Dane, and John Richards.

Extract of a letter from L'Orient, July 30.

"Monſ. le comte de Graſſe is gone home to the place of his exile. The captains of de Suffrein's fleet have not yet received ſentence for their conduct in the Eaſt-Indies; they are yet on board l'Amphion of 50 guns, where they have been already impriſoned near twelve months."

30th. Friday night arrived in town his excellency the duc de Chartres, and the prince de Leury, from France. They ſet out on Saturday for Brighthelmſtone, accompanied by the duke de Lauzun, on a viſit to the prince of Wales.

31ſt. His Royal Highneſs the duke of Glouceſter arrived in town with his ducheſs from the continent.

DIED. Lately at Brook-hill in Ireland, Lovelace Love, eſq; This gentleman was noted for his extraordinary bulk; he weighed upwards of forty ſtone; his coffin meaſured ſeven feet in length, four acroſs, and three and a half deep. His death was occaſioned by his immenſe corpulence.

AUGUST 1784.

Extract of a letter from Arras, dated 4th inſtant.

"Yeſterday morning Mr. Charles Clutterbuck, who has been confined at St. Omer's, and at this place, for two years paſt, was conducted, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, from the royal priſon to the council-chamber, in order to paſs his laſt interrogation touching the offence he has committed againſt the bank of England; the examination laſted about an hour: the judge demanded his defence, which he delivered in French, in theſe words: "Si mon "procès avoit été inſtruit en An- "gleterre ſoux le faux titre royale, "il auroit été rejetté, et il n'au- "roit pas été reconnu." I underſtand that he has alſo preſented to the bench of judges a very ingenious memorial, ſhewing the nature of his crime, and the nature and inſtitution of the different banks in Europe. The judges are puzzled to make a deciſion upon this unprecedented ſuit, which affords much argument and profit to the lawyers here; the proſecution has already coſt the bank more than 20,000 l. and as the whole of theſe proceedings are tranſmitted to the king's council chamber at Paris, it may probably coſt them as much more."

Dublin, Auguſt 4. Laſt Monday night, between the hours of eleven and twelve, a number of officers in the army, entered the ſhop of Mr. Flattery, a publican on Ormond-quay, near Eſſex-bridge, and by their intemperate behaviour (ariſing, it is ſuppoſed, from their being ſomewhat in liquor) occaſioned a conſiderable riot, which took place betwixt them and ſome of the volunteers.—We are happy to add, that although ſeveral perſons were wounded on both ſides, no lives were loſt in the affray.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Auguſt 5.

"Yeſterday, about two o'clock, the duke of Rutland arrived at the caſtle, from the county of Weſtmeath, ſuppoſed to be in conſequence of an expreſs diſpatched for his

his grace the day before, relative to the military outrage on Monday night."

7th. At the assizes for the county of Kent, the cause between earl Stanhope and the Messr. Adam of the Adelphi, was tried a third time, when the plaintiff, earl Stanhope, obtained a verdict of 1,500 l. damages, besides costs of suit.

10th. Some of the prisoners in the King's bench attempted their escape in the following manner: despairing of being liberated by the insolvent bill, which has slept so long in the house of lords, one D——s with a number of associates, assembled, and in a peremptory manner demanded the key of the prison from the door-keeper, who, fearing the consequences of a refusal, gave up the same. D. thus in possession of the key, in the height of his joy ran back into the prison to give notice thereof; when the door-keeper immediately clapped too the door, which having a spring lock, and there being no key-hole within side, the insurgents were in a moment as close prisoners as if they had not the key. A guard was immediately sent for, which has done duty at the prison ever since; where things remain in a state of tranquillity.

Dublin, August 13.

At a general meeting of the corps of Upper-Cross and Coolock volunteers, at the Centaur in Fishamble-street, Tuesday the 10th of August, 1784.

Major M'Cormick, in the chair.

"Resolved, That we view with the utmost abhorrence the cruel and unprovoked outrage committed on the person of Mr. Neal Flattery, a member of this corps, and a citizen, with other persons of his family, by certain officers of the army, on Monday the 2d instant; and that we consider this as one of the evil effects of the unnecessary augmentation of the military establishment.

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves in the most sacred manner to each other, and to our fellow-citizens, to hold ourselves always prepared to assist the magistrates to repel any such violence in future."

Major M'Cormick reported his having received the following letter from col. lord Harrington, containing a message to be communicated to this corps.

Dublin Barracks, Aug. 6, 1784.

SIR,

Having learned, with much concern, that an affray which happened some nights ago (wherein my name has appeared) has been imputed to an intention on my part, and that of the officers of the army, of offering an insult to the corps of volunteers of this city, I took the earliest opportunity of endeavouring to remove so ill-founded an impression, by a message, which I begged an officer of my regiment to deliver to you, of which the following is a copy, viz.

I am desired by lord Harrington to wait on you, in consequence of his "having been informed that the unfortunate affray, which happened on Monday night on the Quay, is considered in the light of an intentional insult on the volunteer corps; his lordship desires me to assure you, sir, and through you the corps to which you belong, that he is persuaded, that there was not the

remoteſt intention of that kind;—and that in regard to himſelf (whoſe name has been mentioned in it) he never had an idea of treating with diſreſpect, much leſs of offering an inſult, to you, or any other corps of volunteers."

Underſtanding that you have expreſſed a wiſh, that the above meſſage ſhould be conveyed by letter, previous to its being communicated by you to the corps, I trouble you with this repetition of it.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble
and obedient ſervant,
HARRINGTON.

To the commanding officer
of the Upper-Croſs, and
Coolock volunteers.

14th. The duc de Chartres ſet off for France, being ſent for by order of the French king.

17th. Henry Morgan was committed to Newgate by William Addington, eſq; charged, on his own confeſſion, with feloniouſly aſſaulting Charles Linton on the highway, in the Pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex, and taking from his perſon a g ld watch, two guineas and a half, and one ſhilling, his property. He alſo ſtands further charged, on his own confeſſion, with the wilful murder of the ſaid Charles Linton.

Dublin, Aug. 27th. This morning Mr. Dowling, printer of the Volunteers Journal, Dublin, was apprehended by juſtice Graham, and carried before judge Robinſon, who committed him to Newgate, on a charge of high treaſon, at the ſuit of the crown.

DIED. *Aug.* 5th, at Matlock in Derbyſhire, Ann Clowes, aged 103. She meaſured 3 feet 9 inches in height, and weighed about 48 lb.—The houſe ſhe reſided in was as diminutive (in proportion) as herſelf, containing only one room, about eight feet ſquare.

SEPTEMBER 1784.

City of York.

At the Guildhall of the ſaid city, the firſt day of September, in the year of our Lord 1784, it was reſolved by the mayor and commonalty of the ſaid city,

"That the thanks of this corporation here aſſembled be given to the right honourable Charles James Fox, the right honourable William Eden, William Joliffe, eſq; George Dempſter, eſq; and John Courtenay, eſq; for their wiſe, ſtrenuous, and patriotic oppoſition to the bill brought into parliament during the laſt ſeſſion, impoſing an additional duty on windows in lieu of part of the late duties on tea, which bill had been declared by the inhabitants of this city, at a general meeting, to be extremely impolitic, partial, compulſory, oppreſſive, and unjuſt, and which now appears to this corporation to lay a heavy and peculiar burthen upon the people of this kingdom.

"Reſolved alſo, That the thanks of this corporation be given to the forty members of parliament who divided againſt the third reading of the ſaid bill in the houſe of commons on the 10th of Auguſt laſt.

"Reſolved, That theſe reſolutions be entered into the corporation books; that copies thereof be made and ſigned by the common clerk,

clerk, and tranſmitted by him to the ſeveral gentlemen named in the firſt reſolution, and that the ſame be publiſhed in both the York Papers.

By order,

GEO. TOWNEND,

Common clerk of the ſaid city."

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Sept 7.

"Laſt Thurſday morning, at ten o'clock, the remains of Sir Eyre Coote, K B. were landed at the Jetty Head, in the dock-yard, the Bombay-caſtle firing 21 minute guns. The corps of marines forming a line to the dock-gates. Drums beating a point of war, colours flying, muſic playing a ſolemn dirge. The officers ſaluted the hearſe as it paſſed them. In Fore-ſtreet, two companies of royal artillery, the 39th and 40th regiments of foot, received the body, forming themſelves into diviſions of ſix abreaſt; the grenadiers and light infantry taking the lead. They then proceeded through the towns of Dock, Store-houſe, and Plymouth, through the Glacis, to the gates of the citadel, where the lieutenant-governor, Campbell, received the body with every mark of reſpect. The two battalions and artillery formed on the parade, before the governor's houſe; the grenadiers and light infantry, in four diviſions, eſcorted the hearſe to the chapel, the troops preſenting their arms; the drums beating, and muſic playing, 19 minute guns were fired during this ceremony, and the body was depoſited in the chapel with great ſolemnity and reſpect. The numerous crowds of ſpectators which attended, teſtified their regard to the memory of ſo great a man."

Conſtantinople, Auguſt 9. On the 3d inſtant the Porte received certain intelligence, that a terrible earthquake had happened on the 23d of July, in the mountainous parts in the province of Ekilis, towards the frontiers of Armenia, by which the town of Ezerghen, or Arſingham, about fifty miles on the ſide of Erzerum, had been nearly deſtroyed, with the loſs of about ſix thouſand inhabitants. Amongſt other ſufferers by this dreadful calamity, was Suleiman, Baſhaw of Erzerum, lately promoted to that government from the poſt of Chiaus Baſhi, chief of the Purſuivants. This gentleman had proceeded as far as Ezerghen, with a ſuite of five hundred people, of whom twelve only eſcaped.

At mid-day on the 5th inſtant, the north wind being remarkably high, a fire broke out in the quarter of Conſtantinople called the Chiremit Mahaleſi, ſituated towards the bottom of the harbours, which, for want of timely aſſiſtance, ſoon communicated to different houſes, and, in leſs than two hours, extended to the town walk towards Fanar, and to the quarters of Cara Ghiumrak, Jeni Bakzé, and Sara Gheriz. It continued burning twenty-ſix hours, and about ten thouſand houſes (moſt of which had been rebuilt ſince the fire in 1782) were entirely conſumed.

15th. The populace took the horſes from the coach of the right hon. Charles James Fox, in Old-ſtreet, and ſubſtituted themſelves in their places.

20th. Henry Morgan, convicted laſt Friday for the wilful murder of Mr. Linton, on the 7th of July, near St. Martin's-lane, by ſtabbing him in the belly with a large caſe-

caſe-knife, was executed on a ſcaffold erected before Newgate. At half paſt ſix the convict came upon the ſcaffold with a book in his hand, and prayed in an audible voice, and with every appearance of fervent devotion. In about a quarter of an hour the ordinary quitted the ſcaffold, when the malefactor, in an impaſſioned tone of voice, continued to repeat—"Oh, my God, forgive all my ſins! Lord, have mercy upon me! Chriſt Jeſus, receive my ſoul!" and while uttering theſe ejaculations, the platform dropped, and after a few convulſive ſtruggles, he became motionleſs. A woman and a child now came upon the ſcaffold, and had the hand of the malefactor ſtroked ſeveral times upon their necks, under a notion of its removing wens. After hanging the uſual time, the body was put into a ſhell, and carried to Surgeons-hall, in order for diſſection.

28th. The houſe of the right hon. Edm. Burke, of Beaconsfield, was broke open, and robbed of a variety of plate, and other articles to a conſiderable value. The robbers came down from London in a phaeton, which they had hired in Oxford-road. They broke open a field-gate at the ſide of the road, oppoſite the avenue which leads up through the lawn to the back of the houſe, and there the horſes and phaeton were left in a corner of the field, as appeared by the marks of the wheels, the horſes, and the men. At about one, it is ſuppoſed, they came up to the houſe, and having paſſed the left wing on the rear, they took their ſtand under a pear-tree, in the corner, where by the graſs being much trodden, it may be conjectured they ſtood about an hour.

30th. DIED. At his houſe in Bermondſey, in Surrey, Richard Ruſſell, eſq; in the commiſſion of the peace for that county. He died a batchelor, and has left, among other legacies, 3000l. to the Magdalen hoſpital; 3000l. to the Small-pox hoſpital; 3000l. to the Lying-in hoſpital near Weſtminſter-bridge; 500l. to the Surrey Diſpenſary; 2000l. for a monument to be erected in St. John's church, Southwark; 50l. each to ſix young women to attend as pall-bearers on the night of his interment; 20l. each to four other young women, who are to precede his corpſe, and ſtrew flowers, whilſt the Dead March in Saul is to be played by the organiſt of St. John's; 100l. to the reverend Mr. Groſe to write his epitaph. This ſum had been firſt left to Dr. Samuel Johnſon, but altered by a codicil in favour of the reverend Mr. Groſe. All the reſt of his property, after ſale of his eſtates, to the Aſylum for young girls in Lambeth pariſh, which, it is ſuppoſed, will amount to 15 or 16,000l. after all the legacies and funeral charges are defrayed. Eight of the acting magiſtrates in Surrey are requeſted in his will to attend his funeral; and his executors are Sir Joſeph Mawbey, bart. Samuel Gillam, Thomas Bell, and William Leavis, eſqrs.

6th. DIED. Monday laſt at Biggleſwade, in Bedfordſhire, Mr. George Alexander Stevens, author of the celebrated Lecture on Heads, and many other humorous pieces.

OCTOBER 1784.

St. James's, Oct. 1. This day the Marquis

Marquis de Cordon, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Sardinia, had his audience of leave of his Majesty.

And afterwards the Chevalier de Pollon, his successor in the same character, had his first private audience of his Majesty, to deliver his credentials.

To which they were introduced by the Marquis of Carmarthen, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs.

2d. A few days ago two very fine young Arabs, a horse and a mare, were presented to his Majesty from Mr. Hastings. They were brought from Bengal in the Atlas and Besborough East-Indiamen.

7th. This evening, about six o'clock, as some boys were diverting themselves with throwing squibs round a small bonfire in Duke's Place, it being a kind of holiday among the Jews, a person who keeps a coffee-house near the place being much exasperated at their behaviour, took a loaded blunderbuss, and fired among them from a one pair of stairs window, whereby one boy was instantly shot dead, two others mortally wounded, besides three more; after which he came down with a drawn cutlass, but being overpowered, was secured and lodged in the Poultry-compter. —He was brought before the sitting magistrates yesterday, and re-committed for examination on Wednesday next.

10th. This morning another of the boys which was shot on Thursday night in Duke's Place, died in Bartholomew's hospital.

21st. At the sessions at the Old Bailey, which began yesterday, William Morrow was indicted for stealing a bag, containing 1000 l. and sundry other sums of money, the property of Messrs. Drummond and Co. bankers. He was convicted on his own confession, and other corroborating circumstances, for it did not come out by what means he got at the bag, which it appeared was kept in an iron chest in the strong room, to the keys of which every clerk in the office had free access in the way of business. His salary, with the perquisities, did not exceed 90 l. a year, and of this he had only been in possession since 1782; previous to that period he had only 60 l. a year; yet Mr. Pygot, the stock-broker, had purchased for him 50 l. stock in August 1783, in the 3 per cents. consols; on the 3d of October 1783, purchased 50 l.; on the 27th of April 1784, purchased 250 l.; on the 23d of July purchased 70 l. Mr. Wright had purchased for him 525 l. 4 per cents. on the 3d of June 1784; 264 l. 10s. 4 per cents. on the 3d of July 1784; 262 l. 10s. on the 7th of September 1784. When the prisoner bought the first 400 l. he said he had received 200 l. from a friend in the country, the other 200 l. he had saved from his salary. When he bought the next 200 l. he said he had part from a lady at Lancaster, the other part he had raised by selling part out of the 3 per cents. The third sum, he said, from the sale of all his 3 per cent. stock.—His counsel did not deny the fact; but endeavoured to prove him at times insane; but lord Loughborough, before whom he was tried, observed, that if a man was deprived of his reason, he was certainly an object of compassion, not of punishment; but here was a regular plan, a habit

a habit with too much method to be compatible with the plea ſet up. Singularity of conduct gives no protection. The jury found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy.

23d. Lord Loughborough, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, in conjunction with the Recorder of London, who do the Old Bailey buſineſs this ſeſſions, were on Saturday moved by Mr. counſellor Chetwood, in behalf of captain Kenneth Mackenzie, who ſtands charged with the wilful murder of a private man at Cape Coaſt, on the coaſt of Africa, in order to his being tried, bailed, or diſcharged. The application to the court was on the ground of the hardſhips the captain ſuſtained by the proſecution, not having brought over his witneſſes when they brought over the witneſſes for the crown. The nature of the perſons the captain had to deal with, whom he took to Cape Coaſt, viz. capital felon convicts who had received his majeſty's mercy on condition of tranſportation for life, among whom was that well-known deſperado, Patrick Madan, and the deceaſed, who had three times received his majeſty's mercy. That they had bored a hole in the hull of the ſhip in order to ſink her, with other acts of deſperation, and that the act of the priſoner was an act of neceſſity. That the veſſel ſent out for the captain's witneſſes was not returned, and in all human probability never might; and therefore he prayed he might be tried, bailed, or diſcharged.

The court in anſwer ſaid, that it certainly was a peculiar misfortune to the priſoner to labour under ſuch difficulties. With regard to the facts, this was not the time to inveſtigate them, and with reſpect to the ſhip having been ſent out for the captain's witneſſes, it was done by an order of government at the captain's requeſt. That he was at liberty to go to trial if he pleaſed, and would venture it without the witneſſes he had ſent for, but with regard to diſcharging, the court could not do that. With reſpect to bailing, the attorney-general, who was out of town, had not been ſerved with any notice, and it would be highly indecent to do it either without his conſent, or without his knowledge, if the court was competent to it; but they were of opinion the court of King's-bench muſt be applied to, as was done in the caſe of captain David Roache, who had killed a man at the Cape of Good Hope, and who had applied to the ſeſſions of Oyer and Terminer to be tried, bailed, or diſcharged, but who was referred to the court of King's-bench, where he was afterwards bailed. The motion therefore fell of courſe, and captain Mackenzie ordered to remain ſtill in Newgate.

NOVEMBER 1784.

Bruſſels, Nov. 8. Accounts have been received here, that laſt night the Dutch broke one of their dikes near Lillo, by which ſeveral perſons were drowned. They attempted to break a ſecond, but were prevented by the Imperial troops. This event has ſpread an alarm at Oſtend, and has occaſioned an extraordinary diligence in completing the works on the ramparts there.

Yeſterday afternoon a Dutch mail arrived,

arrived, which brought the following intelligence:

Antwerp, Nov. 8. There was a real and ſerious cannonade this day from the Dutch fort of Cruyſſchans; it was directed againſt the inhabitants, ſubjects to the emperor, occupied in repairing a breach, from which they feared the farther progreſs of the inundation already begun, and their entire ruin; a ſhot even entered a farm houſe at ſome diſtance, in which was a piquet of Imperial infantry. The night before was a prelude to what is to happen this day; for the Dutch have already fired ſome muſket-ſhot on the patrole of the Imperial troops, which, as uſual, ſurrounded the territory of his Imperial majeſty.

Naples, Nov. 16. There is at this moment a ſlight eruption of lava from Mount Veſuvius, which, ſo far from alarming, gives univerſal ſatisfaction here, as a few days ago a ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Naples. The earthquakes ſtill continue with ſome force in Calabria, ſometimes towards Catanzaro, and at other times in the neighbourhood of Reggio.

20th. The long-conteſted cauſe between John Gallini, eſq; and the truſtees of the king's theatre, was finally determined by the lord chancellor, in favour of the latter; the temporary receivers were diſcharged, and the ſaid truſtees confirmed in their right of managing the property for the benefit of the creditors. Counſel for the truſtees, Mr. ſolicitor-general, Mr. Selwyn, and Mr. Evance; ſolicitors, Meſſ. Harbone and Seton of the Adelphi.

22d. The following extraordinary affair came before the Bow-ſtreet magiſtrates: Count Duroure, who has made ſo much noiſe about town, ſome little time ſince got acquainted with a gentleman of the law, who lent him his aſſiſtance to extricate him from difficulties he was involved in: having acceſs to his friend's table, who was married to a young lady of ſome accompliſhments, the Count, by his attentions, inſinuated himſelf ſo far into her affections, as to prevail upon her to elope with him to France. He ſent off his baggage to Dover, whither he was to follow in a day or two. The huſband, by a laconic letter from the lady, received the firſt intimation of her infidelity. After a very minute enquiry, he diſcovered, that the lady and her paramour were at a bagnio in Leiceſter-fields, whither he went on Sunday night, accompanied with ſome friends, and being guided to the room, deſired admittance, which was refuſed; upon this he forced open the door, and the moment he entered the Count fired upon him; the ball went through his hat without doing him any miſchief. The Count's conduct appeared in ſo extraordinary a light to the magiſtrates, that for the purpoſe of more ſecurity he was committed to Newgate.

4th. King againſt Wooldridge. This day the long-depending cauſe was again argued in the court of King's-Bench, before lord Mansfield and Mr. Juſtice Buller. Mr. Garrow, as junior counſel, after a very handſome apology for his youth and inexperience, craved the indulgence of the court. His firſt argument went to the informality of the return to the mandamus, which, although by no means the ground that he meant to ſet his foot upon, yet was

was in itſelf ſufficient to inſure ſucceſs to his client. He then, by a chain of very clear deductions and appoſite caſes, a great variety of which he quoted, ſtated his objections to the words of the return; but the court declining to enter directly into the merits, Mr. Garrow judiciouſly (as Mr. Juſtice Buller afterwards ſaid) abandoned his intentions, and went boldly to the general queſtions.

The firſt charge was a pretended embezzlement of a part of Sir James Langham's charity to ſoldiers and ſailors, the alderman having drawn on the chamberlain for the ſum of four pounds, payable to James Aſpell, from whom he took a receipt, whereas in fact it was alledged that he paid Aſpell only one guinea, and appropriated the remainder to his own uſe. Mr. Garrow denied the fact—his client had *bona fide* diſtributed the money according to the true intent of the donor's will, and there was no averment in the petition of the inhabitants of Bridgeward to the contrary—but it was meritoriouſly diſtributed to ſeveral perſons inſtead of one perſon—Admitting the fact, it was at moſt but a miſapplication, which, according to the doctrine held by Holt, chief juſtice, in the King againſt Chalk, in the borough of Wilton, 1 Raymond, fo. 225, "a miſapplication of corporation money was no cauſe of a motion, becauſe an action will lie againſt the party."—He quoted an infinite number of other caſes, together with lord Mansfield's former opinions, corroborating this poſition in many points of view. He then made ſome ſtriking obſervations upon the nature of charitable donations veſted in the hands of corporations, and furniſhed the court with much entertainment at the expence of Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes, in his late correſpondence with Mr. Joſiah Dornford.

The ſecond charge was extorting 15 l. from William Parry, nine guineas of which he received under pretence of raiſing two ſubſtitutes, the ſaid Parry having been diſcharged by the alderman from a criminal proſecution, on condition of ſerving his majeſty. He averred that it did not appear, either from the petition or the return of the mandamus, that the alderman had not actually raiſed the ſubſtitutes. But ſuppoſe it was not ſo, this was no crime in his client's corporate capacity. The alderman ſhould have been indicted, and the record of conviction might have operated. If an alderman was thus to be ouſted of his freehold, contrary to the great charter, where the ſame parties were accuſers, judges, witneſſes, and jurymen, then a member of a corporation was in ſuch a miſerable ſtate as no other citizen could poſſibly be placed. If every circumſtance which was "*contra bonas mores*" was to be puniſhed in this ſummary way, perhaps *gluttony* and *drunkenneſs* (of which crimes he did not preſume the corporation in queſtion were guilty) might be made grounds of a motion. He here likewiſe quoted a variety of precedents analogous to his purpoſe, particularly King and corporation Glouceſter, 5 Bulſtrode, —and Bag's caſe in lord Coke.

His client's crimes had formerly been held up in the form of an Hydra, but they were now ſhrunk into a Cerberus; there being only a third charge, viz. that of impriſonment

ſonment for debt upon eſcape warrants. The liberality of the preſent day held bankruptcy to be no cauſe of disfranchiſement; how then ſhould impriſonment? and this was clear in the determination of the Liverpool caſe, reported 2d Burrows, folio 723. He here, with great force and feeling, painted the miſchiefs that might ariſe from ſuch a power being veſted in corporations, as to disfranchiſe for involuntary abſence. What opinions had the citizens hitherto held? had they been always ſo ſcrupulouſly exact? Alderman Lee was four years abſent an agent for congreſs, then in open arms againſt this country; alderman Peckham abroad four or five years to recover his health; the late alderman Bridgen had not attended duty for nine years, only in the laſt act of his political life he had expiated all his offences ariſing from neglect, by giving a caſting vote for the preſent worthy recorder (a general laugh.) Where were the disfranchiſements at that time? On the contrary, his unhappy client, after being ruined by the American war, ſtripped of his property by a ſecond commiſſion of bankruptcy (ſince proved to have been iſſued illegally) had all the power and the vengeance of the corporation poured forth upon him. Was not the preſent chamberlain elected an alderman when under a more ſevere predicament? Mr. Garrow then, in a very animated manner, drew his concluſion, and craved judgment of the court, to reſtore Mr. Wooldridge to his ſeat amongſt the elders of the city.

Mr. Gibbs anſwered, in a very ingenious ſpeech, in which he adduced two caſes, that claimed the attention of the court, in ſupport of the third charge—firſt caſe, King and Truebody, a capital burgeſs of Leſtwithel, in Cornwall, 2 Raymond, fol. 1275—and King and Glyde, a member of the corporation of Exeter, reported in 4th Modern, fol. 33. Both of theſe caſes went to this point, that a corporator being removed out of the juriſdiction, and being *incapable* of performing his duty, it was held good ground to remove him. Mr. Gibbs uſed ſeveral other forcible arguments, and was replied to by Mr. Garrow.

Lord Mansfield.—The caſe has been well argued. He was always deſirous, that corporation queſtions might be defined with as much accuracy as poſſible. The firſt charge, reſpecting Sir John Langham's charity, does not ſeem to be a ſufficient ground, it is not charged to be done corruptly. The ſecond, if true, was an offence as a juſtice of the peace, and therefore againſt the general law of the land—muſt be a previous conviction. The laſt head is of great conſequence. The two caſes, adduced by Mr. Gibbs, muſt be well conſidered. A man is not a corporator for his own ſake—when he ceaſes to be in a condition to perform the duty, the queſtion is, whether he ought to remain. His lordſhip therefore deſired to have a further hearing on the third head, in the courſe of next term.

Mr. Juſtice Buller.—The firſt charge, clearly no offence againſt the corporation. The ſecond, merely a ſubject for common law, and therefore there muſt be a previous conviction. The third, he deſired a farther argument, to be treated under two heads; namely, firſt, how far it may affect the public adminiſtration

ſtration of juſtice: ſecondly, to what extent it may militate with the welfare of the city and corporation.

Lord Mansfield aſſented. And thus Mr. Wooldridge has completely ſucceeded in the two moſt important points, and has only to wait until next term for a ſolemn adjudication of the third.

30th. The high ſheriff of the county of Dublin, in Ireland, received his ſentence from the court of King's-Bench, to be impriſoned for one week, and to pay a fine of five marks.

DECEMBER, 1784.

1ſt. A moſt remarkable murder was perpetrated in the following manner, by a journeyman barber that lives near Hyde Park Corner, who had been for a long time paſt jealous of his wife, but could no way bring it home to her: a young gentleman by chance coming into his maſter's ſhop to be ſhaved and dreſſed; and, being in liquor, mentioned his having ſeen a fine girl home to Hamilton-ſtreet, from whom he had certain favours the night before, at the ſame time deſcribing her perſon; the barber, concluding it to be his wife, in the height of his frenzy cut the gentleman's throat from ear to ear, and abſconded.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Dec. 4.

4th. Saturday laſt three attachments were granted (unleſs cauſe to the contrary is ſhewn) by the court of King's-Bench, againſt the three magiſtrates who convened the freeholders of the county of Mayo, agreeably to a requiſition, for the purpoſe of conſidering of the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform, and to elect delegates to meet in national congreſs.

8th. On caſting up the ſcrutiny at the Eaſt-India houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, for the election of a director in the room of Charles Boddam, eſq; deceaſed (excluſive of five double ballots, which were of courſe thrown out as illegal) the numbers ſtood—

For James Moffatt, eſq;	373
Thomas Pattle, jun. eſq;	285
Majority	88

11th. At eleven o'clock came on before lord chief baron Skynner and a ſpecial jury, at Guildhall, the new trial directed by the court of Exchequer, in an action of damages brought by captain Sutton, of the Iſis, againſt commodore Johnſtone, who commanded a fleet bound to the Eaſt-Indies. The latter had put the former under arreſt at Port Praya, alledging, that the captain had not done his duty in the action which took place with Monſieur Suffrein's ſquadron in that port. The new trial was granted at the inſtance of the commodore, to relieve himſelf from a former verdict obtained by the captain on the ſame action, for five thouſand pounds. There being a greater number of witneſſes than were, perhaps, ever examined in any cauſe, the trial laſted all the day on Saturday, the whole night, and yeſterday until two o'clock, when the jury gave a verdict in favour of captain Sutton, for ſix thouſand pounds.—There never was an inſtance in this kingdom, before this, of a trial for damages that occupied the attention of a court for twenty-ſix hours without intermiſſion.

The

20th. The remains of the much-lamented Dr. Samuel Johnſon were interred in Weſtminſter-abbey. The proceſſion, conſiſting of a hearſe and ſix with the corpſe, and ten mourning coaches and four, ſet out from Bolt-court, Fleet-ſtreet, a few minutes after twelve o'clock, being followed by ſeveral gentlemen's carriages, moſt of the company in which were in mourning. At one o'clock the corpſe arrived at the abbey, where it was met by Dr. Taylor, (who read the funeral ſervice) and ſeveral prebends, conducted to the Poet's corner, and laid cloſe to the remains of David Garrick, eſq. The principal mourners on this ſolemn occaſion were Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Mr. Edmund Burke, Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Colman, and the deceaſed's faithful black ſervant. There were preſent beſides, Doctor Horſley, General Paoli, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Malone, Rev. Mr. Strahan, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Nichols, and other diſtinguiſhed perſons. A great concourſe of people were aſſembled, who behaved with a degree of decency ſuitable to the ſolemn occaſion.

28th. J. Mackintoſh, jun. eſq; ſhot himſelf in his lodgings at one of the hotels in Covent-Garden. He was a young man of character and diſtinction, lately returned from the Eaſt-Indies, where he had acquired a genteel competency; but from the extravagancies of youth, had expended his fortune, and found himſelf in very embarraſſed circumſtances. He had ruminated on his fate with the greateſt deliberation for ſeveral days, and had conciliated his mind to that awful and horrible deſtiny, to which his proud ſpirit and precipitation hurried him. Having written ſeveral letters to his friends, and one to a paſtry-cook under the Piazzas, to whom he was indebted about 2 l. and whom he ordered to call on a certain gentleman on Thurſday next for payment, mentioning at the ſame time, that *the piſtol was at his head*, he, with the greateſt compoſure, ſeized the fatal inſtrument, and put a period to his exiſtence. He was a young gentleman of about nineteen years, upwards of ſix feet high, and of a handſome and agreeable aſpect.

BIRTHS for the year 1784.

Dec. 24. 1783. Her ſerene highneſs the princeſs of Wirtemberg, of a princeſs.

Feb. 2. The right hon. the counteſs of Weſtmoreland, of a ſon.

4. The right hon. lady Algernon Percy, of two ſons.

12. The right hon. viſcounteſs Maitland, of a ſon.

14. The right hon. lady Louiſa Macdonald, of a ſon.

March 23. The right hon. lady St. John, of a ſon and heir.

April 12. The lady of the hon. col. Rodney, of a ſon.

May 2. Her royal highneſs princeſs Sophia Frederica, conſort to prince Frederic of Denmark, of a daughter.

7. The lady of Philip Yorke, eſq; of a ſon and heir.

June 13. The right hon. lady viſcounteſs Chewton, of a ſon and heir.

Sunday laſt, of a ſon, viſcounteſs Tournour.

July 15. The right hon. the countess Traquair, of a son.
21. Lady Frances Alicia Benyon, of a son.
Aug. 6. Viscountess Stormont, of a son.
10. Lady of his grace the lord archbishop of Cashel, of a son.
Countess of Leicester, of a daughter.
24. Lady of the right hon. William Eden, of a daughter.
Lady Page, of a daughter.
Sept. 2. Duchess of Beaufort, of a son.
13. Hereditary princess of Baden, of a prince.
Oct. 9. Lady of the hon Francis Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewsbury, of a daughter.
14. The princess of Asturias, of a son.
Lady of lord George Cavendish, of a son.
16. Right hon. lady Deerhurst, of a son and heir.
22. Archduchess of Milan, of a princess.
28. Lady of the Grand Signior, of a princess.
Nov. 22. Lady viscountess Galway, of a daughter.
7. Lady of the hon. John Byng, of a son.
29. Lady Lewisham of a son.
Dec. 2. Right hon. lady Frances Morgan, of a daughter.
Lately, the grand duchess of Russia, of a princess.
14. Queen of Naples, of a princess.

MARRIAGES for the year 1784.

Jan. 9. Col. Thomas Dundas, of Fingask, to lady Elizabeth Eleonora Home, eldest daughter of the earl of Home.
Feb. 5. The hon. and rev. Edward Venables Vernon, to lady Anne Leveson Gower.
26. John Boyd, esq; son of Sir John Boyd, bart. to Miss Harley, daughter to the right hon. Thomas Harley.
April 13. The right hon. lord Napier, to Miss Clavering, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Clavering, bart.
May 5. —— Byron, esq; to the hon. Miss Talbot, niece to the earl of Shrewsbury.
7. The right hon. lord Clive, to the right hon. lady Henrietta Herbert, sister to the earl of Powis.
14. Captain Hervey, of the royal navy, to the right hon. lady Louisa Nugent, daughter to earl Nugent, of the kingdom of Ireland.
June 9. The right hon. lord Saltoun, to Miss Fraser, daughter to Simon Fraser, esq.
18. The right hon. lord Llandaff, to lady Catherine Skeffington, sister to the earl of Massarene.
23. John Bridgeman, esq; second son of Sir H. Bridgeman, bart. to Miss Worsley, daughter of the right hon. lady Eliz. Worsley.
28. The hon. George Ferdinand Fitzroy, eldest son of lord Southampton, to Miss Keppel, daughter to the late bishop of Exeter.

Evan

Evan Law, esq; son of the Bishop of Carlisle, to Miss Markham, daughter of the archbishop of York.

29. The right hon. lord viscount Falmouth, to Miss Crewe, daughter of John Crewe, esq; of Bolesworth-Castle, in Cheshire.

July 14. —— Cumberland, esq; to Miss Hobart, daughter of the hon. Mr. Hobart.

21. The right hon. William Wnydham, brother to the earl of Egremont, to Miss Harford, natural daughter of lord Baltimore, and late Mrs. Morris.

31. James Trail, esq; to the right hon. lady Janet Sinclair, sister to the earl of Caithness.

Aug. 6. Thomas Ord, esq; to Mrs. Broderick, widow of Edward Broderick, esq;

11. Right hon. lord Balgonie, eldest son of the earl of Leven and Melville, to Miss Thornton, daughter of John Thornton, esq; of Clapham.

17. The hon. admiral Digby, to Mrs. Jauncy, eldest daughter of Andrew Elliott, late governor of New York.

21. The hon. John Cranfield Berkeley, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Glocester, to the hon. Miss Charlotte Lenox, daughter of lord George Lenox, brother to the duke of Richmond.

28. Lord St. Asaph, son to the earl of Ashburnham, to the hon. Miss Thynne, third daughter of lord viscount Weymouth.

Sept. 9. Richard Pepper Arden, esq; his majesty's attorney-general, to Miss Wilbraham Bootle, eldest daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq.

23. Montagu Wilson, esq; to Miss Hobart, eldest daughter of the hon. Henry Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckingham.

28. Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, second brother to her majesty, to princess Charlotte, of Hesse-Cassel.

Oct. 4. Honourable capt. Douglas, of the first regiment of foot-guards, to Miss Lascelles.

Nov. 10. Richard Langley, esq; to the hon. Miss Willoughby, daughter of the right hon. Henry lord Middleton.

16. Earl of Euston, eldest son of the duke of Grafton, to lady Horatio Waldegrave, second daughter of the duchess of Glocester, and sister to the present countess of Waldegrave.

18. Reginald Pole Carew, esq; to Miss Jemima Yorke, only daughter of the hon. John Yorke.

29. Thomas Bovet, esq; to the hon. Miss Seymour, daughter of the right hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, and niece to the duke of Somerset.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1784; *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 26, 1783. The right hon. James Grenville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 30. Thomas Pitt, esq; the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Camelford, baron of Boconnoc, in the county of Cornwal.

— 31. Heneage, earl of Aylesford, Thomas, lord Walsingham, and the right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Thomas, earl of Clarendon, to be chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

Jan. 1, 1784. Philip, earl of Chesterfield, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain.

— 2. Arthur Stanhope, esq; to be his majesty's secretary of embassy to the king of Spain.

Heneage, earl of Aylesford, to be captain of the yeomen of his majesty's guard.

George, lord de Ferrars, to be captain of his majesty's band of gentlemen pensioners.

John, earl of Galloway, to be one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber.

— 6. Charles, earl of Tankerville, and Henry Frederic, lord Carteret, to the office of post-master general.

The right hon. sir George Yonge, bart. to be his majesty's secretary at war.

— 7. Philip, earl of Chesterfield, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 13. The right hon. Thomas Kelly, to be one of the justices of the court of Common Pleas in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Godfrey Pitt, esq; deceased.

Sir Samuel Bradstreet, bart. Alexander Crookshank, esq; and Peter Merge, esq; to be justices of the court of King's-Bench and Common Pleas, and a baron of the court of Exchequer, in the kingdom of Ireland, respectively, in addition to the number of justices heretofore appointed for the said courts.

— 31. Hugh, duke of Northumberland, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Lovaine, baron of Alnwick in the county of Northumberland, during his natural life, with remainder to his second son, lord Algernon Percy.

The right hon. Henry Frederic Carteret, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Carteret of Hawnes in the county of Bedford, with remainder to the second and other sons of lord viscount Weymouth.

Edward Eliot, esq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Eliot, of St. Germains, in the county of Cornwal.

Richard Gamon, esq; to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the duties on salt.

Thomas Astle, esq; to the office of keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in the tower of London.

Lately, the right hon. Isaac Barré, to be clerk of the pells in the court of Exchequer.

Feb.

Feb. 9. Lord George Henry Lenox, to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— 10. The earl of Effingham, to the office of maſter and worker of his majeſty's mint.

Lord George Henry Lenox, to be conſtable of the tower of London, and his majeſty's lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the tower hamlets.

The honourable John Thomas Townſhend, to be one of his majeſty's under-ſecretaries of ſtate for the home department.

Sir Edmund Affleck, bart. to be rear admiral of the blue.

— 11. Charles, duke of Rutland, to be lieutenant-general and general governor of his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland.

— 13. The prince of Wales has been pleaſed to make the following appointments in his royal highneſs's houſhold, viz.

Colonel Hulſe, to be comptroller of the houſhold.

Colonel Stevens and lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, to be grooms of the bed-chamber.

Major Churchill, and the honourable captain Ludlow, to be equerries.

— 21. The reverend William Buller, D. D. to the dignity of dean of the cathedral church of Exeter, *vice* Dr. Jeremiah Milles.

The reverend George Prettyman, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, *vice* the rev. William Stockwood.

The reverend Edward Wilſon, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majeſty's free chapel of Windſor, *vice* Dr. William Buller.

Lieutenant-general William Auguſtus Pitt, to be commander in chief of his majeſty's land forces in Ireland.

— 24. Richard, earl of Mornington, and Thomas Orde, eſq; to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council for the kingdom of Ireland.

Thomas Orde, eſq; appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland to be his chief ſecretary.

— 28. Richard, earl of Shannon, George, viſcount Mount Edgcumbe, and Thomas, lord Walſingham, to the office of vice-treaſurer of the kingdom of Ireland.

David Reid, eſq; to be one of his majeſty's commiſſioners for the receipt and management of the cuſtoms and other duties in Scotland.

March 5. Joſhua John, lord Carysfort, inveſted a knight of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick.

— 8. William Fraſer, Stephen Cottrel, and Evan Nepean, eſquires, to be commiſſioners for executing the office of keeper of the privy ſeal.

George, earl of Orford, to the office of ranger and keeper of St. James's park.

— 27. Ralph Heathcote, eſq; his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the elector of Cologne, to be alſo his miniſter plenipotentiary to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

The reverend Claudius Crigan, A. B. nominated by the ducheſs dowager of Athol, to be biſhop of the iſle of Man and Sodor, *vice* Dr. George Maſon, and confirmed by his majeſty.

Robert, lord viſcount Galway, to be comptroller of his majeſty's houſhold.

The right honourable William Wyndham Grenville, and Conſtantine John, lord Mulgrave, to the office of receiver and pay-maſter general of his majeſty's forces.

Lloyd Kenyon, eſq; to the office of maſter or keeper of the rolls or records in chancery, *vice* ſir Thomas Sewel.

— 28. Richard Hopkins, eſq; to be one of his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral, *vice* John Modyford Heywood, eſq.

— 29. The honourable Richard Howard, appointed by the queen to be ſecretary and comptroller of her majeſty's houſhold.

— 30. Richard Pepper Arden, eſq; to be his majeſty's attorney-general, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, eſq.

Richard Pepper Arden, eſq; to the ſeveral offices of chief juſtice of the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery, and juſtice of the counties of Cheſter and Flint, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, eſq.

The hon. James Luttrel, to the office of maſter ſurveyor of his majeſty's ordnance.

April 2. Lloyd Kenyon, eſq; to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— 3. Sir Richard Reynel, bart. to be one of his majeſty's commiſſioners for the management of the duties on ſalt.

— 7. Archibald Macdonald, eſq; to be his majeſty's ſolicitor-general, *vice* Richard Pepper Arden, eſq.

— 10. The reverend Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewal, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majeſty's free chapel of Windſor, *vice* Dr. Thomas Hurdis.

— 16. Robert, lord viſcount Galway, to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— 23. Conſtantine John, lord Mulgrave, to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— 26. The right honourable John Foſter, to the office of chancellor of the exchequer of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 27. The reverend William Cleaver, to the dignity of a prebendary of his majeſty's collegiate church of Weſtminſter, *vice* doctor Thomas Wilſon.

Iſaac Heard, eſq; to be garter principal king of arms, *vice* Ralph Bigland, eſq.

— 28. Daniel Hales, eſq; to be his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Verſailles, in the abſence of the duke of Dorſet.

— 30. The hon. lieutenant col. Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, appointed by the prince of Wales to be a groom of his royal highneſs's bedchamber.

May 11. George, lord Abergavenny, to the dignities of viſcount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viſcount Nevil, of Birling, in the county of Kent, and earl of Abergavenny, in the county of Monmouth.

George, lord de Ferrars, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of the county of Leiceſter.

Henry, lord Paget, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Uxbridge, in the county of Middleſex.

Sir James Lowther, bart. to the dignities of baron, viſcount, and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Lowther, of

of Lowther in the county of Weſtmoreland, baron of Kendal in the ſaid county, and baron of Burgh in the county of Cumberland, viſcount Lonſdale and viſcount Lowther, and earl of Lonſdale.

Thomas, lord viſcount Bulkeley, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Bulkeley, baron of Beaumaris in the county of Angleſea.

Sir Thomas Egerton, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Grey de Wilton in the county of Hereford.

Sir Charles Cocks, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sommers, baron of Eveſham in the county of Worceſter.

John Parker, eſq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Boringdon, of Boringdon in the county of Devon.

Noel Hill, eſq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Berwick, of Attingham in the county of Salop.

James Dutton, eſq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sherborne, baron of Sherborne in the county of Glouceſter.

David, earl of Leven, to be his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

The rev. William Cecil Pery, D. D. to the biſhopric of Limerick, in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Dr. William Gore.

The rev. Chriſtopher Butſon, M. A. to the dignity of dean of the cathedral church of Waterford, *vice* the rev. Cutts Harman.

The right hon. John Scot to be his majeſty's chief juſtice of the court of king's-bench in the kingdom of Ireland.

The right hon. John Scot, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of baron Earlsfort, of Liſſon-earl, in the county of Tipperary.

— 18. Henry Reveley, eſq; to be one of the commiſſioners for his majeſty's revenue of exciſe, *vice* Charles Garth, eſq.

— 20. The rev. Philip Williams, A. B. to be chaplain to the honourable the houſe of commons, *vice* Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewal.

June 2. Commodore Richard King, to the honour of knighthood.

— 19. George, lord viſcount St. Aſaph, appointed by the prince of Wales, to be one of the gentlemen of his royal highneſs's bedchamber.

— 29. Alexander Gordon, of Rockville, eſq; to be one of the lords of his majeſty's court of ſeſſion for the kingdom of Scotland, *vice* David Dalrymple, of Weſt-hall, eſq.

July 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces.

Alexander, duke of Gordon, to the dignities of baron and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Gordon, of Huntley, in the county of Glouceſter, and earl of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk.

John, lord Talbot, to the dignities of viſcount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viſcount of Ingeſtrie, in the

county of Stafford, and earl Talbot of Henſol, in the county of Glamorgan.

Richard, lord Groſvenor, to the dignities of viſcount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viſcount Belgrave, in the county palatine of Cheſter, and earl Groſvenor.

Edward, lord Beaulieu, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl Beaulieu, of Beaulieu, in the county of Southampton.

The rev. Hugh Blair, D. D. and William Greenfield, to be joint profeſſors of rhetoric and belles lettres in the univerſity of Edinburgh.

— 6. Charles Logie, eſq; to be his majeſty's conſul and agent general at Algiers.

— 17. The right hon. ſir John Blaquiere, K. B. and Robert Warren, of Crookſtown, in the county of Cork, eſq; to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 19. James, lord viſcount Cliffden, and William Brabazon Ponſonby, eiq; to be his majeſty's poſt-maſters general of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 24. The right. hon. Lloyd Kenyon, to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.

— 28. The honourable William Weſley Pole, appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, to be governor of the Queen's county.

Colonel Thomas Carleton, to be captain-general and governor in chief of the province of New Brunſwick.

Auguſt 2. Sir John Griffin Griffin, K. B. called up, by writ of ſummons, to the houſe of peers, by the title of lord Howard of Walden.

— 7. Counteſs of Harcourt, appointed by the queen to be one of the ladies of her majeſty's bedchamber, *vice* ducheſs of Argyle.

— 20. James, earl of Courtown, to be treaſurer of his majeſty's houſhold, and of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— 21. Robert Waller, eſq; to be one of the grooms of his majeſty's bed-chamber, *vice* major-gen. St. John.

Major-general Adeane, to be one of the grooms of his majeſty's bedchamber.

Hon. Keith Stewart, to be receiver-general of his majeſty's land rents and caſualties in Scotland.

September 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Thomas, lord Sydney, the right hon. William Pitt, the right hon. Henry Dundas, Thomas, lord Walſingham, the right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, and Conſtantine John, Lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

George Crauford, eſq; to be commiſſary, to treat with the commiſſaries of the moſt chriſtian king, purſuant to the late treaty of peace.

Henry Hew Dalrymple, eſq; to be ſecretary.

— 18. Joſeph Frederic Wallet Deſbarres, eſq; to be governor of the iſland of Cape Breton.

October 1. Auguſtus Rogers, eſq;

esq; to be secretary to his majesty's board of ordnance, *vice* John Boddington, esq.

— 27. His royal highness prince Frederic bishop of Osnaburg, to be colonel of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, *vice* general John, earl of Waldegrave, and to be a lieutenant-general in the army.

November 4. George earl Waldegrave, to be master of the horse to her majesty, *vice* the late earl Waldegrave.

— 13. The rev. William Preston, A. M. to the bishopric of Killala and Achonry, *vice* Dr. William Cecil Pery.

John, lord Howard de Walden, to be lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Essex, *vice* John earl Waldegrave.

— 16. Charles, earl Cornwallis, to be constable of the tower of London, *vice* lord George Henry Lenox.

— 17. George, lord Herbert, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 20. George, lord Herbert, to be vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, *vice* George, lord viscount Chewton, now earl Waldegrave.

— 24. Granville, earl Gower, to be keeper of the privy seal.

— 27. Prince Frederic, bishop of Osnaburg, to the dignities of a duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and an earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the titles of duke of York and of Albany, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Ulster, in the kingdom of Ireland.

— 30. George Grenville Nugent Temple, earl Temple, to the dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of marquis of Buckingham, in the county of Buckingham.

William, earl of Shelburne, in the kingdom of Ireland, and lord Wycombe, baron of Chipping Wycombe, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and K. G. to the dignities of a viscount, earl, and marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the titles of viscount Calne and Causton, in the county of Wilts, earl Wycombe, of Chipping Wycombe, in the county of Buckingham, and marquis of Lansdown in the county of Somerset.

December 1. Charles, lord Camden, to be president of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 18. Vere Hunt, jun. esq; and Joseph Hoare, esq; to the dignity of baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council, for* 1784.

Berkshire. Charles Dalbiac, of Hungerford Park, esq.

Bucks. Richard Scrimpshire, of Amersham, esq.

Cumberland. John Christian, of Unerig, esq.

Cheshire. Thomas Willis, of Sweetenham, esq.

Cambridgeshire and *Huntingdonshire.* Thomas Shepheard, of March, esq.

Cornwall. Joseph Beauchamp, of Pengreep, esq.

Devonshire. Thomas Lane, of Coffleet, esq.

Dorsetshire. Isaac Sage, of Thornhill, esq.

Derbyshire. John Radford, of Smalley, esq.

Essex.

Eſſex. Robert Preſton, of Woodford, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. Giles Greenaway, of Barrington, eſq.

Hertfordſhire. John Thomas Ellis, of Widſal Hall, eſq.

Herefordſhire. James Walwyn, of Longworth, eſq.

Kent. Charles Booth, of Steed Hill. eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. Charles Grave Hudſon, of Wanlip, eſq.

Lincolnſhire. George William Johnſon, of Witham on the Hill, eſq.

Monmouthſhire. Chriſtoph. Chambre, of Llangfoiſt, eſq.

Northumberland. Sir Francis Blake, of Fowbray, eſq.

Northamptonſhire. Richard Kirby, of Floore, eſq.

Norfolk. Sir Thomas Durrant, of Scottow, bart.

Nottinghamſhire. Pendock Neale, of Tollerton, eſq.

Oxfordſhire. Arthur Anneſley, of Bletchingdon, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. John Hawkins, of Brook, eſq.

Shropſhire. William Child, of Kinlett, eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Andrew Guy, of Enmore, eſq.

Staffordſhire. John Edenſor Heathcote, of Longton, eſq.

Suffolk. John Wenyeve, of Brettenham, eſq.

Southampton. Sir John Carter, of Portſmouth, knt.

Surrey. William Alderſey, of Stoke, near Guildford. eſq.

Suſſex. Thomas Dennett, of Aſhhurſt, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Joſeph Boultbee, of Baxterley, eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Thomas Bund, of Wick, eſq.

Wiltſhire. Wm. Chaſin Grove, of Zeals, eſq.

Yorkſhire. William Danby, of Swinton, eſq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Edmund Williams, of Tymaur, eſq.

Carmarthen. Robt. Banks Hodgkinſon, of Edwinsford, eſq.

Cardigan. William Williams, of Cardigan, eſq.

Glamorgan. John Richards, of Energlyn, eſq.

Pembroke. John Protheroe, of Egermont, eſq.

Radnor. Buſhe Shelley, of Michaelchurch, eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey. Thomas Aſhton Smith, of Trefarthyn, eſq.

Carnarvon. Robert Wynne, of Llanerch, eſq.

Denbigh. John Ellis, of Eyton, eſq.

Flint. Thomas Patton, of Flint, eſq.

Merioneth. David Roberts, of Blaenyddol, eſq.

Montgomeryſhire. Bell Lloyd, of Bodſach, eſq.

February 13, 1784.

His Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to appoint the following Sheriffs, viz.

Bedfordſhire. William Goldſmith, of Streatly, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Francis Burdett, of Bramcote, eſq. in the room of Joſeph Boultbee, of Baxterley, eſq.

DEATHS.

DEATHS. 1784.

Dec. 5, 1783. In the eighth year of her age, her royal highneſs, mademoiſelle of France, daughter of the count d'Artois.

Lately, the right hon. John earl and baron of Wandesford in Ireland, baron of Caſtlecomer, and a baronet. The title is extinct.

In the 70th year of her age, her royal highneſs Frederica Louiſa, margravine dowager of Brandenburgh Anſpach, mother to the reigning margrave, and ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia.

Jan. 8. The hon. John Damer, only brother to Joſeph lord Milton.

Lord Charles Montague, brother to the duke of Mancheſter.

9. In the 58th year of his age, ſir George Savile, baronet, deſcended from the Saviles, marquiſes of Halifax. The title is extinct.

10. The hon. Letitia Sandys, daughter to Samuel, firſt lord Sandys.

11. The right hon. ſir Edward Walpole, ſecond ſon of Robert, firſt earl of Orford, knight of the Bath, and a privy counſellor in Ireland. He was, firſt, ſecretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; then joint ſecretary to the treaſury; and, laſtly, clerk of the pells in his majeſty's exchequer. Sir Edward was never married, but has left three illegitimate daughters: 1. The relict of biſhop Keppel; 2. Maria, married, firſt, to James earl Waldegrave, and, ſecondly, to his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter; 3. The counteſs of Dyſart.

15. In the 80th year of her age, the right hon. the counteſs dowager of Home, relict of William earl of Home.

23. At Florence, in the 61ſt year of his age, Charles Edward Louis Stewart, eldeſt ſon of James Francis Edward Stewart, the only ſurviving ſon of king James II. He died without iſſue, and has left behind him an only brother, Henry Benedict, born Feb. 23 1725, biſhop of Corinth, and cardinal of York.

26. In the 30th year of her age, the right hon. Amelia, baroneſs Coniers, only ſurviving child of the late earl of Holderneſſe. She was firſt married to Francis Godolphin Oſborne, marquis of Carmarthen, by whom ſhe had two ſons and a daughter; and being divorced, ſhe married, ſecondly, the hon. capt. Byron, only ſon of admiral Byron. She is ſucceeded in her title by George William Frederic Oſborne, her eldeſt ſon by the marquis of Carmarthen.

30. The right hon. Henry Liddel, lord Ravenſworth. He has left iſſue one daughter, married, firſt, to the duke of Grafton, and, being divorced, ſhe married, ſecondly, to the earl of Upper Oſſory.

Lately, at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, the right hon. lord Charles Grevile Montague, ſon to the late and brother to the preſent duke of Mancheſter.

Feb. 13. In the 71ſt year of his age, the rev. Jeremiah Mills, D. D. dean of Exeter, and preſident of the ſociety of antiquaries.

21. Sir Robert Harland, baronet, admiral of the blue.

25. The right hon. Caroline, baroneſs Forreſter, of the kingdom of Scotland, relict of the late George Cockburne, eſq; comptroller of the navy. She is ſucceeded in her title by her only daughter Anne Mary Cockburne.

March 6. The right hon. ſir Thomas Sewel, knight, maſter of the rolls,

rolls, and member of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Sir Robert Gerard, baronet.

8. The right hon. Catharine, counteſs dowager of Litchfield, relict of Robert, laſt earl of Litchfield.

April 2. The right hon. lady Anne Purves, ſiſter to Hugh, earl of Marchmont.

3. The right hon. Cadwallader Davis, lord Blayney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

The right hon. John, lord Annaly, of the kingdom of Ireland, lord chief juſtice of the court of king's bench, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy counſellors in that kingdom.

10. In the 77th year of her age, the right hon. Elizabeth, counteſs of Mansfield, daughter to Daniel, ſixth earl of Winchelſea.

13. Sir Bourchier Wray, bart.

14. The right hon. James lord Rollo, of the kingdom of Scotland.

15. The rev. Thomas Wilſon, D.D. prebendary of Weſtminſter, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. He was the only ſurviving ſon of Dr. Thomas Wilſon, lord biſhop of Sodor and Man.

In the 76th year of his age, his ſerene highneſs Maximilian Frederic, count of Konigſegg Rothenfells, archbiſhop and elector of Cologne, and biſhop of Munſter.

16. On board the Sandwich packet, in his paſſage from Nevis, Richard Oliver, eſq; formerly an alderman, and member of parliament for the city of London.

21. The princeſs of Tour and Taxis, conſort of the prince of Oettinguen.

26. Prince Francis Adolphus, of Anhalt Bembourg Schambourg.

27. The right hon. David Dalrymple.

28. The right hon. the counteſs of Waldegrave, ſiſter to earl Gower.

30. The prince biſhop of Liege.

May 2. The honourable miſs Burrel, only daughter of ſir Peter Burrel and lady Willoughby of Ereſby.

Lately, the right hon. the counteſs of Kingſton, lady to the preſent earl, and mother to lord Kingſborough.

24. Catharine, dowager lady viſcounteſs Netterville, mother to the preſent lord viſcount Netterville.

June 3. The right hon. Wilhelmina Catharina, dowager lady King, daughter of John Troy, eſq; of Brabant.

4. Hon. Mrs. Needham, ſiſter to the preſent lord viſcount Kilmorey.

8. The right hon. the counteſs dowager of Eſſex, mother of the preſent earl of Eſſex, and youngeſt daughter of the ſecond duke of Bedford.

11. Right. hon. Catharine, counteſs dowager of Egmont, ſiſter to the earl of Northampton. The Iriſh barony of Arden, enjoyed by her ladyſhip in her own right, deſcends to her eldeſt ſon, the hon. George Perceval, now lord Arden.

15. Sir Barnard Turner, knight, alderman of Cordwainer's ward, and one of the repreſentatives in parliament for the borough of Southwark.

17. The hon. David Stuart, ſon of the late, and brother to the preſent earl of Moray.

Sir George Vandeput, ſo noted for his oppoſition, in 1749, to the preſent earl Gower, as a candidate for Weſtminſter.

28. The right hon. the counteſs dowager Harrington.

Lately, hon. Redmond Morres, brother

brother to the late lord Mountmorres, and member of parliament for the city of Dublin.

July 6. Sir Robert Kent, bart.

9. Matthew Buckle, esq; admiral of the blue.

18. Lord Guernsey, only son of the earl of Aylesford.

24. The hon. Mrs. Walpole, wife to the hon. Robert Walpole, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal.

Aug. 7. Sir H. Paulet St. John, baronet.

Lately, prince Frederic, eldest son of the hereditary prince of Hesse.

His serene highness prince Charles Augustus Frederic, only son of the duke of Deuxponts.

Sir Charlton Leighton, baronet, one of the members of parliament for Shrewsbury.

Sept. 2. Lady Campbell, relict of lord William Campbell.

9. Hon. J. Smith Barry, uncle to the earl of Barrymore.

16. Gen. William Haviland, colonel of the 45th regiment.

17. John earl Tylney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

29. Lady Catharine Gordon, eldest daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

Lately, honourable Mr. H. Legge, a younger son of the earl of Dartmouth.

Oct. 8. Lady Anne Acton, lady of Sir Richard Acton, and daughter of the earl of Stamford.

15. The right hon. John earl of Waldegrave, viscount Chewton, master of the horse to her majesty, col. of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, governor of Plymouth, a general of his majesty's forces, and lord lieutenant of the county of Essex.

27. The right hon. countess dowager Delawar.

28. Princess Juliana Maria, daughter of Prince Frederic, brother to his Danish majesty.

Lately, the right hon. sir Henry Aylmer, baron of Balrath.

Capt. James King, the companion and friend of the celebrated captain Cook.

Nov. 6. Richard Oswald, esq; lately his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Paris, to settle a treaty of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America.

11. The infant don Carlos, eldest son of the prince of Asturias.

12. The hon. miss Louisa Chetwynd, daughter of lord viscount Chetwynd.

15. Anne, countess of Dundonald.

21. The most noble Catherine, duchess of Norfolk, consort to the present duke.

Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. admiral of the white.

25. The right hon. Anne, countess of Drogheda.

Lately, the lady of lord Massey.

The marchioness of Accorambani, sister to sir William Murray.

Dec. 13. In the 76th year of his age, Dr. Samuel Johnson.

29. In the 89th year of his age, the right hon. sir Thomas Parker, formerly lord chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer.

CHRONICLE.

1785.

JANUARY 1785.

Kingſton, Dec. 18, 1784.

SUNDAY evening the following ſhocking accident happened in this harbour: about ten at night one Richard Page, a cooper, belonging to the ſhip Highfield, with ſeveral of his comrades, went down King-ſtreet to the water-ſide, where a boat lay ready to carry them to the ſhip. On their getting down to the wharf, Page ſwore he would not get into the boat, but would ſwim off: and after ſtruggling with his companions ſome time, who endeavoured to force him into the boat, actually leaped off the end of the wharf into the water, and ſwam towards the ſhip. The people inſtantly put off in the boat; but, before they had got ten yards from the wharf, heard the unhappy man call out for help, and preſently they took his mangled, mutilated, bleeding carcaſe into the boat. He only lived to tell them that a ſhark had torn him all to pieces. His bowels were cut out, his back broke, and one of his arms was ſtripped of the fleſh from the ſhoulder down to the elbow. A large Newfoundland dog, which followed the unhappy man into the water, was devoured by the ſame monſter.

Caſerta, Dec. 14. On Thurſday laſt Count Scabrouſki, the new miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Ruſſia, had a private audience of his Sicilian majeſty, to preſent his credential letters.

The lava continues to run gently from an opening near the crater of Mount Veſuvius, without deſcending low enough to do any damage to the fertile and cultivated country at the foot of the mountain.

Paris, Jan. 4. Letters from Briançon mention, that a ſhock of an earthquake was felt there the 9th ult. at ten minutes after nine o'clock in the morning. The concuſſion was pretty ſtrong, but of ſhort duration, attended with a rumbling noiſe, which reſembled the report of a cannon. There was no perceptible vibration; but, during ſeveral nights previous to the ſhock, fiery vapours were obſerved to iſſue from the earth in various parts near the coal mines.

At St. James's, Clerkenwell, a remarkable wedding 7th. was ſolemnized. A woman about 40, who has been totally blind many years, heard a young man, whoſe apprenticeſhip

apprenticeſhip to a ſhoemaker had lately expired, at work in her neighbourhood from early in the morning till late every night. Conceiving a favourable opinion of him from theſe proofs of an induſtrious diſpoſition, ſhe made him a preſent of a ſilver watch, and a ſuit of clothes; and beſides lent him ten pounds, the better to enable him to carry on his buſineſs. Laſt week he waited upon his benefactreſs, informing her, that having received offers of great encouragement, he was preparing to ſet out for Leiceſterſhire, to ſettle there among his friends; adding, that he would exert his utmoſt endeavours ſpeedily to diſcharge the unſolicited favours ſhe had heaped upon him. She commended his reſolution; but next day ſued out a writ, which being ſerved upon him, he was taken to a lock-up houſe. She viſited him in his confinement, and informed him that he muſt immediately pay the money, go to priſon, or marry her. He agreed to the latter offer, and a licence was procured; but he was detained in cuſtody till yeſterday morning, when the parties proceeded from the lock-up houſe to church, where the officer who had executed the writ upon the bridegroom acted as father to the bride, who is poſſeſſed of about a thouſand pounds.

10th. The following facts relative to the ſeizing and burning of the ſmugglers boats may be depended on: advice was ſent to Mr. Pitt, that the ſeverity of the ſeaſon had occaſioned the ſmugglers to lay up their craft, and that a fine opportunity offered for the deſtroying them, if ſufficient force could be procured to intimidate the ſmugglers from attempting a reſcue. Mr. Pitt ſent to the War Office, and required a regiment of ſoldiers to be at Deal on a certain day. He was told it could not well be complied with. His anſwer was, it muſt; and a regiment was immediately marched. But the commanding officer found, on his arrival, that the people of the town having ſome intimation of the buſineſs, had adviſed the publicans to pull down their ſigns, in order that the ſoldiers might have no quarters. They took the advice, and no quarters were to be had. A large barn at a ſmall diſtance preſented itſelf as an eligible place, and the quarter-maſter rode off to the landlord, who refuſed to let it on any other terms than for two years certain. The officer took it, marched the men in, and then, with very much difficulty, procured them ſome proviſions. The next day Lieut. Bray received orders to prepare ſome cutters to hover off the beach, and the ſoldiers were all drawn out. The inhabitants, not imagining what was going to be done, thought the cutters were to embark the ſoldiers in; but to their ſurpriſe, orders were given to the men to burn the boats; and the force being ſo great, the inhabitants were obliged to remain ſilent ſpectators, and dared not attempt a reſcue.

Paris, Jan. 1ſt. The introduction of the Engliſh news-papers is juſt prohibited here. For ſome time paſt, for want of political matter, theſe papers were filled with nothing but abſurd and ridiculous ſtories and ſatirical pictures of the principal, and even of the moſt auguſt perſonages of Europe.

Dublin, Jan. 20th. Yeſterday, before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, upwards of 40,000 perſons were collected at Ranelagh and the adjacent fields, in anxious expectation

tion of beholding their ingenious and aſpiring countryman aſcend the air. On account of the heavy rain which fell the preceding night, and part of that morning, the inflation of the balloon was conſiderably retarded, and about one o'clock Mr. Croſbie having entered the carriage, found to his mortification that it would not riſe. The buſineſs of inflation was continued, and at half paſt two our brave adventurer found every thing ready to complete his wiſhes—he accordingly again reſumed his car, and the cord being cut, he mounted awfully majeſtic, while the air reſounded with the ſhouts—the prayers—the admiration of the delighted multitude. In three minutes and a half an envious cloud ſecluded him from mortal ſight, and all was ſolemn ſilence—fear for the ſafety of the gallant youth beat high in every breaſt, till in about twelve minutes he appeared deſcending at the northward.—The lateneſs of the hour preventing the aeronautic charioteer from taking any further journey, he alighted in perfect ſafety on the North-ſtrand, where he was inſtantly ſurrounded by the populace, who teſtified their approbation and regard for the triumphant hero, who made the air ſubſervient to his wiſhes, by carrying him in proceſſion to Earl Charlemont's, amid unbounded burſts of congratulation and applauſe. The balloon and chariot were beautifully painted, and the arms of Ireland emblazoned on them in ſupeſior elegance of taſte. Mr. Croſbie's figure is genteel; his aerial dreſs conſiſted in a robe of oiled ſilk, lined with white fur, his waiſtcoat and breeches in one, of white ſattin quilted, and Morocco boots, and a Montero cap of leopard-ſkin. The Duke of Leinſter, Lord Charlemont, Right Hon. George Ogle, Counſellors Caldbeck, Downes, and Whiteſtone, attended with white ſtaves, as regulators of the buſineſs of the day.

FEBRUARY 1785.

5th. At twelve o'clock, the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt with the freedom of the city of London, proceeded from Guildhall to Mr. Pitt's houſe, in Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, in the following order:

Sir Watkin Lewes, as Chairman of the Committee.
Mr. Alderman Pickett.
Mr. Alderman Sanderſon.
Mr. Wilkes, as Chamberlain.
Mr. Deputy Young and Mr. Deputy Hilton.
Mr. Deputy Percy and Mr. Merry.
Mr. Dornford and Mr. Anderſon.
Mr. Withers and Mr. Dowling.
Mr. Birch and Mr. Toulmin.
Mr. Rix, Town Clerk.

When the committee arrived at Mr. Pitt's, they were immediately introduced to that gentleman, when Sir Watkin Lewes addreſſed him in the following ſpeech:

"SIR,

"We, the committee appointed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, in common-council aſſembled, to preſent you with the freedom of the city of London, voted unanimouſly in one of the fulleſt courts ever remembered, chearfully embrace this opportunity, of repeating our ſentiments of ſatisfaction and confidence, which we entertain reſpecting your principles and perſeverance for the good of your country.

"We repoſe in your abilities and firmneſs

firmneſs for permanent ſecurity and extenſion of our commerce as citizens, and our happineſs as Britons.

"The committee feel with ſatisfaction the honour conferred upon them, in being thus delegated to ſo pleaſing and diſtinguiſhed a commiſſion.

"Be aſſured, Sir, that the city of London will ever ſtand foremoſt to ſupport the meaſures of government, whilſt they continue to be ſo manifeſtly founded in wiſdom and integrity."

Mr. Pitt returned an anſwer, the ſubſtance of which was as follows:

"He muſt firſt," he ſaid, "thank Sir Watkin Lewes for the very flattering manner in which he had conveyed the ſentiments of the committee. He truſted the city of London would do him the juſtice to believe, that the ſecurity and extenſion of their commerce, and the maintenance of the true principles of the conſtitution, would continue to be the firſt objects of his attention."

7th. Monday night, about eight o'clock, a man knocked at the door of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-ſtreet, Rathbone-place, calling out *poſt*, at the ſame time, with a very loud voice; the maid-ſervant immediately opened it, and the man, accompanied by ſix others, armed with ſwords and piſtols, ruſhed into the houſe, and threatened the girl with the moſt horrid puniſhment, if ſhe ſpoke a word. They then went into the parlour, where her miſtreſs was ſitting alone, and took from her all her jewels, to a very conſiderable amount, between fifty and ſixty guineas in money, and all the clothes and linen they could get. While they were thus employed, the girl got out of the houſe by a back door, and gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, which prevented their taking the plate alſo, which they had begun to pack up. A great crowd immediately aſſembled about the houſe, and the ruffians ſallied forth, with dreadful menaces, waving their ſwords, and directing their piſtols at the mob, who tamely ſuffered them to eſcape without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Mrs. Abercrombie is wife to the captain of one of the Eaſt India Company's ſhips, now on its voyage to China.

8th. Counſel on the part of Lord Peterborough moved the Court of King's Bench to change the venue, in the action brought againſt his Lordſhip by Mr. Foley, for *crim. con.* The cauſe aſſigned was Mr. Foley's intereſt and influence in the county where he reſides. A rule to ſhew cauſe was granted.

Yeſterday the Counteſs of Strathmore appeared in the King's Bench, and exhibited articles of the peace againſt Mr. Bowes her huſband, on the ſcore of mal-treatment; but whether the charge be well or ill-founded, the writer of this article does not preſume to know.

9th. Wedneſday the Ilcheſter election ended, when after five whole days polling, John Harcourt eſq; was declared duly elected. The numbers on the poll were:

For Mr. Harcourt,	118
Commodore Johnſtone,	101
Majority for Mr. Harcourt,	17

11th. In the Court of King's Bench, the great queſtion was decided reſpecting the Inſurance Offices having a right to recover of the inhabitants of this city about 22,000l. which they paid to Mr. Langdale, and other ſufferers, during the late riots. The Court

determined in favour of the city of London.

27th. Three ſeparate bills in chancery have been filed by the relations of the late Richard Ruſſell, eſq; of Bermondſey-ſtreet, Southwark, againſt the executors of the laſt will of that gentleman, in order to ſet aſide the bequeſt relative to his perſonal eſtate.

12th. DIED. At Upper Yeldham Hall, in Eſſex, Mr. Hurrel, farmer and maltſter, aged 95. He ordered in his will, that his body ſhould be interred in one of his woods; be covered with one of the hair-cloths he uſed to dry his malt on; and that ſix hedgers and ditchers ſhould carry his corpſe, ſix others be pall-bearers, and ſix more follow as mourners, all with their bills and hedging gloves; and likewiſe ordered a hogſhead of old beer to be drank.

MARCH 1785.

2d. This day the right honourable earl Mansfield completed his *eightieth year*, and preſided on the bench at Guildhall at nine o'clock, in perfect health and ſpirits. As ſoon as his lordſhip entered the court, Thomas Gorman, eſq; a gentleman as well known for his integrity as a merchant, as for his legal and conſtitutional knowledge as a juror, preſented his lordſhip with his annual offering of a bouquet, which the chief received with his uſual politeneſs and affability.

7th. Monday evening about eight o'clock, the ſame atrocious expedient, which was lately ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed at the houſe of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-ſtreet, was repeated at col. Arabin's, in Greſſe-ſtreet, in the ſame neighbourhood. A man knocked at the colonel's door, which the footman did not open, but aſked who it was, and was told it was the taylor, upon which the man opened the door, and five men immediately entered, whoſe faces were diſguiſed, and who were armed with the uſual inſtruments of violence. They threw a cloth over the face of the footman, pinioned him, two female ſervants, and the colonel's lady; after which they proceeded to rifle the houſe, from whence they took plate, jewels, money, and linen, it is ſuppoſed to the value of near two thouſand pounds. How noble and well conducted is the police of this happy country, and with what gratitude and affection muſt the inhabitants of this metropolis look up to the magiſtracy, by whoſe zeal and activity their property is ſo laudably ſecured!

10th. One of the men who ſo daringly entered and rifled the houſe of colonel Arabin, on Monday evening, in Greſſe-ſtreet, Rathbone-place, it is ſuppoſed is taken, as a man is in cuſtody, to whoſe voice, and the lower part of his face, which is peculiarly formed, the maid-ſervant can ſwear; the ſame man was pointed out amidſt many people, by one of the colonel's children, who was preſent during the whole of the tranſaction, as one of the ruffians. This man is ſuſpected on account of many myſterious circumſtances, which plainly ſhew that his ſubſiſtence depends upon *ſecret ingenuity*. An urn was luckily overlooked in the plate box, by theſe villains, which was worth an hundred pounds.

30th. The ſon of a tradeſman of eminence in Chandos-ſtreet, is

is said to be among the gang who lately committed the desperate robbery in Gresse-street, Rathbone-place.

February the 24th came on at the sittings at Guildhall, London, before the right honourable the earl of Mansfield, the trial of an indictment against a person residing in Hertfordshire, for contracting with, enticing, soliciting, and endeavouring to seduce several artificers and workmen in the art of a currier, to leave this kingdom, in order to carry on that trade at a manufactory at Pontaudemer in Normandy; when, upon hearing the testimony of only one witness on behalf of the prosecution, the fact appeared so plain and clear, that the jury, without hesitation, found the defendant guilty, who will receive the judgment of the court of King's Bench in the next term for his said offence, pursuant to the statute upon which he was indicted.

Some time since two convictions for offences of the same nature were obtained in Surrey; and it is hoped that the conviction of these offenders will be a means of preventing the seducing artificers in the different manufactures of Great Britain in future.

The same day was tried before lord Loughborough, in the court of Common Pleas, Guildhall, London, a cause wherein Huxley Sandon, esq; was plaintiff, and count Duroure defendant, for *crim con.* with the plaintiff's wife; when, after a hearing of near three hours, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with near 500l. damages.

Hague, March 19. The compte de Maillebois, who is to command the army of the republic in the expected contest with the emperor of Germany, is at length arrived; he made a private entrance into this place last night, as there were many reasons for avoiding the pomp of a triumphal entrance, there being many persons highly incensed against the admission of this Frenchman to a post of such high trust and respect; some resignations have already taken place in consequence, and others are to be expected. The question of peace or war is not finally determined; and if our friends continue sincere, it may yet be avoided. The English ambassador set off this morning for London, leaving his affairs in the hands of his secretary; his return will, however, as we expect, be very speedy. The marquis Verac, French plenipotentiary, has exchanged with the grand council of the states the treaty of alliance, so that the much wished-for business is fully compleated. An alliance with the court of Great Britain is also on the tapis, nor is it at all unlikely but that business has carried the British ambassador to London. A courier from Utrecht brings the concession of the states of that province to the proposed military arrangements. Those of Groningen and Friesland are not arrived.

23d. A very numerous concourse of people assembled in the vicinity of Tottenham-court road, to be witnesses of the ascension of count Zambeccari and sir Edward Vernon in the balloon, which had been exhibited at the Lyceum in the Strand for some time back. Notwithstanding the proprietors had taken every precaution to keep the place of ascension a secret, there was not an avenue for a considerable distance from the place in which the balloon was lodged, but which was crowded by twelve o'clock. The spectators seemed insensible of the cold, nor

did the falling ſnow occaſion the departure of many, but the principal part of them ſeemed to bid defiance to the weather until near four o'clock, when the two hardy adventurers bid adieu to earth, and took their aerial excurſion—juſt on the eve of their departure, a miſs Grice, of Holborn, offered to accompany the aeronauts, which offer was readily accepted, and ſhe entered the car; but notwithſtanding they threw out a great quantity of ballaſt, after making three or four attempts, the heroine was obliged to give up the pleaſure of an aſcenſion, the balloon being incapable of taking more than the two gentlemen, which, on the lady's quitting her ſeat, aſcended with amazing velocity, took a ſouth-weſt direction, and was out of ſight in a few minutes.

Count Zambeccari and ſir Edward Vernon deſcended ſafe in King's Fields, near Horſham, in Suſſex, about five o'clock the ſame day, and returned in the evening to the Lyceum, without receiving any other damage than a ſprain in the wriſt, which the count received in managing the balloon, which required rather extraordinary exertion, on account of the briſkneſs of the wind. Horſham is 37 miles from London, and the journey was performed in rather more than an hour.

Admiral Vernon is the firſt admiral who has ever navigated the atmoſphere. The globe was not ſufficiently inflated till half paſt three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the two gentlemen, with a very elegant young lady, took their ſeats in the car; but the machine not having ſufficient capacity for three voyagers, they made three experiments to aſcend without effect. The lady manifeſted great ſpirit, and yielded her place with apparent reluctance, after trying her eloquence on the old admiral in vain. She burſt into tears with diſappointment, and retired from the boat amidſt the acclamations of the multitude. The machine, thus lightened, roſe with ſmall grandeur into the upper regions; and though a ſhower of ſnow had juſt fallen, the ſky became clear, and the ſpectacle was uncommonly brilliant. The globe was carried by the wind, which was very high, to the weſt, and made a rapid progreſs.

29th. By letters from the Hague we learn, that five peaſants, who, under pretence of attachment to the Prince of Orange, had been guilty of a riot, ſuffered the puniſhment to which they were ſentenced on the 19th inſtant; three of them whipped, and the other two ſtood by with papers on their breaſts, on which were written, in large letters, the words SEDITION and REBELLION. Several more are to undergo the like puniſhment at Delft.

Died. General Honeywood, who received no leſs than twenty-three broad-ſword wounds at the battle of Dettingen, in which he ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his perſonal valour; he likewiſe, on the ſame day, received two muſquet ſhots, which were never extracted to the day of his death. The general died poſſeſſed of a fine eſtate of near 6000l. per annum, which, together with a conſiderable ſum of ready money, he has bequeathed to his couſin, Filmer Honeywood, eſq; one of the members for the county of Kent.

APRIL

APRIL 1785.

Hague, March 25. The compte de Maillebois has taken the oaths in the assembly of their High Mightinesses, in quality of general of infantry in the service of the republic.

Vienna, March 19. The new regulations of his imperial majesty, respecting the interior government of the kingdom of Hungary, have been published in the gazette of this city.

Instead of the fifty-six counties, into which that kingdom and its dependent provinces were hitherto divided, ten circles are now formed, and committed to the charge of the following Hungarian gentlemen, with the titles of counsellors and royal commissaries.

Le Comte Glory,
Le Baron Mailath,
Le Baron d'Urmeny,
Le Comte Jankowitz,
Le Comte Szeasony,
Le Comte de Teekly,
Le Baron Peonay,
Le Baron Reva,
Le Baron Szent Ivany,
Le Baron Detzer.

The supreme courts retain their former titles, and the privileges which belong to their order, and a general diet of the nation, but their jurisdiction in their respective counties is entirely suppressed.

Lisbon, March 26. The treaty for the marriage between the infanta of Portugal and the infant don Gabriel of Spain is signed.

Vienna, March 30. Prince Joseph Lobkowitz is appointed captain of the noble German guard, vacant by the death of the late marshal Collerado; lieutenant general Nostitz is raised to the rank of general of cavalry, and is made captain of the guard (called les archers) formerly commanded by marshal Thierheim; and general Clairfait is appointed vice commandant of the city of Vienna, in the room of general Nostitz.

13th. William Higson, who was executed on Monday morning in the Old Bailey, for the murder of his own son Joseph, a child of nine years old, denied to the ordinary, the Rev. Mr. Villette, his having any intention to destroy the infant; though he acknowledged giving him the fatal blow, which fractured his skull, and caused his death.

He also confessed, that he treated the poor child with great barbarity for a considerable time, from an antipathy he took to it, from its wetting the bed in the night time; in consequence of which he made it, during the course of last winter, sit up all night without either fire or candle, and frequently beat it unmercifully.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the above cruel wretch seemed more shocked at the idea of being dissected at Surgeons Hall than with death itself. The horrid spectacles he had seen there of several murderers, from time to time, made a deep impression upon his mind, and engrossed part of his conversation after his sentence.

16th. The purser of the Northumberland, for Bombay, received his dispatches from the India house. This ship may be termed the last of the season, the Earl of Talbot being taken up for the express purpose of conveying governor Campbell to Madras.

The intelligence received from India by the late advices is, that

Mr. Wheler, ſenior member of the ſupreme council, died on the 12th of October, 1784. Mr. Haſtings, the governor-general, arrived at Calcutta on the 7th of November, in good health, and had taken his paſſage in the Barrington Indiaman, and meant to leave Bengal in February, if he heard a ſucceſſor had been appointed. Mr. Macpherſon had been very ill, but was much recovered. A duel had been fought between lord Macartney and Mr. Sadlier, in which his lordſhip had the misfortune to be wounded, but not dangerouſly, and was perfectly recovered. The duel had its riſe in an altercation at the council-board, which was carried to ſo great a length, that lord Macartney in plain terms accuſed Mr. Sadlier of uttering a direct falſhood.

Extract of a letter from Briſtol, April 19.

"This day, about half paſt one, the long-expected aſcenſion (which the dampneſs of the weather prevented yeſterday) of Mr. Decker's balloon, on ſomewhat a new conſtruction, took place. The county of Somerſet, and all the parts adjacent, ſeemed to be emptied of their inhabitants, like true ſons and daughters of Adam, into the city of Briſtol, which perhaps never exhibited ſo incredible a concourſe of people. The novelty and the hazard, and with theſe, aſſuredly, great part of the *honour*, of thoſe *air-blown* enterprizes are paſt; the rage of curioſity ſeemed rather augmented than diminiſhed on the preſent occaſion, as you will eaſily ſuppoſe, when informed that two guineas an horſe, and three for a chaiſe, were offered at Bath for 12 miles conveyance: but the beſt of the joke is, that the thouſands who marched hither from Bath to ſee the balloon aſcend, marched back again with like rapidity, as it bent its way towards Lanſdown, and from thence travelled on towards Devizes: Decker himſelf did not aſcend, but his ſon, an intrepid youth, ſcarcely ſeventeen years of age. The ſtreets, coffee-houſes, and private aſſemblies, are now talking over this twice-told tale, with a vehemence of zeal which might do honour to a worthier occaſion; though, if you will ſuffer a pun, I might ſay, the lovers of balloons doubtleſs ſet their affections on things above. It is paſt nine as I write this, and young Decker is yet ſailing "betwixt earth and heaven." Twelve o'clock, and I can now add the information of the adventurer's having ſafely regained Terra Firma, three miles on the other ſide Chippenham, a circuit of about thirty miles, which he performed in an hour and ſeven minutes; and it is thought has, by the excurſion, eſtabliſhed a very good bank in air, the Briſtolites contributing very liberally."

Extract of a letter from New York, April 27.

"John Adams, eſq; is, by the honourable congreſs of the United States, appointed to be ambaſſador from this empire to the court of London; and colonel William Smith, late aid-de-camp to his excellency general Waſhington, is appointed to be ſecretary to the embaſſy."

28th. Tueſday the court martial appointed to try general Roſs, met agreeable to their adjournment, to receive the opinion of the twelve judges of England on the point ſubmitted to them, viz. whether general Roſs, as an officer on half pay, was ſubject to the tribunal of a court martial. The judges gave an unanimous opinion, that he was not,

not, as a half-pay officer, subject to military law. They stated their answer on two points, and in both declared it as their opinion, that neither his warrant as a general officer, nor his annuity of half-pay, rendered him obnoxious to military trial. In consequence of this the general was discharged from the custody of the martial, and the court broke up.

29th. No man ever gave a greater proof of attention to his friends, than Mr. Fox did to poor Sam. House; for as soon as he heard that the honest publican was ill, and wished to see him, he went, and endeavoured to put his old friend into spirits; on finding he was in danger, he pressed every assiduity that might be used to give assistance, and was particularly affected when he was informed it had been in vain, and that his worthy supporter was no more.—Austin, who has done himself so much honour by the prints he has published, however, was resolved, that though the original was gone, to preserve Sam.'s semblance as an instance of integrity, for which purpose he has taken his likeness in wax as he lay in his coffin; but as many others would doubtless be equally glad to keep so worthy a character in remembrance, we think that gentleman could not do his friends a greater favour, than by putting the bust into the hands of an engraver, and giving them an opportunity to obtain it.

This evening about six o'clock the remains of poor Sam. House are to be interred: his numerous friends, we understand, requested it might be so early in the evening, that they might have an opportunity of shewing their last testimony of regard, by attending his funeral.

MAY 1785.

Extract of a letter, dated Paris, April 22.

"The long-expected arret or proclamation for creating a new company of merchants to trade to the East Indies, is at last made public. It contains fifty-seven heads or articles; I shall content myself to enumerate the principal ones. The privilege is granted for seven years of peace; if war should break out during that space, the time it may last shall not be reckoned in diminution of the seven years. It shall be lawful for his majesty's subjects, settled in the various parts of his dominions, to send all kinds of provisions to the Isles of France or Bourbon, which are not excluded by the company's privilege from trading coast-ways, or what is termed in the proclamation from India to India. His majesty is pleased to grant to the shipping already in their way to the East Indies a delay of twenty-four months to complete their voyage, and return to the sole port of L'Orient, where the new company is to settle its mart. The king gives them a free use of that port, its halls, warehouses, dock-yards, rope-walks, working-tools, &c. which will be made over to them, when properly repaired, at the expence of the king, who likewise engages to keep them in tenantable repairs. The stock of this new company is fixed at twenty millions of livres, six of which are to be furnished by the twelve administrators or directors, at the rate of 500,000 livres each: the other fourteen millions are to be divided into shares of 1,000 livres, for which sums the di-

rectors ſhall enter into proper recognizances, &c."

2d. Such, in France, is the rage for Engliſh carriages, that upwards of eight hundred ſets of London-made ſprings, as many coach wheels of the Soho manufacture, together with large quantities of plated furniture from Sheffield, are now ſhipping to France, for the purpoſe of manufacturing carriages there a-la-mode d'Anglois.

4th. On Sunday morning a well-dreſſed young man and woman were found in a field near Hammerſmith, joining to the main road, the woman with her throat cut, and the man ſtabbed in the breaſt; both bodies were dead when found, and cold. The man had five guineas and a watch in his pocket.

9th. The Thames in many parts is as low as ever remembered. The paſſage of boats from Kew towards Richmond has been once or twice obſtructed. The drought in England, however, is not comparable with that at preſent in France, which threatens the moſt alarming conſequences.

Extract of a letter from Newcaſtle upon Tyne, May 9.

"Early this morning our town was greatly alarmed by the 12th regiment, now quartered here, beating to arms. By what we can learn, there is a very numerous mob aſſembled at Shields, to the great terror of the town and its neighbourhood; and if report be true, the 12th regiment, though one of the completeſt regiments in England, will find it a very difficult taſk to quell the riots exiſting in Shields and Sunderland, where we underſtand upwards of four thouſand principally concerned are collected, which makes us fear there will be a deal of bloodſhed previous to the 12th regiment returning here; they were accompanied by our mayor and ſheriffs; and by accounts juſt received from Shields, we hear, that immediately upon the regiment's marching into town the riot act was read, which was paid very little or no attention to; and we are ſorry to add, that there is little doubt, but before this reaches you, many lives will be loſt.

"Four companies of dragoons are hourly expected here from York, but ſince the ſealing of this, we have received advice that above ſixty of the rioters at Shields are killed, and many more wounded."

10th. The Americans who were of the epiſcopal church, having been extremely deſirous of a biſhop to reſide among them, the rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury has been conſecrated to that office, by three biſhops of the church of Scotland, at Aberdeen. The Engliſh biſhops refuſed to grant to America the bleſſings of epiſcopacy; and thereby drove Dr. Seabury to ſeek it in Scotland.—Thus we ſee exhibited an extraordinary phænomenon in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem; an Engliſh miſſionary, an Oxford doctor, conſecrated by Scotch prelates a biſhop of the proteſtant church of New-England.

11th. The laſt ſhips from America have brought ſo few remittances, and ſo many pleas of inability to make good their payments from the merchants in that country, that ſeveral of our capital dealers have refuſed ſending over more goods, without drafts on approved houſes in London.

Saturday morning, between two and three o'clock, a moſt dreadful fire broke out at Meſſ. Webſter and Stevens',

Stevens' turpentine warehouſes, in Potter's-fields, Horſleydown, and which was not entirely got under till the afternoon. It is impoſſible to form any opinion of the damage which has been ſuſtained by this dreadful conflagration, which had on Saturday at noon deſtroyed as many houſes, warehouſes, &c. with all their contents, as covered between three and four acres of ground, together with an Iriſh brig, and ſeveral hoys belonging to the Eaſt-India company, which were lying near their tea warehouſes in that neighbourhood, and which alſo are deſtroyed. Very fortunately, however, there was only a part of a ſhip's cargo of tea in the warehouſes that were conſumed by the fire, and a great quantity thereof was ſaved. It is a moſt fortunate circumſtance that no wind was ſtirring in the morning, or the whole tier of ſhipping which lay oppoſite the premiſes deſtroyed muſt have probably ſhared a ſimilar fate.

In the late dreadful fire at Horſleydown, the loſs of individuals has been very conſiderable. The tea, it is true, belonged to the India company, and was ſome of that inferior commodity they had bought at Oſtend—but the tar and the hemp were the property of individual traders, and having been landed but a day or two before, were not inſured.

12th. Thurſday was held the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, at which were preſent the right honourable the lord mayor, his grace the archbiſhop of York, the right honourable the lord chancellor, the right honourable the earl of Uxbridge, the biſhops of Rocheſter, Ely, Worceſter, Bangor, Lincoln, Litchfield and Coventry, and Glouceſter; aldermen Pickett, and Boydell; ſheriffs Hopkins and Bates; the rev. Dr. Harley, dean of Windſor, ſir George Baker, ſir Joſhua Reynolds, Jonas Hanway, eſq; John Crewe, eſq; with many of the clergy and gentry.

The ſermon was preached by the rev. Thomas Jackſon, D. D. from the ſixth chapter of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Galatians, the 6th, 7th, and 8th verſes.

Collection at St. Paul's, on Tueſday the 10th inſtant	£. 187	s. 4	d. 0
Ditto on Thurſday the 12th	205	13	6
Ditto at Merchant Taylors Hall	527	14	7
	920	12	1

14th. On Saturday the Prince of Wales was admitted a member of the beef-ſteak club. His royal highneſs having ſignified his wiſh of belonging to that ſociety, and there not being a vacancy, it was propoſed to make him an honorary member; but that being declined, it was agreed to increaſe the number from twenty-four to twenty-five, in conſequence of which his royal highneſs was unanimouſly elected.—The beef-ſteak club has been inſtituted juſt fifty years, and conſiſts of ſome of the moſt claſſical and ſprightly wits in the kingdom.

Died. At his houſe in Ruſſel-ſtreet, Covent-garden, Mr. Thomas Davies, bookſeller, formerly of Drury-lane theatre, and author of the life of Garrick, dramatic miſcellanies, &c.

A man, named Froome, lately at Holmes-chapel, in Cheſhire, at the wonderful age of 125 years, eight months. This patriarchal rarity was

was guardian to the late John Smith Barry, esq; who, in consideration of his great age, and long services, left him an annuity of 50l. a year, which he enjoyed with unusual health till about two years before his death. He has a son now living turned of 90, who works at a manufactory in Lancashire, and promises fair to arrive at as great an age as his late father.

JUNE 1785.

Vienna, June 1. Our last letters from Inspruck give a melancholy account of a phænomenon, lately perceived in the country about that town, and which is equally strange and alarming. A kind of pestilential dew, or rather mist, has lately fallen on the seeds, which have by its pernicious effects been entirely destroyed. In the beginning of the spring all the cultivated parts of the country presented the most promising prospect of a plentiful harvest, but all hopes are now vanished; not only have the seeds all at once been stopt in their growth, but are so completely rotten in the ground, that the fields appear as if they had never been sown. What increases the apprehensions of the husbandman is, that this kind of plague extends daily from place to place, and occasions the like damages in every part of the neighbouring fields.

There are now living in the same house, at Ketton, in Rutlandshire, a great-great grandfather, a great grandfather, two grandfathers, a grandmother, and six great grandchildren, consisting of nine persons in all, and about two years ago the great grandfather buried his mother and his wife in the same coffin.

2d. On Wednesday arrived from the United States of America, col. Smith (late aid-de-camp to general Washington, during the American war) as secretary to an ambassador from that country, and on the day following his excellency John Adams (with his lady and daughter) as plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the court of Great Britain; and we hear he has delivered his credentials to the marquis of Carmarthen. Yesterday his excellency John Adams was introduced to his majesty, and most graciously received.

3d. Mr. Richard Atkinson has left by his will 35,000l. to lady A. Lindsey—800l. a year to lady Margaret Fordyce—5000l. each to nine nephews and nieces—and the eldest nephew 5000l. a year, together with the residue of his estate and effects, which is supposed to be immense.

Extract of a letter from Dunkirk, June 7.

"An American ship, the Virginia packet, Steane, from Maryland, is seized here for a contraband trade; and, as is customary, all the crew sent to prison. The American minister will probably be favoured with a release of the people, but ship and cargo are forfeited."

Oxford, June 14. Early on Friday morning, June 14, and during the whole of the forenoon, company were incessantly pouring into Oxford, Mr. Sadler having announced his intention on that day of once more ascending in his balloon.—Pursuant to this promise, the necessary preparations were made behind

Corpus Chriſti college, where the ground had been previouſly fenced off; and about half paſt one o'clock the balloon was judged ſufficiently inflated, and the car for accommodating two paſſengers began to be attached, by fixing it to the cords of the netting. This operation was greatly impeded by the preſſure of the crowd. At two o'clock, however, every thing having been adjuſted, colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Sadler ſeated themſelves in the car, when the balloon was found incapable of aſcending with both the paſſengers, and the colonel being reſolved not to quit his ſeat, a due proportion of balleſt was added, and after receiving the flag, and proper inſtructions from Mr. Sadler, he aſcended alone. The day being perfectly ſerene, the balloon roſe with ſlow majeſtic grandeur, bearing to the South-weſt, and continued perceptible, though at a great diſtance, for about 47 minutes, at which time it ſeemed to ſink gradually into the horizon.

The colonel manifeſted a cool intrepidity, both before and after the balloon had been launched, and continued waving his flag as long as he could poſſibly retain ſight of the ſpectators below.

In his paſſage the colonel had not expended any of his ballaſt, but deſcended in conſequence of a rent near the bottom of the balloon, occaſioned by the expanſion of the internal air, which was not diſcovered by Mr. Fitzpatrick, till after he had reached the ground.

He deſcended near Kingſton Liſle, oppoſite the White Horſe hills, Berks, without the leaſt injury; where he was aſſiſted by the country people in ſecuring the balloon.

26th. Laſt Sunday afternoon, a murder, attended with the moſt uncommon circumſtances of barbarity, was perpetrated in Charlotte-ſtreet, Rathbone Place. Mr. Orell, an attorney in that ſtreet, and his wife, went out at three o'clock, leaving their ſervant maid in the houſe. They returned within the hour, when the ſervant not anſwering the door, they concluded that ſhe had ſtepped out; and they went away again for a ſhort time. Upon their ſecond return, the ſame difficulty occurring, it was determined to enter the back part of the houſe, by getting over a wall; when the girl was diſcovered upon the kitchen floor, weltering in blood, a moſt horrid ſpectacle. From the various marks of violence, ſhe muſt have made a ſtrong reſiſtance. Her head appeared to have been ſtruck at with a poker; her throat effectually cut through the wind-pipe; two fingers nearly cut off; a deep wound on one breaſt, and otherways dreadfully mangled. She was yet alive, and made ſigns, but was unable to ſpeak; and was conveyed to the Middleſex hoſpital, where ſhe expired about one in the morning. The houſe was found to be robbed of ſpoons, and ſome other plate that lay about.

The mulatto, who was ſuſpected of having committed the aforementioned murder and robbery, was apprehended on the morning of the 28th, and after a long examination, at the public office, Bow-ſtreet, nothing appearing to confirm the ſuſpicion againſt him, he was diſcharged; another perſon, however, who had viſited the girl as a ſweetheart, was brought to the ſame place in the afternoon, and ſome circumſtances ariſing, by no means

in

in his favour, he was committed for further examination.

DIED, At Somerton, in Somerſetſhire, Jonathan Randolph, gent. aged 107 years.

29th. At his houſe in Charlotte-ſtreet, Rathbone Place, William Langdon, eſq; rear admiral of the white; his reputation as an officer will flouriſh, and his name be held dear by his country, whilſt the various ſervices in which he bore a diſtinguiſhed part, are remembered, particularly the celebrated action off Cape François, in 1757, fought by Forreſt, Suckling, and Langdon.

30th. Lately at Braemar, in the ſhire of Inverneſs, one Mary Cameron, aged 139 years. She retained her ſenſes to the laſt, and was a member of the epiſcopal church. She remembered the rejoicings at the reſtoration of Charles II. Her houſe was an aſylum to the exiled epiſcopal clergy at the revolution, and to the gentlemen who were proſcribed in the year 1715, and 1745.—Upon hearing that the forfeited eſtates were reſtored, ſhe exclaimed, "Let me "now die in peace, I want to ſee "no more in this world."

JULY 1785.

1ſt. A ſervant girl of farmer Pitkin's, of Murſley, Bucks, committed ſuicide in a very extraordinary manner: while her maſter and his men were weeding in the field, ſhe took a cord, and tied it tight round the upper part of her left thigh, and with a fleam and ſtick uſed in bleeding cattle, made a deep inciſion through the artery, and bled to death before any aſſiſtance could be procured. The inqueſt brought in their verdict lunacy.

5th. The commiſſioners appointed for putting the tax on ſhopkeepers into execution, met at Guildhall, and refuſed to qualify themſelves according to the act, or have any concern in that unpopular impoſt.

A gold medal of exquiſite workmanſhip has lately been ſtruck to commemorate the gallant defence made by the garriſon of Gibraltar. On one ſide is a Latin inſcription, encircling ſome emblematic objects, and on the reverſe a motto in German. One of theſe medals is given to governor Eliott, and one ſent to each of the three German generals, who aſſiſted during the ſiege.

Paris, July 8. A young woman lately forſaken by a libertine huſband, carried her infant to the borders of the Seine, cut its throat, then ſtabbed herſelf, and plunged with her infant into the Seine.

Suicide ſeems of late to have become very common in France. On the evening of the 1ſt of this month, a young man walking under the trees in the Elyſian Fields, near the hotel d'Evreux, he knelt down behind an elm, raiſed his eyes to heaven, and putting a piſtol to his mouth, ſhot himſelf in preſence of 200 ſpectators. In his pockets were found four balls and two *groſs ſous* in money. He was tolerably dreſſed, and his linen remarkably clean. It is not yet known who he was.

19th. On Tuſday laſt Dr. Macginnis, who was convicted of ſtabbing Mr. Hardy, the hatter in Newgate-ſtreet, two years ago, was diſcharged from his confinement in the

the King's-Bench, and set off for the continent.

They write from Petersburgh, that the Empress, with the Grand Duchess, in a train of 11 coaches, and upwards of 400 horsemen, set out on the 8th ult. on a grand tour, in which they were to be absent two months or more. The Czarina is going to shew herself in her new-acquired dominions. Caravans of provisions, &c. have been sent forward, and every possible pains taken to accommodate the illustrious travellers.

Extract of a letter received from Major Money, dated Norwich, July 25.

"On Saturday last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I ascended from this place with a balloon, and was driven out to sea, not being able to let myself down, from the valve being too small. After blowing about for near two hours, I dropped into the sea. My situation, you may easily conceive, was very unpleasant: the difficulties I had to encounter to keep the balloon up, (that was torn, and only as an umbrella over my head) were astonishing. A Dutch vessel was within a mile of me; but whether from want of humanity, or by mistaking the balloon for a sea monster, I knew not, sheered off, and left me to my fate; a boat chased me for two hours, till just dark, then bore away. I began to give up all hopes, and even wished Providence had given me the fate of Pilatre de Rozier, rather than such a lingering death. I exerted myself, however, to preserve life as long as possible, by keeping the balloon floating over my head, sinking inch by inch, as it lost its power to keep me out of the water. I was breast high when taken up by a revenue cutter, at half past eleven at night, and so weak, I was obliged to be lifted out of the car into the ship. I was put to bed, and having drank two or three glasses of grog (which was by far more delicious than Champaigne) I fell asleep, and did not wake till six the next morning. We landed at Lowestoffe at eight, from thence I immediately sent an express to Norwich, where every one concluded I was inevitably lost. Any man with less strength than myself must have perished."

28th. The following is perhaps an unheard-of instance in natural history; as such we give it to our readers, and can vouch for its truth. Lately died, at Middleton Cheney, in Northamptonshire, a chesnut stone-horse, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was well known in many hunts more than thirty years ago. The gentleman in whose possession he died, bought him at two years old; at which time of life he took him to house, broke him, and afterwards constantly rode him, winter and summer, for between twenty and thirty years, without ever turning him out again on any account. The latter part of his life he ran loose in an open stable, but was never turned out. Notwithstanding all this, he was perfectly sound and free from blemishes till within a month of his death, when he got a strain in the stable, of which he did not recover; so that at last he may be truly said rather to have died of an accident, than of old age: as a proof that he did, he got several foals last year, and had covered this season, not long before his death.

1st. DIED. At his house in Cranham Hall, Essex, general James

James Oglethorpe, aged 102 years. He was the oldeſt general in England. In the year 1706 he marched with a party of guards as enſign at the proclamation of peace.

The late general Oglethorpe was foremoſt amongſt thoſe ſpirited gentlemen who founded the colony of Georgia in North America, in the year 1732. He watched its infancy with ſolicitude, and obſerved its increaſing ſpirit with pleaſure. He founded Savannah, and when the Spaniards attempted to invade that ſettlement, he beat them from the fort they took poſſeſſion of, and reſcued the province.

AUGUST 1785.

2d. Letters from New York, brought over in the Druid, Captain Heath, arrived at Southampton, for the purpoſe of carrying Dr. Franklin to America, adviſe, that trade was very dull in that city; that great jealouſies and diſcontents reigned throughout the colonies; and that there was not a ſingle merchantman in the port of New-York, at the time the Druid ſailed from thence.

4th. The Eaſt India company have given leave to a company of private adventurers to fit out two ſhips on a trading voyage to Cook's River, and other parts adjacent, which, from the quantity of furs theſe places abound with, it is thought will be a very advantageous undertaking.

On Tueſday his grace the duke of Dorſet arrived in town from Paris, and on Wedneſday waited on the king at St. James's. Mr. Hailes acts as chargé des affaires at Paris during his grace's abſence, he being the duke's ſecretary to the embaſſy, is hourly expected in England.

Count d'Adhemar, the French ambaſſador, in conſequence of letters of recall, left his houſe on Tueſday afternoon, at three o'clock, and ſet off for Dover on his way to France. His departure was ſo ſudden, that even the other foreign ambaſſadors were not acquainted with it, and miniſters, it is ſaid, are ignorant of the cauſe.

Leghorn, Auguſt 5. Their Sicilian majeſties arrived here this evening from Genoa, on board the Saint Joachimo line of battle ſhip, accompanied by the Neapolitan fleet, with his Britannic majeſty's frigates, the Thetis and Orpheus, and a Dutch frigate and cutter. Their majeſties landed privately after ſunſet, went to the French comedy, and the ſame evening ſet out for Florence.

Berlin, Auguſt 16. The king of Pruſſia paſſed through this city from Potzdam very early this morning, in his way to Sileſia. The manœuvres at the camp of Groſſen-Tintz, four German miles from Breſlaw, are intended to be performed on the 21ſt, 22d, 23d, and 24th inſt. The prince of Pruſſia accompanies the king.

13th. The advices from Aleppo ſay, that the diſorder there had carried off above 30,000 inhabitants, chiefly thoſe of the new city. The old town, from being thinly inhabited, had, in a great meaſure, eſcaped the contagion, which had been increaſed in a violent degree by the heat of the ſeaſon. The Kaliſh, or canal, which conveyed the waters of the Nile into the metropolis, and Joſeph's Well, were both dried up, and not only

only cattle, but numbers of the lower ranks of people, had actually perished from thirst.

27th. The victualling business is entirely removed from Tower-hill; the clerks offices being at Somerset-house, and the killing, curing, &c. of provisions, at the new victualling-office, lately built near to the king's yard at Deptford; where, with the addition of a bakehouse for making biscuit, it is the most convenient that can be imagined for victualling men of war in the river.

SEPTEMBER 1785.

Dublin, Sept. 1. Tuesday, a considerable number of the working manufacturers of this city went in a body, armed, to the house of Mr. Tobin, in the earl of Meath's Liberty, from whence they took a piece of French manufactured cloth, which, though of an inferior quality, was sent there to be pressed, and done up in the same manner as Irish, with an intention, in that state, of retailing it as the manufacture of this kingdom. Having made a fire, they burnt it, amidst the huzzas, groans, and hisses of the surrounding multitude, and then proceeded to search after a large importation of English woollens, but without effect, the goods having been timely conveyed out of their reach.

We have authority to inform the public, that Charles Clutterbuck, who was capitally convicted in France for a fraud and forgery on the bank of England, and whose sentence of death was, through the clemency of his most christian majesty, changed for that of being sent to the gallies for life, set out from Arras the 31st of last month, chained, together with several other felons, for the place of his destination.

3d. An extraordinary robbery was committed last Saturday morning, at Mrs. Bennet's, the sign of the Three Rabbits, on the Rumford road. Mr. W—— of Gosfield in Essex, who is agent for the Scots and Lincolnshire salesmen, came to the above house on the evening before, in order to proceed to Smithfield market, with upwards of eleven hundred pounds, in drafts and bank notes, besides a purse, containing 162 guineas and a half, in his pocket. He went to bed early that night, and placed the above property in his breeches beneath his head. A youth, genteelly dressed, lay in the same room, and found means to convey the notes and money from under Mr. W——'s pillow, and departed with the whole before break of day. At seven o'clock Mr. W—— discovered the theft; and sent immediately to the different public offices in London. After a long search, a woman was taken into custody yesterday morning, at an obscure lodging in the Mint, Southwark, who, upon examination, was discovered to be the identical person who had taken up her quarters at Mrs. Bennet's inn on Friday night. Eight hundred pounds in notes and cash were found concealed in her cloaths. She was soon after carried to the public office in Bow-street, where the notes were sworn to by Mr. W——, and her person ascertained by the chamber-maid of the inn. Her boy's apparel was also produced. She denied any knowledge of the transaction with great composure, and was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. It appeared, in the course

courſe of the evidence, that on her coming to town ſhe had changed ſome of the notes at different ſhops, and had on Saturday laſt viſited a female convict in Newgate, to whom ſhe had made a preſent of a pair of ſilver buckles, and other trifling articles. The name of the above offender is Davis; ſhe is extremely handſome, and not more than eighteen years of age. It is ſaid ſhe is connected with a numerous gang, and has long been employed in robberies ſimilar to the above iniquitous tranſaction.

Extract of a letter from Portſmouth, Sept. 6.

"At ten o'clock laſt night there came on at this place a moſt violent hurricane as ever was known at this ſeaſon, within the memory of the oldeſt perſon preſent; which has continued, and ſtill continues, without intermiſſion, with the ſame degree of violence: at this preſent moment the waves break over the platform and fort-houſe, and force their way againſt the governor's houſe; the parade appears a perfect head of water, likewiſe the greateſt part of South Sea Common. A ſmall veſſel was drove from the buoy at Spithead, with great violence, into the innermoſt part of the pier of the gun-wharf, but no material damage has happened to her; nor do I hear of any at preſent, excepting a number of boats being ſtove to pieces. From the exceſſive height of the tide, and the turbulence of the weather, it has the appearance of an inundation round both town and common."

Extract of a letter from Dover, Sept. 6.

"This morning has been a ſhocking ſcene of diſtreſs, from the conſequence of the high wind, which blew quite a tempeſt. I never ſaw the ſea ſo much agitated. Several veſſels attempted the harbour without effect; at laſt, an Engliſh cutter came in quite under water, but ſafe. A few minutes after, ſeeing the cutter ſafe, a French veſſel with ſix men on board, made the ſame attempt, and here a moſt dreadful ſcene appeared. After being in an inſtant buried by the waves, ſhe roſe again, with the loſs of a man waſhed overboard. In a ſhort time another ſwell quite ſwallowed her up. Her unfortunate crew did not appear for ſome time, but at laſt were perceived floating on a part of the wreck. In this ſituation they floated from the pier-head, till they came oppoſite York-houſe, ſometimes in view, and at others buried by the riſing waves. Though the ſea rolled mountains high, four Engliſh ſailors had the temerity to ſtrip themſelves, and ventured their lives to ſave two of them, who ſtill continued on the rafters of the veſſel, and picked them up ſafe. In doing this, they overſet the boat, which turned them bottom upwards; but fortunately a violent ſea drove them all on ſhore together, ſo that only four of the crew periſhed."

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Sept. 6.

Laſt night and this day our uſual ſtorm at this ſeaſon of the year commenced, with a violent gale at S. W. and has blown with incredible fury, accompanied with a moſt tremendous pitching ſea. A boat with three men was overſet in Hamoaze, and all periſhed. There are but two men of war in the Sound, which ride it out very well.

"One of the king's cutters is loſt between Margate and Ramſgate, in the

the late high winds; the crew got safe on shore at Kingsgate.

Extract of a letter from Harwich, Sept. 8.

"We had one of the most violent gales here that we have experienced since the 1st of January, 1779. It began on Tuesday morning about one o'clock, and continued sixteen hours with all the fury of a hurricane, insomuch that the packet was detained, and did not sail till yesterday. A new ship, the Excellent, of 74 guns, is on the point of launching from the king's yard here."

Extract of a letter from Brighthelmstone, Sept. 14.

"The fishermen on the coast have lately caught in their nets some young ravenous fish, about two feet in length, which with great difficulty and danger they have disengaged from their nets, to the great detriment thereof, and to the injury of their business. The ignorant people here supposed them to be what is called dog-fish, whose eyes and teeth resemble those of the common shark; but some gentlemen who have been desired to examine into the matter, have, to the unspeakable horror of the bathers, pronounced this fierce species of fish to be that of the squalus or true tyger shark, uncommon on our coasts, but well known to our seamen in the West Indies. What puts the matter beyond all doubt is, that the fishermen informed the gentlemen that they have lately had some very large ones entangled in their nets, of six and eight feet in length, which have torn their nets to pieces in pursuit of their prey; whereas the dog-fish, or tuberone of Josselyn, never exceeds three feet and a half in length. We are happy to find there has been no mischief done to any person by them hitherto."

19th. The marine society is established at Bristol, and many poor lads are already cloathed, and admitted into this excellent seminary for maritime knowledge. The boys so educated will be fit for the royal navy or merchants' service. A more excellent charity has not for many years past been reared to add honour to the character of England. The excellent design of this society has more intrinsic merit than all the eloquence of a century can equal. Struggles to do good, and not emotions to gratify ambition, should fix the voice of popularity; it then would become—*Vox populi vox Dei.*

Dublin, Sept. 15. Last night the following most atrocious murder was perpetrated, and which, indeed, for the honour of human nature, should ever rest in oblivion:—Near eight o'clock James Ennis, a lad about nineteen years of age, son to a barber who lives in Angel-alley, High-street, returning home somewhat intoxicated with liquor, and having some trifling dispute with his father, who was in his shirt, pulled out a razor, and gave him four deep wounds in the arms, thighs, and body; on his mother's interfering, and endeavouring to protect the life of her aged husband from the bloody and ferocious attack of her unnatural son, the inhuman villain, drawing a second razor, cut the arteries and sinews of her arm across, and, still unsated, wounded her in two other places; luckily she had sufficient strength and presence of mind left to alarm the neighbours, who arrived time enough to prevent the completion of his bloody purposes; but the hapless woman, from the ex-

traordinary effuſion of blood from her wounds, ſoon became motionleſs, having firſt made ſigns for a clergyman, who opportunely arrived ſome little time before ſhe expired, which was in the moſt excruciating agony; and the ill-doomed maimed ſurvivor was ſent to the infirmary, with ſmall hopes of recovery. On the alarm being given, the young diabolical monſter attempted to eſcape, but fortunately without effect.

When examined laſt night, and ſeemingly in perfect ſobriety, he ſolemnly averred that he had been viſited by a ghoſt or ſpectre, for ſeven nights before, which had prompted him to the perpetration of the above infernal and unparalleled acts of barbarity.

Hague, Sept. 30. On Saturday laſt a courier arrived here from Paris, with the news that a preliminary convention was ſigned there the 20th inſtant, between the imperial ambaſſador and the ambaſſadors of the republic, the principal articles of which are, that their High Mightineſſes ſhall pay the ſum of nine million five hundred thouſand florins, as a compenſation for Maeſtricht, &c. and five hundred thouſand for the damage occaſioned by the inundations. Dalem is to be ceded to the emperor, with its dependencies (except Ooſt and Cadier) for an adequate exchange in the diſtrict of Outreh Meuſe. The limits of Flanders to remain as in 1664. The ſovereignty of the emperor upon the Scheld is acknowledged from Antwerp to the extent of the territory of Saftingen, according to the line of 1664. The forts of Kruiſchans and Frederick Henry to be evacuated and demoliſhed, and the ſoil ceded to his imperial majeſty. Lillo and Liefkenſhoek are alſo to be evacuated and delivered up to the emperor in their preſent ſtate, who renounces his claims to the villages of Bladel and Reuſſel; and all pecuniary pretenſions on either ſide are reciprocally annulled.

Died. At Folehill, a village about three miles from Coventry, a woman of the name of Neale, at the amazing age of 122 (being born in the reign of Charles the Second) who till within a few years of her death walked to and from Coventry every market-day. This good woman ſcarcely ever experienced an hour's illneſs, and never uſed ſpectacles. She had eleven children, one only of whom is living, and is upwards of 100, and the youngeſt of them was 84 when he died. There is a grandſon of the ſame woman now living in London, and who is near 70, though his appearance does not beſpeak him much more than 40; from which, and from his activity, and his chearful and apparent happy diſpoſition, it ſhould ſeem that he will not be outdone in longevity by any of his anceſtors.

OCTOBER 1785.

14th. A deſperate affray happened at Stepney, between ſome Chineſe Tartars and a body of Laſcars, many of whom were armed with ſwords, long knives, and other offenſive weapons; ſeveral were badly wounded on both ſides, particularly one of the Tartars, who was left for dead; which ſo enraged the reſt of his countrymen, that they collected a large reinforcement from Cock-hill, Limehouſe, Blackwall, &c. and went armed with bludgeons to the houſe at Stepney, where

where the Lascars were, and dared them to come out; a great riot ensued, and the matter became so serious as to call for the interference of the peace-officers to put a stop to it, which with much trouble they did. The Tartars seized a poor Lascar coming out of Stepney church-yard, tied his hands behind him, and were going to have blood for blood, as they termed it, in revenge for their countryman, who it is supposed cannot recover. But luckily for the poor fellow, some of the peace-officers hearing of it, interposed and saved him, and with much entreaty prevailed on the Tartars to disperse. Great numbers of them took their abode at the Green Dragon, in the neighbourhood.

Two poor blacks perished for want early on Saturday morning the 15th. It seems they had crept under the new stone-buildings in Lincoln's-inn, behind the Six Clerks Office, and as the watchman was going his walk, and calling the hour of four, he heard the groan of a man, and on his searching under the building, found the two poor distressed objects; one of them was just dead, and the other was so far exhausted that he died before the least assistance could be given him; indeed, no other comfort could have been had at that hour, than a little spirits and water which the watchman had by him to drink during the night, and which was accordingly administered, but without effect.

21st. It is a fact not less alarming than true, that the amount of that national bane, the poor rates, has increased, within this year or two, above a hundred thousand pounds a year.

Poland, Oct. 20. The Prussian agents who arrived some time since in this kingdom, have purchased a great number of horses for military service, and likewise great quantities of rye and wheat. They still remain here in expectation of receiving new commissions.

24th. The treaty of an alliance offensive and defensive being signed between Russia, Austria, and Venice, is no longer kept secret. The intent of this alliance is to check any hostile measures of the Porte, and to force it to comply with the emperor's desires relative to the boundaries. The weak state of the Ottoman empire, notwithstanding its military preparations, and the divisions among its ministers, seem to presage the approaching ruin of that once formidable power.

The London packet, captain Truxton, is arrived at Philadelphia, after a fine passage, and landed Dr. Franklin in good health; upon which occasion the city was illuminated, with other demonstrations of joy.

27th. The Pennsylvania packet mentioned, that the celebrated democratic historian, Mrs. Catharine M'Aulay Graham, sailed for Europe the middle of July last.

Yesterday's post brought accounts of the greatest discontents which have shewn themselves for some years in Scotland, having broken out into acts of public outrage at Aberdeen. When the express left Aberdeen, the prisoners who had been committed by the provost were liberated by force;—the council chamber was nearly destroyed, and the magistrates obliged to fly for safety;—the military were called in, but being too few in number to encounter the vast multitude of the dis-

affected, no uſe could be made of them——They are ſuppoſed to be encouraged and ſtimulated by the Jacobite and republican parties, who are both very numerous in Aberdeenſhire.

18th. DIED. On Saturday morning laſt, in Berry-ſtreet, in the 29th year of her age, Mrs. Kelly, the noted *Iriſh Fairy*, who was only 34 inches high; ſhe was that morning delivered of a child 22 inches long, by Meſſrs. Morgate, Donne, and Rigby; the child lived about two hours after its birth. Mrs. Kelly had been ſhewn in Norwich ſome time previous to her death; the ſmallneſs of her figure, and the circumſtance of her being pregnant, cauſed a vaſt number of people to ſee her, and ſhe was reckoned the greateſt curioſity ever ſeen.

NOVEMBER 1785.

1ſt. We are informed that Arabia has again produced a prophet and a warrior, who is beginning with ſucceſs the career of the impoſtor Mahomet. This man has already collected a large body of diſciples and followers from the various tribes of Arabs. He forbids his diſciples from pilgrimage to or at the tomb of Mahomet, aſſerting that the power of that prophet is now ſuperſeded by his miſſion. He has framed ſeveral new laws in addition to his predeceſſor's, which he ſays the depravity of mankind has rendered neceſſary, and that he has long ſince been appointed by the Supreme Power to work a reformation. He keeps his troops in the moſt exact diſcipline, and has already ſeized on ſeveral ſtrong poſts. It is ſuſpected that his firſt ſtep will be to fall on the caravan from the Porte to Mecca. The event of this pretender is uncertain, but he bids fair for ſucceſs. The Arabs, naturally of a fiery and turbulent diſpoſition, wanted only a chief to unite, and lead them from their deſarts. When we reflect, that from theſe people have ſprung conquerors who have ſubdued the eaſt, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe it is not improbable that another uncommon revolution may take place.

Madrid, Nov. 1. Letters from Carthagena, in South America, give an account of an earthquake which was felt in the city of Santa Fe, on the 12th of July laſt, at eight o'clock in the morning. Two churches were entirely deſtroyed, and many public and private buildings greatly damaged. The ſhock was felt in the neighbouring towns and villages of Yugativa, Caxica, and others, where the churches alſo have been left in ruins. Fortunately the number of lives loſt appears to have been ſmall. In Santa Fe the perſons killed amounted only to fourteen.

The archbiſhop, who is alſo viceroy of Santa Fe, has made over the whole revenues of his dioceſe for the relief of the ſufferers, and had received on this occaſion the thanks of his catholic majeſty, with liberty to draw from the royal treaſury what further aſſiſtance he may judge neceſſary.

Fontainbleau, Nov. 10. On the 8th of this month the definitive treaty of peace between the Emperor and the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, was ſigned here by their reſpective Ambaſſadors, under the mediation and guarantee of the King.

Berlin, Nov. 5. "By a printed liſt of the military eſtabliſhment for this year, it is made to amount to

192,337

192,337 men, 152,829 infantry; and the remaining 39,548 cavalry. The corps of artillery conſiſts of 11,582 men. Theſe troops are cantoned in the following manner: 39,184 infantry, and 4,930 cavalry, in Magdebourgh; 10,582 infantry, and 7,669 cavalry in Pruſſia; 11,909 infantry in Weſtphalia; 35,322 infantry, and 12,143 cavalry, in Sileſia. This army is in complete order, and well equipped, and our monarch relies on being able by its means to repel the attack of any enemy whatever."

Earl Cornwallis and the Marquis de la Fayette met at the late review of the Pruſſian troops at Potſdam, and had the honour of being introduced to each other by the veteran Frederick himſelf.

17th. One Wood, a ſerjeant in the Coldſtream regiment, who had been wounded in America, died in Chelſea college; on the ſame morning his brother being run over by a brewer's dray, in Paradiſe-row, was killed; a third brother died while he ſat at table to dinner, at a houſe at Clapham; and a ſiſter, who was the only one remaining of the family, was ſo overcome with the melancholy ſhock, that ſhe hanged herſelf.

Eſcurial, Nov. 24. On the 18th inſtant the King of Spain publiſhed an edict, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, the uſe of more than two horſes or mules in gentlemen's carriages, within the different towns in this country. A circular letter has been ſent to the foreign miniſters reſiding at this court, with a copy of the edict, expreſſing his Catholic Majeſty's hopes that they will ſet the example to the public, by complying with the new regulation.

The ſame edict alſo aboliſhes the celebrated Bull Feaſts (ſo long the favourite diverſion of the Spaniards) except in particular caſes, where the profits ariſing from that exhibition have been appropriated to pious or patriotic uſes, and where no fund has yet been ſet aſide to ſupply the deficiency that would be the conſequence of the ſuppreſſion.

The motive aſſigned for theſe prohibitions, in the preamble of the edict, is the great deſtruction of cattle, which might be better employed in agriculture, and other uſeful occupations.

Extract of a letter from Vienna, Nov. 20.

"The Emperor had a hair-breadth eſcape for his life lately. Having from motives of curioſity got on a ſcaffold erected before ſome houſes, which are building in the Fauxbourgs, the ſcaffolding ſuddenly gave way, and his Majeſty muſt inevitably have been killed, had he not been ſaved by a bricklayer's labourer catching hold of him. The Emperor gave him twenty-four ducats, and has ſettled a penſion of three hundred florins on him."

Extract of a letter from Rheims.

"A few weeks paſt, a man was executed in this city, whoſe fate is really ſingular. — About fourteen years ago he was deputy-keeper of one of the priſons in this town, from whence he aſſiſted a priſoner of eminence in making his eſcape. For this ſervice he received a reward of 1500 louis-d'ors, with which ſum he returned into his own country (at the foot of the Alps) where he remained perfectly ſecure; but being no longer able to reſiſt an earneſt deſire he had to reviſit this city, to which his long reſidence had given him a particular attachment, and thinking the number of years which

had elapſed, rendered him ſecure from a diſcovery, he ſet out, and arrived about eight weeks ago. But the ſecond night after, going into a ſmall *cabaret*, he was immediately recognized by a perſon ſitting there, who went and informed an officer, by whom he was apprehended, and being condemned to die, the ſentence was inſtantly put in execution."

Captain Mackenzie has received his Majeſty's pardon, for the murder of the ſoldier at Fort Moree, by ſhooting him from a cannon; but is now detained in Newgate, and it is expected he will be tried at the next Admiralty ſeſſions for piracy, in cutting out (with a detachment of his men) from under the guns of a Dutch fort on the coaſt of Africa, a Portugueſe ſhip, with Dutch colours; in conſequence of which a complaint has been laid againſt him by the Portugueſe ambaſſador. Government detains 11,000 pounds worth of his gold duſt, till he gives an account of the King's ſtores which were entruſted to his care. His father has died ſince his confinement, and left him an eſtate of 500l. a year; but it is thought he will not be able to make any thing of it, it being mortgaged for a conſiderable ſum. He is in a very poor ſtate of health.

28th. An edict has been iſſued out at Paris by the ſovereign, and regiſtered at the Royal Mint, ordering a new coinage, and a general recal of all the gold ſpecie. The louis d'ors of 24 livres currency, brought to the ſaid mint, ſhall be taken at the rate of 25 livres each, if offered at any time during the ſpace of four months, after which the ſaid louis will paſs current at the rate of 22 livres only. It is hence preſumed, that the new coin will be aſſeſſed at the ſterling current, at all events it may prove no bad ſpeculation for thoſe who, having a great deal of caſh in their hands, will be expeditious in diſpoſing of it at the above advanced price. It is thought, however, that the innovation will hurt trade in general, as it was experienced in the year 1726, when ſuch a reform took place; for which reaſon the ſtate of the current coin never underwent any alteration ſince the above period.

Died. At his houſe in Buckingham-ſtreet, York-buildings, Mr. John Henderſon, of Covent-garden theatre; a gentleman whoſe loſs will be ſeverely felt by all admirers of dramatic exhibition, and ſincerely regretted by a large and moſt reſpectable circle of acquaintance; Mr. Henderſon having been in as high eſtimation for his private virtues, as his profeſſional talents. Mr. Henderſon left a will behind him in his own hand-writing, which, though not ſealed or ſigned, is ſufficient in law to direct the diſpoſition of his perſonal effects, which amount to upwards of 6000l.

DECEMBER 1785.

Paris, Dec. 2. By an ordinance of the King's Council of State of the 13th ult. a duty is impoſed upon all foreign carriages brought into this country. Four-wheeled carriages are to pay 800 livres each. Travellers are to pay the duty only by way of form, as the ſum is to be reimburſed if they quit the kingdom with the ſame vehicles. The ſame allowance is made in favour of natives and others taking carriages out

of

of the kingdom for the purpoſe of travelling into foreign countries.

Sentence of Mr. Aylette, Attorney, for Perjury.

Judge Willes addreſſed himſelf to the priſoner nearly as follows:

Edward Aylette, you ſtand before the court, convicted on full and ample teſtimony of the crime of *Perjury*—You have moved an arreſt of judgment, and have been heard by your counſel, who have exerted themſelves much on the occaſion. But the court have conſidered your plea not ſufficient to ſet aſide the indictment.—You have not denied the fact of perjury—you have not moved for a new trial—you have not brought your clerks to diſprove a ſingle circumſtance alledged againſt you; and there is not, therefore, a doubt remaining in our breaſts of your having committed the crime. The fact is notorious to every body; and as the indictment was preferred againſt you to the end that juſtice might be done, ſo it is neceſſary to paſs the ſentence of the law upon you. You have been long an attorney of this court, and in your extenſive practice you muſt have diſcovered, that of all crimes, perjury is the moſt dangerous to ſociety. It perverts juſtice,—it unhinges the law,—it deſtroys liberty and property,—and, in the practice of the court, is a moſt dangerous evil. You have ſeen by a late determination, that neither rank nor fortune can ſave a man from the ignominious puniſhment attendant on this crime; and therefore, I muſt inform you, the ſentence of this court is:

"That you, Edward Aylette, do "pay unto the King the ſum of five "hundred pounds, and that you be "held in execution until the ſame "is paid. That you be impriſoned "in the gaol of Newgate for twelve "months, and that once within that "time, between the hours of twelve "at noon and two in the afternoon, "you ſtand in and upon the pillory "in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter."

Mr. Aylette was then conveyed to Newgate by Mr. Akerman.

The execution on Thurſday laſt, made up no leſs a number than ninety-ſix perſons executed in the Old Bailey ſince the beginning of February laſt.

The unfortunate Francis Storer, who was executed on Thurſday, Dec. 1ſt. in the Old Bailey, had twice before been capitally convicted, and received mercy on condition of working ſeven years upon the hulks; but he behaved with ſo much propriety, that he obtained a diſcharge in conſequence of a fit of ſickneſs, at the end of four years bondage. He ſolemnly declared, the evidence againſt him tempted him to follow his old courſes, and acknowledged being concerned in robbing the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt's houſe of a large quantity of plate ſome time ſince, which offence he aſſerted was planned by one of the journeymen employed in working the metal, who was ſince dead. He alſo, on ſome queſtions being put to him by a gentleman juſt before he mounted the ſcaffold, owned his having been privy to the ſtealing of the Great Seal; but obſtinately refuſed telling who the robbers were, ſaying they were alive, and he truſted would be admoniſhed by his misfortune, and ſeriouſly repent of their crimes.

9th. The Right Hon. Wm. Eden kiſſed hands at St. James's, as Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the court of France, for the purpoſe of negociating

ciating certain commercial arrangements with that kingdom.

Extract of a letter from Salisbury, Dec. 12.

"Monday last Col. Joseph Brandt, the celebrated King of the Mohawks, arrived in this city from America, and after dining with Col. de Peister at the head quarters here, proceeded immediately on his journey to London. This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand Congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America, and to be by them appointed to the conduct and chief command in the war which they now meditate against the United States of America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up; and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British court is of great importance. This country owes much to the services of Col. Brandt during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia, is a very shrewd intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the English nation.

24th. The East India Company's dividend from Midsummer last to Christmas, was declared at the General Court on Wednesday to be four per cent.

DIED. At Twickenham, after a very short illness, in the 73d year of her age, Mrs. Catherine Clive. The original genius of this excellent actress made her as incomparable as inimitable, and maintained her without a rival on the stage during her performance there. She retired with a small fortune, and contentedly enjoyed what she had acquired by her own labour.—Mrs. Clive was the daughter of Mr. William Raftor, a gentleman who was a native of the city of Kilkenny, in Ireland, and bred to the law. Miss Raftor was born in 1711, and shewed a very early inclination and genius for the stage. Her first appearance was in boy's clothes, in the tragedy of Mithridates, king of Pontus, in which she was introduced only to sing a song. In 1731 she appeared in the part of Nell, in the Devil to Pay: this was the first character which afforded her an opportunity of displaying her comic powers, which afterwards ripened into so much perfection.

15th. It is with extreme concern we inform the public of the death of Mr. Cipriani, who expired at his house near the King's Mews, yesterday morning. His indisposition was a violent rheumatic fever, which confined him to his room for some weeks previous to his dissolution.—The classical elegance of his pencil will be a lasting memorial of his scientific skill, and do honour to his name as long as the polite arts are in estimation. From his correct outline and tender colouring, the taste of the nation has received its best improvement, and the Royal Academy considered him as the truest model of grace. Of his private virtues, all who knew him will subscribe a ready testimony; and to those who knew him not, it is impossible to convey an idea of his friendly heart and affable manners.

BIRTHS for the year 1785.

Jan. 28. Petersburgh. A few days since her serene highness the princess of Wirtemberg was safely

safely delivered of a princeſs.

31. The counteſs of Aylesford, of a daughter.

Feb. 2. The lady of lord Galloway, of a daughter.

6. The lady of the hon. Waſhington Shirley was delivered of a daughter.

16. The lady of Sir Henry Daſhwood, bart. of a daughter.

28. The counteſs dowager of Weſtmoreland, of a ſon.

March 10. The lady of John Blackburne, eſq. (member of parliament for the county of Lancaſter) of a daughter.

13. Her grace the ducheſs of Athol, of a ſon.

16. Lady Hinton, of a daughter.

April 27. Laſt week the hon. Mrs. Stewart, of a daughter.

30. The lady of the hon. colonel Rodney, of a ſon.

May 5. The lady of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, of a ſon.

Lady Eleanor Dundas, of a daughter.

The lady of the hon. William Grimſton, of Oxhey, in Hertfordſhire, of a ſon.

6. Viſcounteſs Hereford, of a daughter.

17. The lady of lord viſcount Falmouth, of a daughter.

23. This morning lady Neville, of a ſon.

25. The counteſs of Tankerville, of a daughter.

June 4. Lady Mahon, of a ſon.

22. Lady Balgonie, of a ſon.

28. The right hon. lady Elizabeth Fane, of a daughter.

July 2. The lady of the hon. and right rev. the biſhop of Wincheſter, of a ſon.

31. The counteſs of Waldegrave, of a daughter.

Aug. 1. The counteſs of Caven, of a daughter.

29. At her houſe in Piccadilly, her grace the ducheſs of Devonſhire, of a daughter.

The lady of lord Brownlow, of a ſon, at his lordſhip's houſe in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare.

Sept. 1. The lady of lord Monſon, of a ſon and heir, at his lordſhip's ſeat, near Lincoln.

On Thurſday the 8th inſt. her grace the ducheſs of Marlborough of a daughter, at Blenheim.

11. Lady Deerhurſt, of a daughter, at Streatham.

13. Lady Townſend, of a ſon, at his lordſhip's houſe, in Mortimer-ſtreet.

30. The lady of the right hon. lord Algernon Percy, of a ſon.

Oct. 25. The ducheſs of Grafton, of a ſon, at his grace's houſe, in Piccadilly.

31. The lady of the right hon. lord St. John, of a daughter.

Nov. 8. The lady of lord St. Aſaph, of a ſon and heir.

13. Lady Duncannon, of a daughter.

14. The right hon. lady Bagot, of a daughter.

16. At Edinburgh, her grace the ducheſs of Gordon, of a ſon.

The counteſs of Radnor, of a ſon.

17. The

17. The lady of Sir W. Middleton, bart. member for Northumberland, of a daughter.

Dec. 6. The lady of the right hon. lord viſcount Furnour, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the year 1785.

Feb. 3. James Everard Arundell, eſq; count of the ſacred Roman empire, eldeſt ſon of the hon. James Everard Arundell, of Aſhcome, in the county of Dorſet, to the hon. Miſs Arundell, counteſs of the ſacred Roman empire, eldeſt daughter of the right hon. lord Arundell.

18. Luke Dillon, eſq; of Mary-le-bone, to the right hon. lady Margaret Auguſta De Burgh, daughter to the right hon. John late earl of Clanrickarde.

March 3. The right hon. the marquis of Graham, to Miſs Aſhburnham, daughter of lord Aſhburnham

17. Earl Clanricarde, to Miſs Powlett, only daughter of George Powlett, eſq; of Portman-ſquare.

19. The hon. John Sommers Cocks, to Miſs Naſh, only daughter of the rev. Dr. Naſh, of Bevere.

April 9. Liſbon. On Saturday laſt this court, having received the news of the celebration of the marriage of the Infant Don Juan, of Portugal with the Infanta of Spain, orders were immediately given for three days illuminations and gala, and the ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters were admitted to pay their compliments to her moſt faithful majeſty, and to the royal family, on Monday laſt, upon the occaſion.

May 10. Sir James Graham, bart. of Nethy, in Cumberland, to lady Catharine Stewart, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Galloway.

15. A few days ago, the hon. Frederick Robinſon, brother to lord Grantham, and member for Ripon in Yorkſhire, to Miſs Harris, ſiſter of Sir James Harris, his Majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague.

The hon. Richard Howard, ſecretary to her Majeſty, and brother to the earl of Effingham, to Miſs March, daughter of John March, eſq; of Wareſly Park, Huntingdonſhire.

21. Liſbon. On the 10th inſt. the hon. Robert Walpole, his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal, to Miſs Sophia Stret, daughter of Richard Stret, eſq; of Liſbon.

June 19. Sir Caſſel Molyneux, bart. to Miſs O'Donel, eldeſt daughter to Sir Neal O'Donel, bart. of Newport, in the county of Mayo.

July 26. By ſpecial licence, at the right hon. the counteſs of Plymouth's,

Plymouth's, in Brutonſtreet, Sir James Tylney Long, bart. to lady Catharine Windſor, ſiſter to the preſent earl of Plymouth.

Aug. 8. John Groſett Muirhead, eſq; to the right hon. lady Jane Murray, third daughter of the late duke of Athol.

18. The right hon. lord viſcount Dyſart, to the hon. lady Ann Brown, eldeſt ſiſter to the earl of Altamont.

Sept. 8. Sir Thomas George Shipwith, bart. to Miſs Shirley, daughter of the hon. George Shirley.

30. The hon. George Auguſtus North, to Miſs Hobart, of St. James's-ſquare.

Oct. 31. B. Graham, eſq; only ſon of Sir B. Graham, to Miſs P. Whitworth, daughter of the late Sir Charles Whitworth.

Nov. 17. The hon. and rev. Mr. Lumley, brother to the earl of Scarborough, to Miſs Anna Maria Herring.

Dec. 20. At Worthy, the hon. Edward Bouverie, brother to the earl of Radnor, to Miſs A. Ogle, daughter to Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1785; *from the London Gazette, &c.*

March 10. Major Gen. Campbell, appointed governor of Madras.

—— 11. Lord Balcarras kiſſed the king's hand at St. James's, on being appointed ſecond in military command, in the Eaſt Indies.

— 13. This day the right hon. Thomas, earl of Bective, ſir Skeffington Smyth, bart. and D. Latouche, eſq; were, by his majeſty's command, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council of the kingdom of Ireland, and took their places at the board accordingly.

April 5. The king has been pleaſed to appoint the rev. Henry William Majendie, M. A. to be a prebendary of the free chapel of St. George, in the caſtle of Windſor, void by the death of the rev. Dr. Thomas Bray.

—— 30. Thomas Warton, bachelor of divinity, and fellow of Trinity college Oxford, was ſworn and admitted into the place of poet laureat in ordinary to his majeſty.

Dublin Caſtle, April 22. Letters patent are preparing to be paſſed under the great ſeal of this kingdom, for appointing lieutenant-general William Auguſtus Pitt, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in this kingdom, and the commander in chief of his majeſty's ſaid forces for the time being, together with his majeſty's right truſty and well beloved counſellor James Cuff, Ponſonby Moore, James Cavendiſh, William Handcock, Ralph Ward, Fitzherbert Richards, eſqrs; and Robert Langriſhe, eſq; in the room of Thomas St. George, deceaſed, to be commiſſioners and overſeers of all his majeſty's barracks in this kingdom.

June 11. The king has been pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint the right hon. Francis, baron Oſborne, (commonly called marquis of Carmarthen) to be governor of the iſlands of Scilly, alias Sully, alias Sorlingues, in the room of the right hon. Francis, lord Godolphin, deceaſed.

—18.

—— 18. The king has been pleaſed to grant to the earl of Uxbridge, the ſeveral offices of conſtable or keeper of the caſtle of Carnarvon, ranger of the foreſt of Snowdon, and ſteward of all his majeſty's lordſhips, manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the late diſſolved monaſtery of Bardſay, in the county of Carnarvon.

—— 25. The king has been pleaſed to appoint Charles Whitworth, eſq; to be his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the king and republic of Poland.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for* 1785.

Berkſhire. Edward Thornhill, of Kingſton Liſle, eſq; in the room of Francis Robſon, of Tubney, eſq.

Bedfordſhire. William Gibbard, of Sharnbrooke, eſq.

Bucks. Thomas Saunders, of Brill, eſq.

Cumberland. Edward Knubley, of Wigton, eſq.

Cheſhire. The honourable Wilbraham Tollemache, of Woodhay.

Camb. and *Hunt.* John Crichloe Turner, of Great Stakley, eſq.

Devonſhire. John Henry Southcote, of Buckland, eſq.

Dorſetſhire. The hon. Lionel Damer, of Warmwell.

Derbyſhire. Herbert Greenſmith, of Priory, eſq.

Eſſex. George Bowles, of Wanſtead, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. John Niblett, of Glouceſter, eſq.

Hertfordſhire. William Phillimore, of Aldenham, eſq.

Herefordſhire. Sir Hungerford Hoſkins, bart.

Kent. Edward Knatchbull, of Provender, eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. William Vann, of Belgrave, eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Charles Chaplin, of Blankney, eſq.

Monmouthſhire. William Rees, of St. Bride's, eſq.

Northumberland. Sir Henry Liddel, bart.

Northamptonſhire. Lucas Ward, of Guilſborough, eſq.

Norfolk. Edward Stracey, of Rackheath, eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. Sherbrooke Lowe, of Southwell, eſq.

Oxfordſhire. John Lenthall the younger, of Burford, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Thomas Falkner, of Morcott, eſq.

Shropſhire. Robert More, of Linley, eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Richard Croſs, of Broomfield, eſq.

Staffordſhire. Thomas Stevenſon, of Stafford, eſq.

Suffolk. Sir Thomas Gooch, of Benacre, bart.

Southampton. Sir John Whalley Gardiner, bart.

Surrey. James Payne, of Chertſey, eſq.

Suſſex. William Nelthorpe, of Sedgwick Park, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Joſeph Boultbee, of Baxterley, eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Richard Bourne Charlett, of Elmly Caſtle, eſq.

Wiltſhire. James Sutton, of Roundway, eſq.

Yorkſhire. Sir Thomas Turner Slingſby, of Sriven Park, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Walter Roberts, of Lanvihangell, eſq.

Car-

Carmarthen. William Lewes, of Llyſnewyed, eſq.

Cardigan. Thomas Powell, of Nanteos, eſq.

Glamorgan. Stephen White, of Miſkin, eſq.

Pembroke. John Lloyd, of Dale Caſtle, eſq.

Radnor. James Price, of Clirow, eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. Richard Lloyd, of Monachdu, eſq.

Carnarvon. John Jones, of Brynhir, eſq.

Denbigh. John Twigge, of Burras, eſq.

Flint. Sir Thomas Hanmer, of Hanmer, bart.

Merioneth. John Jones, of Caſſty, eſq.

Montgomery. Samuel Yates, of Laebrinmair, eſq.

At a council of his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, held at Carleton Houſe, the 7th of February, 1785, Weſſion Helyar, of Newton, eſq; was appointed ſheriff for the county of Cornwall, for the year 1785, by his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales in council.

DEATHS *for* 1785.

Jan. 31. In the 88th year of her age, the right hon. lady dowager Stourton, daughter and ſole heireſs of Bartholomew Walmſley, eſq.

Feb. 9. The counteſs of Straffford, at the earl's ſeat at Wentworth, in Yorkſhire. She was daughter of the celebrated John duke of Argyle, and ſiſter to lady Dalkeith, and lady Mary Coke.

11. The right hon. lady Penelope Crighton Dalrymple, ſiſter to the late earl of Dumfries, and to James and William, ſucceſſively earls of Stair.

19. Sir John Stapylton, bart. of Myton-hall, in Yorkſhire.

The dowager lady Gower, at her ſeat at Bill Hill, in Berkſhire.

20. General Philip Honeywood, colonel of the third regiment of dragoon guards, and governor of Hull.

23. At Marybone, ſir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, and lieutenant-general of the marines.

April 27. Monday ſe'nnight, at Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Margaret Murray, daughter of the deceaſed David, viſcount Stormont, and ſiſter to the preſent earl of Mansfield.

A few days ſince, aged upwards of 80, the hon. Mrs. Mary Tufton, fifth daughter, and laſt ſurvivor of nine children of the hon. colonel Sackville Tufton, grandfather of the preſent earl of Thanet.

28. A few days ſince, lady Edwards, wife of ſir Thomas Edwards, bart.

May 19. Lieutenant General ſir Robert Rich, bart. in the 68th year of his age.

20. Lady Bowyer, relict of the late ſir William Bowyer.

25. Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, ſiſter of lord Stanhope.

June 9. The hon. earl Pomfret; he is ſucceeded in his title by his eldeſt ſon, lord Leominſter.

The lady of the rev. ſir Thomas Boughton, bart.

25. The right hon. Francis, lord Godolphin.

30. A few days since the right hon. Harriet, viſcounteſs Mountgarret, and baroneſs Kells.

July 4. In the 85th year of his age, the right hon. Charles Colyear, earl and baron of Portmore, viſcount Milſintown, and baronet, knight of the moſt noble and antient order of the Thiſtle.

7. The right hon. lady Abigail Hay, ſiſter to the earl of Kinnoul.

10. The honourable Ann Poulett, member for Bridgewater, and only brother to the earl Poulett.

The right hon. Matthew, lord Forteſcue.

11. Lady Audley.

17. The moſt noble lady Margaret Cavendiſh Harley, ducheſs dowager of Portland, in the ſeventy-firſt year of her age. Her grace was only daughter of Edward, earl of Oxford, and earl of Mortimer, by his counteſs the lady Henrietta Cavendiſh, only daughter and heir of John Holles, eſq.

27. The right hon. viſcounteſs dowager Powerſcourt, in the 78th year of her age.

Aug. 29. On Friday night, the right hon. Geo. Germaine, viſcount Sackville, lord Bolebrook, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy counſellors, clerk of the council in Ireland, one of the keepers of the Phœnix Park, near Dublin, and a vice-preſident of the Britiſh lying-in hoſpital.

Sept. 9. George earl of Abergavenny.

19. At Lyons, in France, the right hon. and reverend lord Edward Seymour, dean of Bath and Wells, brother to his grace the duke of Somerſet.

Oct. 5. At Liſle, in French Flanders, ſir Walter Blount, bart. of Moreley-hall, in Shropſhire.

7. The right honourable John lord Dormer, baron of Wenge, in the county of Bucks.

14. Lewis Philip, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood royal of France, at ſix o'clock in the morning, at his caſtle of St. Aſſiſe, in the 60th year of his age, being born in May, 1725.

The 15th inſtant, at eight o'clock in the evening, died in Paris, the duke de Praſlin, formerly miniſter of the naval department.

Nov. 20. The right hon. Robert Henry Ongley, lord Ongley, to which title he was advanced in 1726.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

For 1784.

Whitehall, Jan. 10. Extract of a diſpatch to his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from his Excellency Major General James Stuart, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's and the Eaſt India Company's forces on the Coaſt of Coromandel; dated Camp, one mile ſouth of Cuddalore, June 27, 1783, received yeſterday by Captain Thomas, of the 23d light dragoons, who arrived in his Majeſty's ſhip Medea.

I Moſt ſincerely congratulate your lordſhip on the ſucceſsful efforts of this brave army, in carrying at one ſtroke the whole of the outpoſts and redoubts of the enemy, with * 18 pieces of artillery mounted upon them. Their loſs in Europeans killed and wounded, according to the priſoners, being † 26 officers and 600 men. We have alſo loſt many excellent officers and brave men.

On the preceding day (the 12th) I called as a council of war the two officers next in command to me, major general Bruce and colonel Stuart, I acquainted them of the ſtate of our affairs in general; the letters I had received from the admiral, repreſenting the ſickly condition of his men, and the ſtate of the water, which might oblige him to return to Madras; alſo the approach of the French fleet; but above all, the indefatigable induſtry viſible in the vaſt works they were making in the high grounds and lines, in communication with the poſt commonly called Brickmyre's, thus ſtretching along the neck by which we muſt approach the place; and I requeſted general Bruce and colonel Stuart freely to ſpeak their minds. I had called the chief engineer and the commanding officers of the Bengal and coaſt artillery, as deliberative deſiring to know in their different departments if they were in readineſs, ſo far as regarded materials for cloſing the redoubts after we ſhould get poſſeſſion, and to form a firſt parallel, and as to guns, with a ſufficient ſupply of ſtores for the enterprize. They agreed that every thing was in readineſs, and we were unanimouſly of opinion, that there was not an hour to be loſt in driv-

* Upon examining the returns, the number taken was 16.

† It was afterwards found they had 42 officers killed or wounded.

ing

ing the French from all their outposts into Cuddalore, or under the guns.

I immediately presented the plan I meant to follow in effecting our purpose, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing. It was in general most exactly followed. Lieutenant colonel Kelly, in the precise moment agreed on, got possession of the posts of the enemy on the Bandipollum Hills, with their guns, and lieut. colonel Cathcart, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by colonel Stuart, commanding the advanced picquets on the left, consisting of the remains of the 73d regiment under captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoys, made a movement to turn the enemy's right flank.

In advancing, they sustained such a heavy fire, and the ground so difficult, that with great judgment colonel Stuart covered his people until he could better reconnoitre, and some further disposition could be taken to approach the enemy from different quarters nearly about the same time. He sent me a report of his situation, and I gave orders in consequence to the reserve, under colonel Gordon, to make a movement in advance to their left, and to major-general Bruce to march from the right in the direction of the redoubt, if the ground could admit of it.

The general had very properly posted lieut. colonel Edmondson upon the sand-hills near the sea, to support the brass eighteens, and prevent our being flanked on that side.

Upon further information, that the redoubt which principally annoyed the grenadiers was to be got at in the rear, orders were given for the grenadiers, the reserve, and the right under general Bruce, to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, leaving their guns under cover. I desired the commanding officer of artillery to fire three guns as a signal, and to continue a heavy fire for five minutes on the enemy's redoubt on the front opposite to colonel Stuart, and the grenadiers, whilst the reserve under colonel Gordon was moving on; upon our fire ceasing, the attack on all sides to begin.

The reserve, which consisted chiefly of the remains of his majesty's 101st, and of the detachment from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, with five companies of captain Muirhead's battalion of sepoys, advanced in the best order imaginable, under the heaviest fire of musquetry, round and grape, from the enemy, I ever beheld. The greater part had got within the enemy's entrenchments; many of our officers fell there.

The detachment of his majesty's Hanoverians, under lieutenant-colonel Wangenheim, and major Varrannius, behaved most remarkably well. The major fell in the attempt. The company of grenadiers and light infantry of his majesty's 101st, and the officers of that corps, and the officers and sepoys of the 20th Carnatic battalion, shewed the greatest spirit and steadiness; and if the other men of the 101st had seconded the efforts of their officers, and their grenadiers and light infantry, there is not a doubt but the business would have been over at once: but they did not; and our people on that attack were for a certain time driven back, and pursued to a considerable distance by the enemy. However, at that time, when the French

French were in the purſuit, our grenadiers, under lieut. colonel Cathcart and major Moore, with colonel Stuart and captain Lamont, with the precious remains of the 73d, entered the redoubt on the ſide where it was not entirely cloſed, and not only took poſſeſſion of it, but puſhed forward to a poſt called Brickmyre's, conſiderably in advance, and were for ſome time in poſſeſſion of it with the guns, but obliged to quit upon freſh troops pouring in upon them.

Our people kept hold of the firſt redoubt, as commanding or enfilading every thing in front or to the right of it, and therefore a good point to go from in our approaches; it was ordered to be cloſed by the chief engineer as ſoon as poſſible. The havock done by our guns from the heights now appeared plain; and having thus ſecured, by lieutenant col. Kelly and his brigade, the commanding points of the Bandipollum hills, giving an opening to the large tank that lies between them, and ſeeing from thence, in reverſe, the whole bound hedge of Cuddalore; and having ſecured a poſt to approach from of ſuch importance as before mentioned, I thought it ſufficient for the day, conſidering the number of our brave men that had fallen. The ſpirit of our people, even after ſo ſevere an action, was ſo undaunted, that I was urged to proceed further, and to drive the whole of the enemy into the fort that evening, although we muſt have had both heavy guns and muſquetry to encounter with; but I declined it, both for the above reaſon, and becauſe, from my knowledge of the French, I was ſure, that after a night's reflection of what had paſſed, they would not try a ſecond day out of the fort. It happened ſo, for they abandoned in the courſe of the night all their remaining outpoſts, and drew off their guns, excepting three, which we brought into the redoubt. The incloſed return will ſhew your lordſhip the guns we have taken from the enemy; two of them are upon the hill, and two in the redoubt, ready to open againſt their former maſters.

I ſhall, in a ſeparate letter, ſo ſoon as I know it with preciſion, acquaint your lordſhip of the loſs on our ſide. It is with infinite regret that I mention the loſs of captain Douglas, deputy adjutant-general, as an officer, and as a member of ſociety; and the ſame of lieutenant Peter Campbell, my firſt aid-de-camp. Major Varrenius fell haranguing his men, advancing to the redoubt. The honourable captain Lindſey, commanding the grenadiers of the 73d, was wounded and taken priſoner, refuſing to ſuffer his own people to remain behind with him *. In a word, nothing, I believe, in hiſtory, ever exceeded the heroiſm and coolneſs of this army in general, viſible to every one, for it laſted from four in the morning to two in the afternoon.

The admiral with the whole fleet is now at an anchor near our rice ſhips; and by our laſt accounts Monſ. Suffrein was ſeen by him to the ſouthward, with fifteen ſhips of the line and two frigates.

I have written to major general Burgoyne to give orders (with the previous information to government) that 200 Hanoverians, with all the recovered men and recruits belonging to his majeſty's troops, now at

* Captain Lindſey died of his wounds at Cuddalore.

or near the presidency, be sent with the utmost dispatch to us by sea; and I have recommended to order the same regarding the recruits and recovered men of the company's Europeans.

The army lay upon their arms for twenty hours after the business of the 13th was over, and until I had the means to bring our camp further in advance, now that we had silenced the guns planted on the enemy's out-posts. Our right is now within a mile of Cuddalore; but, as I had the honour in a former letter to represent to the select committee, having nearly a brigade to cover our rear and landing place, and so large a circuit of posts, added to our loss in action, and sickness incident to fatigue, I repeat that unless the force under colonel Fullarton does come nearer to co-operate, and to take off some part of the heavy duty that now falls to our share, this army will, in a very short time, be melted to nothing through sickness and other accidents.

Camp, S. of Cuddalore,
June 15, 1783.

Letter to the Select Committee at Madras, containing the particulars of the repulse of the French, on the 25th of June, 1783.

IT is with great additional satisfaction that I give you the account of the repulse the enemy met with in a sortée they made early this morning. We have taken their commanding officer, chevalier de Damas, colonel (maitre de camp) of the regiment of Aquitaine; likewise a captain and lieutenant. There is a major, a captain, and two subalterns killed. The prisoners are about 150. I don't know how many of the enemy have been killed or carried off wounded, but this I know, that it was a most complete route. Our loss is major Cotgrove, lieut. Grueber of the Bengal detachment, and lieut. Ochterloney missing, captain Williamson wounded, and about 20 rank and file killed or wounded.

Upon the return of the French fleet, and ours not appearing, I was sure that they would take every occasion to annoy us: we were prepared for it, as they have found to their experience. From what I can collect of the prisoners, the troops engaged were of their best sort, the regiment of Aquitaine, and other old corps, besides volunteers from all the other corps, and two battalions of sepoys. Their principal impression seems to have been directed to the right of our parallel; but they had no idea of our having completed a redoubt there, which, with the two guns, galled them very severely. Our people behaved wonderfully well, and the sepoys mixed theirs with the French bayonets: nothing could exceed their steadiness. Colonel Gordon commanded in the trenches with lieutenant colonel Cathcart and major Cotgrove; only one half of the grenadiers were with the outlaying picquets, but major Moore, with the other half, was instantly on the ground from their advanced camp, and they proved an excellent support to the parallel on the right.

From the character of monsieur Suffrein, and the infinite superiority of the present means on the part of the French now that we are left to ourselves, I expect a daily visit of this sort from them, and shall be prepared to give them a similar reception;

tion; but I cannot too often repeat, that the severity of the present duty, both on officers and men, is become almost insupportable.

As to my own uneasiness of mind, considering many things which I need not detail to you, and that it is now nine days since our fleet and provision ships left us, and having no certainty of colonel Fullarton's movements towards me, in consequence of my order of the 16th instant, I say that, on the whole of these considerations, my mind is upon the rack without a moment's rest.

The steady undaunted valour of this army is my present resource in the midst of surrounding difficulties, if the admiral does not soon appear.

The high idea I entertain of the merit of the army has led me to express my sentiments at some length in this day's general orders, both of their conduct on the 13th, and in the action of this day. I shall have the honour of transmitting to your lordship, &c. a copy, together with every paper of any consequence which you have not hitherto been furnished with, owing to the uncertainty of conveyance, since we lost sight of the admiral.

I pray your lordship, &c. to forward the means of conveyance by sea to us of the detachment of 200 Hanoverians, with the recruits and recovered men of his majesty's and the company's troops, together with money, rice, and horse grain, our only dependence for all those things being upon you.

Camp before Cuddalore,
June 25th, 1783.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 12, 1784.

Extract of a duplicate of a letter from Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, to Mr. Stephens; received on Friday last, by Captain Erasmus Gower, of his Majesty's ship Medea; the original of which is on board the Pondicherry armed transport, not yet arrived.

Superb, in Madras Road,
July 25, 1783.

MY last address to you, for their lordships information, was dated the 19th of March, of this year, from Bombay. By it I signified my intention to proceed to sea with the ships of his majesty's squadron under my command, and I sailed accordingly on the day following.

On the 8th of April, off the Bassas, I was joined by captain Troubridge, in his majesty's ship Active, who had been cruizing for a month off the Friar's Hood, by my orders, and had seen nothing of the enemy's squadron during that time.

In the night of the 10th, a grab ship of the enemy's, that had been taken from the English, fell into the squadron, and was captured. By the officers, prisoners taken in this ship, I learned that the whole of the enemy's squadron, under the command of monsieur Suffrein, was in Trincamale harbour, except two of their best sailing line of battle ships, and two frigates, which were cruizing off Madras to block up that port, and intercept all supplies bound to it; I therefore immediately steered with the squadron for that place, and anchored in the road on the 13th of April, but saw nothing of the French cruizers; however, as they had been in sight of the place only the day before, I di-

rected the ships named in the margin *, under the orders of captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, to proceed to sea, and use all possible diligence to intercept them; and, on the day following, captain Graves, of his majesty's ship Sceptre, whose signal had been made to chase a strange sail on the 11th, joined me with the Naiade, a French frigate of 30 guns, and 160 men, which he had come up with in the night, and captured.

On the 16th of April, captain Burney, of his majesty's ship Bristol, with his convoy from England, arrived in this road, escorted by the ships under the orders of captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, who had seen nothing of the enemy's cruizers, but fell in with the Bristol and her convoy at sea.

On the 19th of April, the company's ship Duke of Athol made the signal of distress, and the boats of the squadron being ordered by signal to her assistance, she unfortunately blew up, by which unhappy accident the squadron lost † six commissioned and four warrant officers, and 127 of our best seamen.

From the day of the squadron's arrival in this road, all possible diligence has been used to complete the ships water, in doing which, great delay and frequent disappointments arose, from the want of a sufficient number of shore boats, and the high surf on the beach. However, I put to sea on the second of May with his majesty's ships, to seek the enemy's squadron, and, if possible, intercept their expected reinforcements, although the water of many of the ships was by no means complete, having left in the road his majesty's three store ships, Pondicherry, Harriott, and Minerva, to lade military stores and provisions for the service of the army, then about to march for the attack of Cuddalore, where the marquis de Bussy, with the greater part of the French land forces, was posted; and, to cover and protect these storeships, as well as some other ships and vessels employed for the same purpose, from the enemy's cruizers, I left in the road, at the request of the Select Committee of this Presidency, his majesty's ships and vessels as per margin ‡, under the command of captain Haliday, of his majesty's ship Isis.

On the 15th of May, when off Cuddalore, I spoke two Portuguese ships from Trincamale, who informed me Monsr. Suffrein with his whole force was there, fitting for sea with all possible expedition, to come to the relief of Cuddalore: from that time I continued working to windward with the squadron along

* Sultan, Burford, Africa, Eagle, and Active.

† The names of the commissioned officers are as follows: those of the warrant officers are not yet known, viz.

Lieut. Charles Egan, of the Superb,
Neal Morrison, of the Eagle,
Thomas Wilson, of the Sceptre,
James Thompson, of the Juno,
—— Pringle, of the Active,
Alexander Allen, of the Seahorse.

‡ Isis, Active, San Carlos, Naiade, Chaser, Pondicherry, Minerva, and Harriott.

ſhore, leſt the enemy's ſquadron ſhould paſs in-ſhore of me, and fall on the ſtoreſhips and their covering party, then at anchor near to Cuddalore.

On the 25th of May I came off Trincamale, and reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy's ſquadron, which I did not think by any means eligible to attack at anchor, under cover of their gun and mortar batteries, and therefore ſtood to the ſouthward to intercept any reinforcement or ſupplies that might be coming to them, at the ſame time watching their motions by the frigates of the ſquadron, and keeping within a proper diſtance of the place, leſt they ſhould put to ſea in the night, and fall down on the covering ſhips and ſtoreſhips off Cuddalore.

On the 1ſt of June, two Engliſh ſeamen in a boat eſcaped from the French ſquadron, and brought certain intelligence, that the Fendant, of 74 guns, with two frigates and two ſtoreſhips, had ſlipped out of Trincamale bay; the ſtoreſhips I concluded carried ſtores for the French garriſon of Cuddalore, and the Fendant and two frigates deſtined to cover and protect them; and being apprehenſive they might attack our covering ſhips and ſtoreſhips off Cuddalore, I bore away on the 2d of June for the coaſt, and on the 3d had ſight of the Fendant and two frigates, whom I chaſed till night, when I loſt ſight of them.

I continued cruizing with the ſquadron to the ſouthward of Cuddalore till the 9th of June, when I anchored in Porto Novo Road, about ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of that place, partly to cover our own ſhips in Cuddalore Road, and engage the enemy's ſquadron before they could anchor there, and partly to endeavour to get a ſupply of water, of which many ſhips began to be in want; but, after exerting ourſelves to the utmoſt, no water could be obtained either at Porto Novo, or Tranquebar; at the firſt place the enemy's troops were in poſſeſſion of both banks of the river, at the other the wells were dried up.

On the 13th of June, the enemy's ſquadron, under the command of Monſ. Suffrein, came in ſight to the ſouthward, conſiſting of fifteen ſhips of the line, three frigates, and a fireſhip; and the ſame day I weighed with his majeſty's ſquadron, and dropped down to about five miles diſtance off Cuddalore, and there anchored: the French ſquadron anchored off the Coleroon river, about ſeven or eight leagues to the ſouthward of our's.

On the 17th, the French ſquadron being under ſail, and bearing down, I made the ſignal, and weighed with his majeſty's ſquadron, and formed the line of battle a-head to receive the enemy: in the evening they hauled the wind, and ſtood to the ſouthward, and I followed them with his majeſty's ſquadron: from this time to the 20th I was continually employed in endeavouring to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, I was never able to effect, from the extraordinary variableneſs of the winds, that often brought part of the two ſquadrons within a random ſhot of each other. On the 20th, the enemy, ſtill having the wind, ſhewed a diſpoſition to engage, when I immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought to, to receive them. At four minutes paſt four,

P. M. the van ſhip of the enemy, having firſt tried her diſtance by a ſingle ſhot, when ſcarce within point-blank ſhot diſtance, the enemy's ſquadron began their fire on his majeſty's, which at twenty minutes after was returned, and a heavy cannonade enſued on both ſides, the enemy ſtill keeping up their diſtance; the cannonade continued till ſeven, P. M. when the enemy hauled off. At day-light I made the ſignal, and wore with the ſquadron, and brought-to to repair the damages, with the ſhips heads towards the land; ſeveral of the ſhips much diſabled in their hulls, maſts, and rigging, the Gibraltar and Iſis in particular; the enemy's ſquadron not in ſight.

In the morning of the 22d I ſaw the French ſquadron at anchor in Pondicherry Road, bearing SSW. directly to windward of his majeſty's ſquadron, and ſome of them getting under weigh; and I made what ſail I could towards them, and anchored the ſame night off the ruins of Alemparvo, the more effectually to ſtop ſhot-holes, and repair the damages ſuſtained.

I beg you will be pleaſed to inform their lordſhips, that ſo early as the 8th of June, the ſcurvy began to make a rapid progreſs among the crews of all the ſhips of the ſquadron, but particularly on board the ſhips laſt arrived from England, under the orders of commodore ſir Richard Bickerton, bart.

The number of ſick on board the line of battle ſhips amounted on that day to 1121 men, 603 of whom being in the laſt ſtage of the ſcurvy, I was under the neceſſity of ſending on the day following to the naval hoſpital at this place, in his majeſty's ſhips Briſtol and San Carlos.

From that time to the 22d, the diſeaſe increaſed the numbers of the ſick daily, ſo as moſt of the ſhips of the line had from 70 to 90 men, and the ſhips laſt from England double that number, very many in the laſt ſtage of the diſeaſe, and unable to come to quarters, dying daily. Under theſe circumſtances, and the water of moſt of the ſhips being expended, except a few caſks in their ground tiers, and none to be obtained to the ſouthward, I determined to return to this road, there to land the ſick and wounded, and complete the water of the ſquadron for further ſervice; and on the 23d of June I weighed with the ſquadron, and arrived in this road on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth.

On my arrival there, I received authentic (although not official) intelligence, that the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, had been ſigned and ratified, as well as a ceſſation from hoſtilities agreed on between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, of which information the Select Committee of this Preſidency were alſo in poſſeſſion; and being ſummoned the ſame day to a conſultation with the Select Committee, to take into conſideration theſe circumſtances, I concurred with the other members of the committee, that it would be proper, and was neceſſary to communicate to the commanders in chief of the ſea and land forces of the French king at Cuddalore, the information we had received, together with the grounds on which we believed it to

be true and authentic; and on the 27th of June, I diſpatched his majeſty's ſhip Medea, as a flag of truce, with letters to Monſieur Suffrein and the Marquis de Buſſy.

On the 4th of July the Medea returned to this road, with anſwers from Monſ. Suffrein and the marquis de Buſſy to my letters of the 27th of June, by which they concurred in a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, as well as an immediate releaſe and return of priſoners on both ſides; in conſequence, I have received all the priſoners belonging to the ſquadron in Monſ. Suffrein's power, amounting to about 350. Monſ. Suffrein informs me by letter, he has alſo ſent to the Mauritius, for ſuch Engliſh priſoners as have been ſent thither, and will return them.

I have judged it neceſſary to ſend, for their lordſhips information, the line of battle of his majeſty's ſquadron under my command, on the 20th of laſt month, and a liſt of the French ſhips oppoſed to me under the command of Monſ. Suffrein.

LINE of BATTLE.

The Cumberland to lead with ſtarboard tacks on board, the Defence with larboard.

RED DIVISION.

Rates.	*Ships.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
3d.	Cumberland	William Allen	74	600
—	Monmouth	James Alms	64	500
4th.	Briſtol	James Burney	50	350
3d.	Hero	Com. Richard King, of the Red Theophilus Jones	74	617
—	Eagle	William Clark	64	500
—	Magnanime	Thomas Mackenzie	64	500

Frigates, &c.—Chaſer, San Carlos, Pondicherry, Harriott.

BLUE DIVISION.

3d.	Sceptre	Samuel Graves	64	500
—	Burford	Peter Rainer	74	520
—	Monarca	John Gell	68	560
—	Superb	Sir Ed. Hughes, K. B. Vice Ad. of the Blue. Henry Newcome	74	622
—	Sultan	Andrew Mitchell	74	600
—	Africa	Robert M'Donall	64	500
—	Worceſter	Charles Hughes	64	500

Frigates, &c.—Juno, to repeat ſignals; Combuſtion, Medea, Lizard; Seahorſe, to repeat ſignals.

WHITE DIVISION.

3d.	Exeter	John Sam. Smith	64	500
—	Inflexible	Hon. J. W. Chetwynd	64	500

Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
3d.	Gibraltar	Sir R. Bickerton, bart. Com. of the White Thomas Hicks	80	695
4th.	Iſis	Chriſtopher Halliday	50	350
3d.	Defence	Thomas Newnham	74	600

Frigates, &c.—Naiade, Minerva, Active.

(A Copy) EDWARD HUGHES.

A Liſt of the French Squadron in the Engagement with the Britiſh Squadron in the Eaſt Indies, on the 20th of June, 1783.

Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.
Le Heros	74	Le Severe	64
Le Fendant	74	Le Brilliant	64
Le Hannibal	74	L'Hardie	64
L'Illuſtre	74	Le St. Michael	60
L'Argonaute	74	Le Flamand	50
Le Sphinx	64	Le Petit Hannibal	50
Le Vengeur	64	Le Cleopatre	36
L'Artiſien	64	L'Apollon	40
L'Ajax	64	Le Coventry	28

EDWARD HUGHES.

Abſtract of the Officers, Seamen, and Marines, killed and wounded on board his Majeſty's Ships in the Action of the 20th of June, 1783.

Ships.	K.	W.	Ships.	K.	W.
Superb	12	41	Defence	7	38
Hero	5	21	Inflexible	3	30
Gibraltar	6	40	Africa	5	25
Monmouth	2	19	Worceſter	8	32
Cumberland	2	11	Eagle	4	8
Monarca	6	14	Exeter	4	9
Magnanime	1	16	Briſtol	9	13
Sceptre	17	47	Iſis	3	30
Sultan	4	20			
Burford	10	20	Total	99	434

Officers killed.

Lieutenant Robert Travers, of the Monarca.
Lieutenant James Dow, - - Sultan.
Lieutenant John Lett, - - } Defence.
Mr. Parker, Maſter, - - }

Officers wounded.

Lieutenant Middlemore, - - } Hero
2d Lieutenant Thompſon, of marines. }
Lieutenant Watſon, - - Sceptre
Mr. Stone, Maſter, - - - Sultan
Mr. Hunter, Boatſwain - - Defence
Mr. Sinclair, Boatſwain - - Worceſter

Account

Account of the Proceedings of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who met at the St. Alban's Tavern from time to time for the Purpoſe of promoting an Union of Parties, in January and February 1784.

January 26th, 1784.

A Meeting of ſuch members of the houſe of commons as wiſh to promote an union of parties, is earneſtly requeſted at the St. Alban's Tavern, this day, the 26th inſtant, at twelve o'clock preciſely.

On Monday, the 26th inſtant, a meeting was held at the St. Alban's Tavern, for the purpoſe of recommending an union of parties, when an addreſs was agreed to and ſigned by fifty-three members of the houſe of commons, and preſented by a committee to the duke of Portland and the right hon. William Pitt. The committee were, the hon. Mr. Groſvenor, the hon. Charles Marſham, Sir William Lemon, and Mr. Powys.

The duke of Portland returned for anſwer:

"That he ſhould think himſelf happy in obeying the commands of ſo reſpectable a meeting; but the greateſt difficulty to him, and he imagines ſtill greater to Mr. Pitt, is Mr. Pitt's being in office."

Mr. Pitt returned for anſwer:

"That he will be very ready to pay attention to the commands of ſo reſpectable a meeting, and co-operate with their wiſhes, to form a ſtronger and more extended adminiſtration, if the ſame can be done with principle and honour."

On Tueſday the 27th, the gentlemen met at the ſaid tavern, when there appeared to be ſeventy members; and the above anſwers being read, they came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his grace the duke of Portland, and the right hon. William Pitt, for the attention they have reſpectively declared themſelves ready to pay to the requiſitions preſented to them in our names.

Reſolved, ſecondly, That, in anxious expectation of a cordial co-operation of great and reſpectable characters acting on the ſame public principles, we beg leave to expreſs our moſt earneſt wiſh that ſome explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, on any difficulty in the way of confidential intercourſe.

Reſolved, thirdly, That we do not preſume to point out the mode in which ſuch mutual explanation may be obtained, ſtudiouſly avoiding any interference on our part, which may impede or counteract whatever ſteps are taken towards that communication which it is our object to effect.

Reſolved, fourthly, That the chairman be deſired to communicate the reſolutions to his grace of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

The reſolutions being communicated to Mr. Pitt, he returned the following anſwer:

"Mr. Pitt having received from ſo reſpectable a meeting an intimation of their wiſhes, that ſome explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and himſelf, on any difficulties in the way of confidential intercourſe, begs to aſſure Mr. Groſvenor (the chairman) that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourſe with the duke of Portland on the

the ſubject of an union, conſiſtent with honour and principle, which he agrees with the gentlemen of the meeting in thinking of the greateſt importance in the preſent ſtate of the country. If, on his grace's part, there are any objections to ſuch intercourſe, Mr. Pitt wiſhes to have them ſtated, and will immediately give a direct anſwer with regard to them."

The duke of Portland returned the following anſwer (addreſſed to the chairman:)

Devon-houſe, Thurſday,
Jan. 29, 1784.

Sir,

"As you have ſo very obligingly communicated to me the aſſurances you have received from Mr. Pitt, "that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourſe between him and me, on the ſubject of an union of parties, and that he is ready to give an immediate and direct anſwer to any objections which I may have to ſuch intercourſe," my ſincere inclination to concur in the wiſhes of the very reſpectable meeting of which you ſo worthily fill the chair, and my anxious deſire to ſee ſuch an adminiſtration formed, upon a ſolid and ſecure baſis, as may reſtore harmony to this diſtracted empire, and may be entitled to the confidence and ſupport of every true friend of his country, make it neceſſary for me to trouble you with a repetition of the reaſons which I aſſigned to you and other gentlemen who delivered me the repreſentation and requiſition of your meeting of the 26th of January, for declining an immediate interview with Mr. Pitt, on the preſent arduous ſituation of public affairs.

I had the honour of ſtating to you, I did not think it poſſible that ſuch a meeting would tend to forward the deſirable end we all wiſh, as long as Mr. Pitt remained in his miniſterial capacity, notwithſtanding the reſolution of the houſe of commons of the 16th inſtant. Under theſe circumſtances the embarraſſment ſeems mutual, and difficult to be got over; but if any expedient can be deviſed for removing it, I ſhall be extremely ready to confer with Mr. Pitt, and to contribute every faculty in my power to promote the object of our joint wiſhes.

I have the honour to be,
With great reſpect,
Your moſt obedient,
(Signed) PORTLAND."

Tho. Groſvenor, eſq;
chairman.

Thurſday the 29th. The gentlemen met; and there being above eighty members preſent, they came to the following reſolution:

Reſolved, That the chairman be requeſted to return our thanks to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for the additional favour they have now given of their attention to our wiſhes.

To expreſs our cordial ſatisfaction to find they agree in opinion with this meeting, that an union is of the higheſt importance, and is the object of their joint wiſhes.

To intimate to them, that after theſe declarations, we are the more ſtrongly confirmed in our hope and expectation, that by the intervention of mutual friends, ſome expedient may be adviſed, which may tend to remove the difficulty which is ſtated to be the moſt material obſtacle to a communication between them,

them, on the subject of a cordial and permanent union.

(Signed) T. GROSVENOR, chairman.

The members then adjourned to Monday next.

[It is but fairness to add, that the duke of Portland had seen Mr. Pitt's answer, but Mr. Pitt has not yet seen the duke's.]

St. Alban's Tavern, Saturday, Jan. 31, 1784.

At a meeting held by the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, who assembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following answers were received and read:

"Mr. Pitt has already had the honour of stating to Mr. Grosvenor, that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse for the purpose of effecting an union consistent with honour and principle. With regard to the embarrassment stated by the duke of Portland in his grace's letter, referred to in the resolutions of the meeting, arising from Mr. Pitt's remaining in his ministerial capacity, it is an embarrassment which Mr. Pitt cannot remove, by resignation, in order to negociate. In these circumstances, Mr. Pitt has it not in his power to suggest any expedient, but is very desirous of learning whether the duke of Portland can propose any thing which his grace considers as such; and he begs at the same time to add, that his present ministerial capacity is no obstacle to his discussing every point that relates to the desirable object in question, as freely and openly as he could do in any other situation."

Berkeley-square, 31st Jan. 1784.

Devon-house, Sat. 31st Jan. 1784.

Sir,

"I am extremely sorry that Mr. Pitt appears so positively to decline suggesting any expedient, on his part, to remove the difficulties which obstruct the conference you desire. I believe you will agree, that the continuance of the present ministry, and the honour of the house of commons, are not very easily reconcileable.

It was the sense of those difficulties, and my earnest desire of complying with the opinions of gentlemen, whose sentiments claim my highest respect, that induced me to suggest the possibility of an expedient, which you will easily discern would not depend upon me. The recollection of similar events, in two successive years, led me to flatter myself that there was a middle way between the actual resignation of ministers, and the neglect of what appeared on the journals of the house of commons. I hoped that Mr. Pitt would have adverted to those events, and I trust they will yet have due weight with him; I shall most certainly rejoice in any proposition that can promise to lay a basis for the tranquillity and settlement, which are the objects of our common wishes.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) PORTLAND."

Tho. Grosvenor, esq; chairman.

The

The meeting, after dining together, adjourned to Monday, the second of February, at eleven o'clock. The chair to be taken precisely at twelve.

The following Members of the Houſe of Commons, with others, whoſe names we have not been able to aſcertain, attended the meetings lately held at the St. Alban's Tavern, with a view to effect an Union of Parties, and thus lay the ground for a ſtable and permanent Adminiſtration.

THOMAS GROSVENOR, eſq; chairman.
Francis Anneſley, eſq.
John Barrington, eſq.
Hon. George Berkeley
Richard Wilbraham Bootle, eſq.
Hon. William Bouverie
Tho. Berney Bramſton, eſq.
Viſcount Bulkeley
John Buller, jun. eſq.
Sir George Cornwall
Sir Rob. Saluſbury Cotton
John Dawes, eſq.
Baron Dimſdale
William Drake, jun. eſq.
The hon. George Keith Elphinſtone
Earl Euſton
William Ewer, eſq.
Hon. Archibald Frazer
Thomas Gilbert, eſq.
Ambroſe Goddard, eſq.
George Graham, eſq.
Sir Harry Gough
Benjamin Hammett, eſq.
Hon. Thomas Harley
E. Hervey, eſq.
Sir Harry Houghton
Arthur Holdſworth, eſq.
Filmer Honeywood, eſq.
Sir Richard Hotham
Sir George Howard
William Huſſey, eſq.
Benjamin Keene, eſq.
Thomas Kemp, eſq.
Richard Payne Knight, eſq.
Sir Robert Lawley
Sir William Lemon
Sir James Tylney Long
Hon. James Luttrell
Hon. general Luttrell
William Lygon, eſq.
Sir Horace Mann
Hon. Charles Marſham
Sir Joſeph Mawbey
Sir Roger Moſtyn
John Parry, eſq.
Henry Peirſe, eſq.
William Pochin, eſq.
Thomas Powys, eſq.
William Praed, eſq.
John Purling, eſq.
Sir Walter Rawlinſon
Abraham Rawlinſon
Henry Rawlinſon
Sir Matthew White Ridley
John Rolle, eſq.
Cha. W. Boughton Rouſe, eſq.
Thomas Scott, eſq.
Sir George Shuckburgh
Humphry Sibthorpe, eſq.
John Sinclair, eſq.
Sir Thomas George Skipwith
William Charles Sloper, eſq.
Robert Smith, eſq.
Sir Robert Smith
John Smyth, eſq.
Walter Spencer Stanhope, eſq.
Thomas Stanley, eſq.
John Strutt, eſq.
Hon. John Sutton
Clement Taylor, eſq.
John Tempeſt, eſq.
Rob. Thiſtlethwayte, eſq.
Beilby Thompſon, eſq.
Sir John Trevelyan
Thomas Whitmore, eſq.
Sir John Borlaſe Warren
John Wilmot, eſq.
Glynn Wynn, eſq.

St.

St. Alban's Tavern, Monday, February 2, 1784.

At a meeting of the gentlemen, members of the houſe of commons, who aſſembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following letters were read:

Feb. 1, 1784,
Berkeley-ſquare.

"Mr. Pitt being ſincerely deſirous that there ſhould not continue any obſtacle in the way of ſuch an intercourſe as has been wiſhed for, regrets that it is not in his power to ſuggeſt expedients to remove the difficulty felt by the duke of Portland. He does not underſtand preciſely what is the middle way which his grace ſeems to allude to: the events in the two years to which his grace refers, appear to Mr. Pitt to have been only modes of reſignation; and ſuch a meaſure, in order to enter into a negociation, is what the preſent miniſtry, as has been already declared, cannot agree to; whenever any expedient is directly ſtated, Mr. Pitt will be happy to give every explanation upon it."

Devon-houſe, Monday
morn. 2d Feb. 1784.

Sir,

"I very ſincerely regret that the expedient to which I referred, ſhould be thought unapplicable to the difficulties I had ſtated. I certainly ſuggeſted it as a mode of reſignation, but as a mode of reſignation the leaſt embarraſſing to government in the ordinary functions of office, and at the ſame time as a proof of a diſpoſition to conſult the honour of the houſe of commons, as it ſtands pledged by the reſolution of the 16th of January. This laſt is a preliminary, which, as a friend to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, I muſt think myſelf bound invariably to require.

With reſpect to myſelf, I am willing to hope that I have not been miſtaken in the conception I formed of your wiſhes, by ſuppoſing that it was with Mr. Pitt that you were deſirous I ſhould have a liberal and unreſerved intercourſe, and not with the head of an adminiſtration, to which I was merely to bring an acceſſion of ſtrength. But Mr. Pitt's meſſage places him in another character; and your own good ſenſe will readily ſuggeſt to you, that it was impoſſible for me to ſuppoſe that your expectations extended to a confidential conference with him as the repreſentative of the preſent adminiſtration.

If I had done this, I muſt have fallen in your eſteem, (which, I aſſure you, is a very ſerious object to me) as I ſhould have ſhewn myſelf inſenſible of what is due to the houſe of commons.

I have unreſervedly ſubmitted to you my ideas of the extent of your expectations. In conformity with thoſe expectations (Mr. Pitt having uniformly declined to ſuggeſt any expedient on his part) I took the liberty of ſuggeſting an expedient, which I thought might put us into a ſituation, in which the intercourſe you wiſhed might take place with propriety.

I ſhall be happy to find that my propoſitions have met with your approbation; but in every point I hope that my anxiety to merit the partiality

partiality you have ſhewn me, will entitle me to its continuance.

I have the honour to be,
With great regard and eſteem,
Sir,
Your moſt faithful, and
Obedient ſervant,
(Signed) PORTLAND."

T. Groſvenor, eſq;

The meeting adjourned to this day.

St. Alban's Tavern.

At the meeting of the gentlemen, members of the houſe of commons, held at the St. Alban's Tavern this day, the following reſolution was unanimouſly come to:

" That whatever may be the iſſue of the preſent conteſt between the two parties in the houſe of commons, we will ſteadily perſevere in our endeavours to effect the object of this meeting, which has been unanimouſly approved and adopted by the houſe of commons, namely, the procuring a firm, efficient, extended, united adminiſtration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and ſuch as may have a tendency to remove the unfortunate diviſions and diſtractions of this country."

Adjourned to Monday, twelve o'clock.

Feb. 4, 1784.

Monday, Feb. 9. At twelve o'clock there was another meeting of the independent members of the houſe of commons, at the St. Alban's Tavern; Mr. Groſvenor, member for the city of Cheſter, in the chair. The gentlemen of the committee, after the minutes of the ſeveral former meetings were read, made report of another conference held with Mr. Pitt on the ſubject of an union of parties; but as the duke of Portland refuſes to treat while Mr. Pitt continues in office, the negociation is ſuſpended. The preſent ſtate of parties in the nation was then very generally canvaſſed; and it was reſolved, That the preſent meeting ſhould continue to be held once a week, at leaſt, during the ſitting of parliament, in order to watch any period that may preſent, of forwarding ſuch an union as ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary at this particular juncture, and to recommend it in their places in parliament. As the houſe of commons met at two o'clock, they broke up ſoon, and went down to Weſtminſter to attend parliamentary buſineſs. There were about fifty members preſent, including the chairman, and gentlemen of the committee.

St. Alban's Tavern, February 13, 1784.

At a meeting of members of the houſe of commons, deſirous of promoting an union of parties, the hon. Charles Marſham in the chair, (in the abſence of T. Groſvenor, eſq; confined by illneſs) the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

1. To repreſent to the right hon. William Pitt, and to the right hon. Charles James Fox, the ſatisfaction we have received from the manly, candid, and explicit avowal they have reſpectively made of their public views; and to intimate to them, that in conſequence of this mutual explanation, we entertain a moſt aſſured hope, that ſuch an adminiſtration as the houſe of commons has unanimouſly declared to be requiſite, may be obtained by an union conſiſtent with principle and honour.

2. That

2. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Frederic lord North, for the public and voluntary declaration he has made of his ſincere and earneſt deſire to promote, as far as depends on him, a cordial and permanent union.

C. MARSHAM, chairman.

Feb. 18.

It is with no ſmall degree of confidence that we aſſure the public of his majeſty's diſpoſition to comply with the wiſhes of the houſe of commons, in bringing about an union of parties: to this end, on Sunday laſt, his majeſty ſent for his grace of Portland to meet Mr. Pitt, in the hope of ſettling an adminiſtration to the ſatisfaction of the houſe of commons at leaſt, if not to the nation at large. In anſwer to the meſſage, his grace expreſſed a readineſs to attend his majeſty at all times, but declined a meeting with Mr. Pitt. And thus the matter ſtands at preſent.

March 1. There was another meeting of the country gentlemen at the St. Alban's tavern, when the honourable Charles Marſham and Mr. Powys ſtated to the company the circumſtances of the negociation, which they had conducted for ſome days paſt, and which had unhappily concluded with as little ſucceſs as the former endeavours of that body. They ſaid, that when the duke of Portland delivered his final anſwer, that he could not meet Mr. Pitt, until he had ſhewn a diſpoſition to comply with the wiſhes of the houſe of commons, either by an actual or virtual reſignation; and Mr. Pitt had peremptorily declared, that he would do neither the one nor the other as a preliminary to negociation; it was thought that an expedient might be found to clear the ground, and bring them to an interview, without any conceſſion of principle, but only a conceſſion of mode. With this view it was, that a meſſage was ſent from his majeſty to the duke of Portland, intimating, "his majeſty's earneſt deſire, that his grace ſhould have a perſonal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of forming a new adminiſtration on a wide baſis, and on fair and equal terms." This meſſage was conſidered by the duke of Portland as a removal of the previous obſtacle, ſince, though it was not a declaration on the part of Mr. Pitt, it was tantamount to a virtual reſignation. The preliminaries of the conference were next to be conſidered; and here an objection preſented itſelf which called for the explanation of a term in the meſſage. His grace could have no objection to the word *fair*—it was a general term, and he and Mr. Pitt might, in framing the arrangements, mutually diſcuſs what they conſidered to be *fair*; but the other term in the meſſage, the word *equal*, was a more ſpecific and limited term; it might be conſtrued variouſly, and his grace thought it neceſſary, as a preliminary to negociation, that Mr. Pitt ſhould explain preciſely what he meant by the word *equal*. In an anſwer to this, Mr. Pitt ſaid, in a meſſage, that there was no occaſion, in his mind, of entering into an explanation of the term, as it could be beſt explained in a perſonal conference. The duke of Portland replied to the negociators, that it was impoſſible for him to agree to any perſonal conference on a preliminary meſſage, the terms of which the author refuſed to explain. Mr. Pitt

Pitt perſevered in his reſolution not to explain the word; and here the negociation broke off. On this ſtatement of the caſe, Mr. Marſham and Mr. Powys delivered their ſentiments; and a reſolution was prepared and adopted by the meeting to the following effect:

"This meeting having heard, with infinite concern, that an interview between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt is prevented by a doubt reſpecting a ſingle word, are unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be no diſhonourable ſtep in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare."

Remarkable Addreſſes from particular Perſons to their reſpective Electors, on declaring themſelves Candidates at the late General Election.

Addreſſes of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, to the City of Weſtminſter.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter.

Gentlemen,

His majeſty's miniſters having thought fit, in contradiction to their own declarations, in defiance of the ſenſe of the houſe of commons, and without any public pretence whatever, to ſubject the nation to all the inconveniencies which muſt infallibly attend a diſſolution of Parliament at the preſent moment, I humbly beg leave, once more, to ſolicit the favour of your votes and intereſt, to repreſent this great and reſpectable city.

To ſecure to the people of this country the weight which belongs to them in the ſcale of the conſtitution, has ever been the principle of my political conduct.

Conſcious that in every ſituation, (whether in or out of office) I have invariably adhered to this ſyſtem, I cannot but flatter myſelf that you will again give your ſanction to thoſe principles which firſt recommended me to your notice, and which induced you, at two ſubſequent periods, to honour me with your ſuffrages.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt devoted and grateful
Humble ſervant,
St. James's-ſtreet, March 24. C. J. Fox.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter.

Gentlemen,

When the popular deluſion in favour of the preſent miniſtry was ſuppoſed to be moſt prevalent, I was confident that the good ſenſe and ſteadineſs of the electors of Weſtminſter would be proof againſt every art and every temptation.

The unparalleled ſucceſs which I have experienced upon my canvaſs, fully juſtifies this confidence, and I have the greateſt reaſon to expect that your partiality towards me will appear to have increaſed in proportion to the perſecution of my enemies.

As I have ever ſtood forth, and am always reſolved to continue firm in the cauſe of the people, ſo it is not to be wondered at that I ſhould at all times be the object of the enmity

nity of that pernicious faction whose principles are as adverse to the conſtitution as the dark and ſecret manner in which they have endeavoured to enforce them.

It would have been my moſt earneſt wiſh to have paid my reſpects in perſon to every individual elector, if the extent of the city had not made it impoſſible.

The very flattering reception I have met with among thoſe whom I have had the opportunity of ſeeing, cannot but add to my regret upon this account.

My public conduct is too well known to you to make any profeſſions neceſſary; upon that ground I firſt experienced your partiality, upon that alone I can expect to retain it.

To you who have approved it, I need ſay no more; and I will not be guilty of the unbecoming flattery to thoſe who have differed from me, as to pretend that I ſhall in any degree deviate from that line of political conduct which firſt recommended me to your notice.

Upon theſe tried principles, I once more beg leave to ſolicit your votes, intereſt, and poll, at the enſuing election; and I do aſſure you that no expreſſions can do juſtice to the ſentiments of gratitude and eſteem with which

I am, gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient and
Devoted ſervant,
C. J. Fox.

St. James's-ſtreet,
March 31, 1784.

St. James's-ſtreet, April 26, 1784.

To the worthy and independent
Electors of the City and Liberties of Weſtminſter.

Gentlemen,

The preſent ſtate of the poll exhibits a glorious example of what may be expected from the perſeverance of independent men in the cauſe of liberty and the conſtitution.

I beg leave moſt earneſtly to ſolicit the continuance of your generous exertions in my favour. The importance of every individual vote is now ſufficiently evident; and the number of electors who have aſſured me that they would come forward whenever it ſhould appear that their vote might probably be deciſive, leaves me no doubt of ſucceſs.

The unprecedented exertions which the ſervants of the crown have thought themſelves at liberty to make againſt me, as well by an indecent proſtitution of the moſt ſacred names, as by every other ſpecies of unconſtitutional influence, have produced the effects naturally to be expected from ſuch proceedings, by raiſing the ſpirit and awakening the indignation of every honeſt and independent elector.

My public life is too well known to you to make any profeſſions neceſſary. Thoſe principles which brought about the glorious revolution, which ſeated his majeſty's illuſtrious family upon the throne, and which have preſerved the liberty of this conſtitution, have ever been the inviolable rule of my political conduct.

Upon theſe grounds I again preſume to requeſt your ſupport; and if I ſhould be happy enough to be re-elected repreſentative of this great and reſpectable city, you may depend upon finding in me a ſteady ſupporter of the whig cauſe, a determined

termined enemy to that ſecret influence by which the preſent adminiſtration was created, and an unalterable friend to the rights of the people.

I am, with every ſentiment of gratitude and reſpect,

Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
C. J. Fox.

Addreſs of the Right Hon. William Windham, to the City of Norwich.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City and County of Norwich.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the wiſhes, which a large and reſpectable intereſt has long done me the honour to entertain towards me, I ſtand forth as a candidate for the city of Norwich. My zeal for the conſtitution of this country is founded upon an impartial and ſerious attention to its real intereſts; nor would I be deterred from diſcharging my duty, by the oppoſition even of a free and enlightened people, when they act to the prejudice of their own rights. My opinions are not to be ſhaken by every tranſient blaſt of clamour; and as to my motives, they are ſuch, I truſt, as will not ſhrink from the ſevereſt ſcrutiny. I ſhould indeed condemn myſelf as moſt unworthy of your choice, if the leading principles of my actions could be diſtorted into endleſs inconſiſtencies, by a ſervile accommodation to thoſe changes, which have lately prevailed in public opinions, and public meaſures.

Scorning the mean arts of diſſimulation, I have planted myſelf before the judgment of my friends, and the prejudices of my enemies, in open day. I may offend the unwary, and even the well-diſpoſed, but I cannot deceive them; nor will I ſacrifice to any ſelfiſh views that openneſs of dealing, which can alone ſecure to me the continuance of your eſteem after ſucceſs, or the approbation of my own heart under diſappointment. The ſame conduct, which procures me the honour of your ſupport, ſhall juſtify you in beſtowing it.

Reports, I am aware, have gone abroad, of which, groundleſs and extravagant as they are, it may be neceſſary to take ſome notice. Yet I will not wrong your candour and good ſenſe, by ſuppoſing that they are, in the ſlighteſt degree, hurtful to that cauſe, which is equally dear to yourſelves and to me. I feel, indeed, ſome ſort of degradation in the very attempt to refute thoſe dark and inviduous inſinuations, which have hitherto aſſumed no determinate form, which have been employed only on the credulity of thoſe who know me not, and which are induſtriouſly circulated by the artifices of thoſe whom, becauſe they do know me, it is more eaſy to convince than to ſilence.

If I were unable to diſtinguiſh between the comparative merits of men or meaſures, or unwilling to act according to my ſenſe of thoſe merits, I ſhould be totally unfit for the important and honourable truſt which you repoſe in your repreſentatives. He that is incapable of making ſuch diſtinctions cannot ſerve you effectually; and he who, from whatever motives, refuſes to make them, muſt often betray you.

In

In the freedom with which I have ever declared my ſentiments, at the hazard even of diſobliging my friends, you have a pledge, ſurely, for the firmneſs with which I ſhall on all occaſions make my own diſpaſſionate judgment the ſole and fixed rule of my conduct. What circumſtances have they, who are moſt prodigal of their cenſures, ever diſcerned in my character or ſituation, which can juſtify them in repreſenting me as the bigot of any ſyſtem, or the ſlave of any party? As to popularity, I diſdain to court it by a deſertion of thoſe very ſentiments which firſt obtained for me the flattering diſtinction of your warm and unſolicited approbation; but I am moſt anxious to deſerve that approbation by the faithful and diligent diſcharge of my duty, in protecting your moſt ſacred rights againſt every man, and every ſet of men, who may wiſh to undermine and ſubvert them. I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, and
Faithful humble ſervant,
Norwich, March 26, 1784. W. WINDHAM.

Addreſs of John Wilkes, Eſq; to the County of Middleſex.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middleſex.

Gentlemen,

Conſcious of having on every occaſion diſcharged with zeal and fidelity the various duties of the important charge with which I was intruſted, and reflecting with gratitude on the frequent public marks of your approbation during the late preceding parliaments, I beg to be permitted again to make you the humble tender of my ſervices at the enſuing general election.

I always conſidered it as the duty of your repreſentative in parliament to deliver there the real ſenſe of his conſtituents, and, in obedience to your commands, to ſubmit in a dutiful manner to the ſovereign the ſentiments of this reſpectable county. Such has been the invariable rule of my conduct, which I truſt appears firm and conſiſtent. I have conſcientiouſly adhered to the ſolemn engagement ſigned by your late much-lamented member, Mr. Glynn, and myſelf, previous to the general election in 1774. In one momentous point, after a ſtruggle of many years, ſucceſs followed to the full extent of my warmeſt wiſhes. I glory in having obtained for you the moſt complete ſatisfaction from the late parliament. I allude to the motion in May, 1782, "for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of this county, and the whole body of electors in this united kingdom," and the ſubſequent order that all the declarations and reſolutions, which militated againſt your rights and franchiſes, ſhould be "expunged from the journals, as being ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." Other eſſential articles however of that engagement remain ſtill to be accompliſhed, particularly "a more fair and equal repreſentation of the people," and "the ſhortening the duration of parliaments." I pledge myſelf to you that both theſe weighty queſtions ſhall receive a full diſcuſſion very early in the new parliament, if your favour ſhould

give me a ſeat in the great council of the nation.

I entreat you, gentlemen, to do me the juſtice to believe that I ſhall be extremely deſirous of receiving your inſtructions on every event of importance reſpecting my parliamentary conduct, if I am ſo happy as to have the late honourable relation to you renewed. The powers which I may derive from you ſhall regularly be exerted in obedience to the directions of my worthy conſtituents. My parliamentary voice ſhall faithfully declare the opinion of the freeholders of Middleſex, and my vote be given in ſtrict conformity to their inſtructions, by which the ſenſe of the people will be ſo far aſcertained with fairneſs and preciſion. It is my ambition to be acknowledged in the preſent age, and tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity, as a ſtrenuous, ſteady, and uniform ſupporter of civil liberty, of the moſt general and liberal toleration in all matters of religious concern, of the noble franchiſes and rights of this free people, and the balance of power in that happy, well-poized conſtitution, which the immortal William eſtabliſhed at the glorious revolution.

In the preſent alarming criſis, gentlemen, I confeſs that I anxiouſly ſupplicate the honour of your ſuffrages, that I may be enabled to ſtrengthen the hands of our preſent virtuous young miniſter in his patriotic plans to retrieve your affairs, to reſtore public credit, to recover the faded glory of our country. I conceive ſuch a conduct to meet the clear, declared opinion of a great majority of the freeholders of Middleſex. I know his ability, his unwearied attention to the public ſervice, and his zeal to promote thoſe objects of national magnitude, which you have at heart. He will therefore receive every ſupport, which you may enable me to give, while he continues to poſſeſs the ſanction of your eſteem; and I am convinced that time, the moſt unerring judge, by daily bringing an additional degree of meritorious ſervice, will confirm and increaſe to him the attachment of a grateful nation.

As the ſheriff has advertiſed a general meeting of the freeholders of this county, to conſider of proper perſons to be nominated by them to repreſent this county in the enſuing parliament, to be held at the Mermaid, at Hackney, on Saturday next, the 3d of April, at twelve o'clock at noon, give me leave to ſolicit the early appearance of my friends there, and their generous protection.

The election will be at Brentford, on Thurſday, the 22d of April, when I hope to be again the man of your free choice, and by the continuance of that obliging partiality, which has been my diſtinction in life, the repreſentative of my native county in the enſuing parliament.

I am, gentlemen,
With great regard and gratitude,
Your moſt faithful, and
Obedient humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

Prince's court, Weſtminſter,
Monday, March 29.

Addreſs of William Baker, Eſq; to the Electors of the Borough of Hertford, after he had loſt his Election.

To the worthy Electors of the Borough of Hertford.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

Notwithſtanding the event of the late poll, I ſhould be unworthy of that good opinion with which my friends have honoured me, if I did not in the moſt cordial manner expreſs to them my ſincere acknowledgments. It was not in their power to prevent the effect of thoſe combined circumſtances which the popular fury of the times, and the various influences operating in favour of my opponents, rendered irreſiſtible.

By ſome new and courtly conception of things there are thoſe who have perſuaded themſelves to declare, that length of ſervice in parliament is an acquittal of every obligation to profeſs the public principles on which they act. Length of ſervice and independence of mind are not always ſynonymous. And I have never thought it inconſiſtent with my duty, or degrading to my honour, to avow mine. In doing this I refer to my uniform public conduct for ſixteen years paſt. I have nothing to conceal, nor any bias on my mind by which I can be tempted in any inſtance to ſacrifice objects of ſerious national importance to views of temporary emolument, either in poſſeſſion or expectation.

The part which has been taken againſt me I reſent not:—The ſupport I have experienced from my old and new friends I receive with gratitude. In the choice of your preſent members you have acted in a manner moſt agreeable to your wiſhes, and they will have performed no more than their bounden duty, by ſerving you with the ſame diſintereſtedneſs and fidelity with which I have endeavoured to atone for many other defects.

On this and every ſimilar occaſion you will do well to conſider that you are called upon to the exerciſe of this valuable franchiſe, to preſerve that balance in our conſtitution on which all our liberties depend; and bearing in your minds a late moſt extraordinary tranſaction, you will dread, as the worſt of evils that can befal you, every ſpecies of ariſtocratic influence; ſince a moment's reflection will convince you, that nothing leſs is meant by the moſt flattering condeſcenſions, than to eſtabliſh an intereſt among you for the purpoſes of private ambition; and you will hardly be perſuaded, that thoſe will prove the moſt zealous aſſertors of your rights and independence who have ſhamefully betrayed their own.

In my private ſituation, I ſhall be happy to promote the proſperity of your town; and am, with the moſt unfeigned regard,

Your obliged and obedient ſervant,

Bayford-Bury, April 2. W. BAKER.

Addreſs of T. W. Coke, Eſq; to the County of Norfolk.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Norfolk.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the opinion of many reſpectable friends, I retire from a conteſt, which is likely to diſturb the peace of the county, without producing any advantage to that cauſe in which I am engaged. The ſhortneſs of the interval between the nomination and the day of election was thought inſufficient to recover the effects of a canvas,

which (it now appears) had begun during my abſence in town, was carried on without my knowledge, and owed much of its ſucceſs to an artifice not the moſt juſtifiable, the pretence of a junction between my late worthy colleague and my opponent.

With gratitude I ſhall ever acknowledge the paſt favours of my conſtituents; nor can I reflect, without triumph, on the endeavours I have faithfully and ſteadily exerted to deſerve the continuance of them. From whatever cauſes my preſent diſappointment may have ariſen on your part, it cannot, I am ſure, be imputed to any want of ſincerity or conſtancy or mine. I was called forth as your repreſentative, in ſupport of revolutional principles; and where is the inſtance in which my moſt prejudiced foe can ſhew that I have deſerted them? Upon theſe principles, gentlemen, I took a decided, and, after your choice of my competitor, I muſt add, a diſtinguiſhed part in oppoſing the American war; I gave my vote moſt heartily, and moſt ſucceſsfully, for controuling the enormous influence of the crown; and aſſiſted in that truly conſtitutional meaſure, by which the much-abuſed power of voting was taken away from the immediate dependents of the crown. On the ſame principle, and with the ſame ſteady view to the common good, I will never give up my claim to conſiſtency in having ſupported the duke of Portland in his coalition with lord North, being perſuaded that ſuch a meaſure, however liable to miſrepreſentation, was, by a change of circumſtances, become indiſpenſably neceſſary. I felt it my duty to follow the example of many honeſt men, who, after the concluſion of the American war, having no juſt ground of difference, were willing to lay aſide perſonal animoſities, for the ſake of purſuing meaſures ſalutary in themſelves, and which nothing but their union could render practicable. But, whatever opinion you may form of my conduct, the purity of my motives ſtands, I truſt, unimpeached. Had a regard for your intereſt, and for the honour of becoming your repreſentative, held a ſecondary place in my wiſhes, there is a path in which I poſſibly, as well as others, might have gratified a leſs generous ambition, and have ſaved myſelf the diſappointment which I now experience.

In ſtating theſe facts, I mean not to make an oſtentatious diſplay of ſervices, which have no other merit than the motives that dictated them; but I do mean to convince you that I have not betrayed the truſt of which you have deprived me; and that whatever reaſons you may have for giving a preference to other men, you have no juſt ground of accuſation againſt me.

While I lament the loſs of your confidence, as it affects myſelf, I feel a more ſerious concern for the conſequence of that loſs to the Whig intereſt, which my family was in this county brought forward to ſupport in the year 1768, and which now ſeems threatened with a total overthrow by the machinations of its enemies, and by the temporary prejudices of many of thoſe who ſhould be its ſupporters. Let me, however, do juſtice to thoſe numerous and reſpectable friends, to whoſe generous exertions, in the preſent inſtance, I am ſo highly indebted, and whoſe firmneſs, in defence of conſtitutional liberty, will, I truſt,

I truſt, on ſome future occaſion, be more effectual,

I am, Gentlemen,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Your moſt faithful, and
Obedient humble ſervant,

Norwich, April 12. THO. WM. COKE.

An official Copy of the Return made by the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter to the Sheriff of Middleſex, and by the Sheriff to the Clerk of the Crown.

Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the liberty of the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter, at Weſtminſter, in the county of Middleſex, doth hereby certify unto the ſheriff of the ſaid county of Middleſex, that by virtue of a certain precept, dated the 26th day of March laſt, and on the ſame day delivered to him the ſaid bailiff, by the ſaid ſheriff, for the election of two citizens to ſerve in the enſuing parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, and by virtue of the writ therein recited, (proclamation of the premiſes in the ſaid precept firſt mentioned, the day and place, as in the ſaid precept is directed, firſt being made) he the ſaid bailiff did proceed to the election of two citizens to ſerve in the enſuing parliament for the ſaid city of Weſtminſter, on the firſt day of April now laſt paſt, on which day appeared and were put in nomination the three candidates hereinafter mentioned; and a poll being demanded, he the ſaid bailiff did forthwith proceed to take the ſaid poll, and continued to take the ſame day by day, during ſix hours each day, viz. from nine in the forenoon to three in the afternoon, until the day of the date of theſe preſents inclusive, on which day the ſaid poll was finally cloſed, when the numbers on the ſaid poll for the ſaid ſeveral candidates ſtood as follows, viz.

For the right hon. ſir Samuel Hood, bart. baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland - - -	6694
For the right hon. Charles James Fox - -	6233
For ſir Cecil Wray, baronet - -	5998

The ſaid bailiff further ſets forth, that on the ſaid final cloſe of the poll, a ſcrutiny was duly demanded in behalf of ſir Cecil Wray, which ſcrutiny the ſaid bailiff has granted, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the legality of the votes more accurately than could be done on the ſaid poll; and the ſaid ſcrutiny ſo granted is now pending and undetermined; and by reaſon of the premiſes, the ſaid bailiff humbly conceives he cannot make any other return to the ſaid precept than as hereinbefore is contained, until the ſaid ſcrutiny ſhall be determined, which he fully intends to proceed upon with all practicable diſpatch. In witneſs whereof, he the ſaid Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the ſaid liberty, hath hereunto ſet his hand and ſeal, the 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1784.

THO. CORBETT, Bailiff.

Copy of the Proteſts againſt granting a Scrutiny, delivered to the High Bailiff at St. Anne's Veſtry Room, on June 11, 1784.

To Thomas Corbett, Eſq; High Bailiff.

Before I go upon the buſineſs of

this ſcrutiny, I do hereby ſolemnly proteſt againſt its legality, and reſerve to myſelf the right of impeaching it hereafter, either in any court of judicature, or before a committee of the houſe of commons under Mr. Grenville's act; and I hereby alſo declare, that I reſerve to myſelf the right of ſuing the high bailiff for all the expences, or the double of them, which are drawn upon me by this illegal act, in the appointment of this ſcrutiny.

C. J. Fox.

Veſtry-room, St. Anne's,
June 11, 1784.

To Thomas Corbett, eſq; high bailiff of Weſtminſter.

We whoſe names are ſubſcribed, electors of Weſtminſter, do proteſt againſt your commencing or proceeding on any ſcrutiny of the poll on the late election for repreſentatives in parliament for this city; and do reſerve to ourſelves the right and power to object to, and impeach all your proceedings therein, as we ſhall be adviſed.

Given under our hands, on behalf of ourſelves, and the other electors of this city, this 11th day of June, 1784.

JONATHAN PAGE,
JA. GILCHRIST,
JOHN DAVIS,
CHARLES PROBART,
EDWARD LANE,
THOMAS BROOKS,
WILLIAM FISHER,
WILLIAM FITCH,
THOMAS ELLIS.

Extracts of the Proceedings on the Trial of the Indictment, the King, on the Proſecution of William Jones, Gentleman, againſt the Reverend William Davies Shipley, Dean of St. Aſaph, for a Libel, at the Aſſizes at Shrewſbury, Auguſt 6, 1784, before the Honourable Mr. Juſtice Buller.

ON Friday, the 6th of Auguſt, 1784, the trial came on, at the aſſize at Shrewſbury, before the hon. Mr. Juſtice Buller.

The indictment was laid for the publiſhing a libel, entitled, *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer.* This dialogue was written by William Jones, eſq; now ſir William Jones, knight, and one of the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

The Jury.

John Nicholls, of Chelmarſh, eſq;
William Pemberton, of Walford, eſq;
Charles Walcott, of Bitterley, eſq;
Francis Lloyd, of Berghill, eſq;
Thomas Ottley, of Pitchford, eſq;
Joſhua Blakeway, of Lythwood, eſq;
Richard Jones, of Riſton, eſq;
John Hill, of Prees, eſq;
Edward Williams, of Norton, eſq;
Thomas Kinnerſley, of Leighton, eſq;
Thomas Eyton, of Wellington, eſq;
John Smitheman, of Buildwas, eſq;

Counſel for the Crown.

Mr. Bearcroft,
Mr. Cowper,
Mr. Leyceſter,
Mr. Bower,
Mr. Manley,
Mr. Richards.

Solicitor.

Mr. William Jones, of Ruthin.

Counſel

Counſel for the Defendant.
The hon. Thomas Erſkine.
Mr. Corbet,
The hon. Thomas Brodrick,
Mr. Abbot.

Solicitor.
Mr. Lewis Hughes, of St. Aſaph.

After hearing Counſel on both ſides, and after having ſtated the evidence, Mr. Juſtice Buller addreſſed the jury nearly as follows:

"Now, gentlemen, this is the whole of the evidence that has been given on the one ſide and the other. As for the ſeveral witneſſes who have been called to give Mr. Shipley the character of a quiet and peaceable man, not diſpoſed to ſtir up ſedition, that cannot govern the preſent queſtion; for the queſtion for you to decide is, whether he is or is not guilty of publiſhing this pamphlet?

"You have heard a great deal ſaid, which really does not belong to the caſe, and a part of it has embarraſſed me a good deal in what manner to treat it. I cannot ſubſcribe to a great deal that I have heard from the defendant's counſel; but I do readily admit the truth of that propoſition which he ſtated, from Mr. Locke, that "wherever the law ends, tyranny begins." The queſtion then is, what is the law, as applicable to this buſineſs? and to narrow it ſtill more, what is the law in this ſtage of the buſineſs?—You have been preſſed very much by the counſel, and ſo have I alſo, to give an opinion upon the queſtion, whether this pamphlet is or is not a libel? Gentlemen, it is my happineſs that I find the law ſo well and ſo fully ſettled, that it is impoſſible for any man who means well to doubt about it; and the counſel for the defendant was ſo conſcious what the law was, that he himſelf ſtated what he knew muſt be the anſwer which he would receive from me, that is, that the matter appears upon the record—and as ſuch, it is not for me, a ſingle judge, ſitting here at Niſi Prius, to ſay whether it is or is not a libel. Thoſe who adopt the contrary doctrine, forget a little to what lengths it would go; for, if that were to be allowed, the obvious conſequence would be what was ſtated by the counſel in reply, namely, that you deprive the ſubject of that which is one of his deareſt birthrights: you deprive him of his appeal—you deprive him of his writ of error; for if I was to give an opinion here that it was not a libel, and you adopted that, the matter is cloſed for ever. The law acts equally and juſtly, as the pamphlet ſtates—it is equal between the proſecutor and the defendant; and whatever appears upon the record is not for our deciſion here, but may be the ſubject of future conſideration in the court out of which the record comes; and afterwards, if either party thinks fit, they have a right to carry it to the dernier reſort, the houſe of lords. The law is the ſame in both criminal and civil caſes, and there is not a gentleman round this table who does not know that is the conſtant and uniform anſwer which is given in ſuch caſes.

"You have been addreſſed by the quotation of a great many caſes upon libels. It ſeems to me, that that queſtion is ſo well ſettled, that gentlemen ſhould not agitate it again; or at leaſt, when they do agitate it, it ſhould be done by ſtating fairly and fully what has paſſed on all ſides, not by ſtating a paſſage or two from a particular caſe, that may be twiſted to the purpoſe that they want

want it to anſwer. And how this doctrine ever comes to be now ſeriouſly contended for, is a matter of ſome aſtoniſhment to me; for I do not know any one queſtion in the law which is more thoroughly eſtabliſhed than that is. I know it is not the language of a particular ſet or party of men, becauſe the very laſt caſe that has ever ariſen upon a libel, was conducted by a very reſpectable and a very honourable man *, who is as warm a partiſan as the counſel for the defendant, and, I believe, of what is called the ſame party. But he ſtated the caſe in few words, which I certainly adopted afterwards, and which, I believe, no man ever doubted about the propriety of. That caſe aroſe, not three weeks ago, at Guildhall, upon a queſtion on a libel; and in ſtating the plaintiff's caſe, he told the jury that there could be but three queſtions.

"The Firſt is, Whether the defendant is guilty of publiſhing the libel?

"The Second, Whether the innuendos or the averments made upon the record are true?

"The Third, which is a queſtion of law, Whether it is or is not a libel?" Therefore, ſaid he, the two firſt are the only queſtions you have to conſider: and this, added he, very rightly, is clear and undoubted law. It has been ſo held for conſiderably more than a century paſt. It is admitted by the counſel, that upon great conſideration, it has been ſo held in one of the caſes he mentioned, by a noble lord who has preſided for many years, with very diſtinguiſhed honour, in the firſt court of criminal juſtice in this country; and it is worthy of obſervation how that caſe came on. For twenty-eight years paſt, (during which time we have had a vaſt number of proſecutions in different ſhapes for libels) the uniform and invariable conduct of that noble judge has been, to ſtate the queſtions as I have juſt ſtated them to you; and though the caſes have been defended by counſel not likely to yield much, yet that point was never found fault with by them, and often as it has been enforced by the court, they never have attempted yet by any application to ſet it aſide. At laſt it came on in this way; the noble judge himſelf brought it on, by ſtating to the court what his directions had always been, with a deſire to know, whether in their opinions, the direction was right or wrong? The court were unanimouſly of opinion that it was right, and that the law bore no queſtion or diſpute.—It is admitted by the counſel likewiſe, that in the time that my lord chief juſtice Lee preſided in the court of King's Bench, the ſame doctrine was laid down as clear and eſtabliſhed. There was not a ſounder lawyer, or an honeſter man, that ever ſat on the bench, than he was. But if we trace the queſtion further back, it will be found, that about the year 1731 (which, I ſuppoſe, has not eſcaped the diligence of the counſel) another chief juſtice held the ſame doctrine, and in terms which are more obſervable than thoſe in moſt of the other caſes, becauſe they ſhew pretty clearly when it was that this idea was firſt broached. —That was, an information againſt one Franklin (I think) for publiſhing a libel called The Craftſman,

* Mr. Lee.

—The

—The then chief juſtice ſtated the three queſtions to the jury in the ſame way I mentioned. He ſaid, The firſt is the fact of publication; ſecondly, Whether the averments in the information are true or not; and thirdly, Whether it is a libel. He ſays, there are but two of theſe queſtions for your conſideration;—the third is merely a queſtion of law, with which you, the jury, have nothing to do, as has *now of late* been thought by ſome people, who ought to know better; but, ſays he, we muſt always take care to diſtinguiſh between matters of law and matters of fact, and they are not to be confounded.

" With ſuch a train of authorities, it is really extraordinary to hear the matter now inſiſted on as a queſtion which admits a doubt; and if we go farther back, it will be found ſtill clearer: for about the time of the revolution, authorities will be found which go directly to the point. In one of them, which aroſe within a year or two from the time of the caſe of the Seven Biſhops, which the counſel alluded to, a defendant, in an information for a libel, which was tried at bar, ſaid to the court, " As the information ſtates this to be a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, I deſire it may be left to the jury to ſay whether it is a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, or not." The anſwer then given by the court was, " That is matter of law, the jury are to decide upon the fact; and if they find you guilty of the fact, the court will afterwards conſider whether it is or is not a libel."—If one goes ſtill farther back, we find it ſettled as a principle which admits of no diſpute, and laid down ſo early as the reign of queen Elizabeth as a maxim, that " *ad quæſtionem facti reſpondent juratores, ad quæſtionem juris reſpondent judices.*" And in the caſe that the counſel has thought fit to allude to, under the name of Buſhel's caſe, the ſame maxim is recognized by the court negatively, viz. *ad quæſtionem facti non reſpondent judices, ad quæſtionem legis non reſpondent juratores*; for, ſaid the court unanimouſly, if it be aſked of the jury what the law is, they cannot ſay; if it be aſked of the court what the fact is, they cannot ſay.

" Now, ſo it ſtands as to legal hiſtory upon the buſineſs. Suppoſe there were no authority at all, can any thing be a ſtronger proof of the impropriety of what is contended for by the counſel for the defendant, than what I have had recourſe to? They have addreſſed you—not as is very uſual to addreſs a jury, and which you muſt know yourſelves, if you have often ſerved upon them—they have addreſſed you upon a queſtion of law, on which they have quoted caſes for a century back. Now, are you poſſeſſed of thoſe caſes in your own minds? are you apprized of the diſtinctions on which thoſe determinations are founded? Is it not a little extraordinary to require of a jury, that they ſhould carry all the legal determinations in their minds? If one looks a little farther into the conſtitution, it ſeems to me, that without recourſe to authorities, it cannot admit of a doubt. What is the mode of adminiſtering juſtice in this country?—The judges are appointed to decide the law, the juries to decide the fact.—How?—Both under the ſolemn obligation of an oath. The judges are ſworn to adminiſter the law faithfully and truly. The jury are not ſo ſworn, but to give a true verdict *according to the evidence.*

evidence. Was it ever yet attempted to give evidence of what the law was?—If it were done in one inſtance, it muſt hold in all.—Suppoſe a jury ſhould ſay, that which is ſtated upon a record is high treaſon or murder; if the facts charged upon the record are not ſo, it is the duty of the court to look into the record, and they are bound by their oaths to diſcharge the defendant. The conſequence, if it were not ſo, would be, that a man would be liable to be hanged, who had offended againſt no law at all. It is upon the facts, as found by the jury, that the court are to ſay, whether it is any offence or not. It would undoubtedly hold in civil caſes as well as criminal; and as the counſel for the proſecution has ſaid in reply, by the ſame reaſon in the caſe of an ejectment, you might decide contrary to the law. But was it ever ſuppoſed, that a jury was competent to ſay what is the operation of a fine, or a recovery, or a warranty, which are mere queſtions of law?—

"Then the counſel ſays, it is a very extraordinary thing, if you have nothing elſe to decide but the fact of the publication; becauſe then the jury are to do nothing but to decide that which was never diſputed.—Now, there is a great deal of art in that argument, and it was very ingeniouſly put by the counſel; but there is a fallacy in the argument, which ariſes from not conſidering how the matter ſtands here. It is not true, that the defendant, by the iſſue, admits that he ever publiſhed it.—No; upon the record he denies it; but when he comes here, he thinks fit to admit it. That does not alter the mode of trial.

"Then it is aſſerted, that if you go upon the publication only, that the defendant would be found guilty though he is innocent. But that is by no means the caſe; and it is only neceſſary to ſee how many guards the law has made, to ſhew how erroneous that argument is.—If the fact were, that the defendant never denied the publication, but meant to admit it, and inſiſt that it was not a libel, he had another way in which he ſhould have done it (a way univerſally known to the profeſſion)—for he ought to have demurred to the indictment; by which in ſubſtance he would have ſaid—I admit the fact of publiſhing it, but deny that it is any offence.—But he is not precluded even now, from ſaying it is not a libel; for if the fact be found by you, that he did publiſh the pamphlet, and upon future conſideration the court of King's Bench ſhall be of opinion that it is not a libel, he muſt then be acquitted.—As to his coming here, it is his own choice.

"But, ſay the counſel farther, it is clear in point of law, that in a criminal caſe the defendant cannot plead ſpecially; therefore he might give any thing in evidence that would be a juſtification if he could plead ſpecially.—I admit it:—but what does that amount to? You muſt plead matter of fact: you cannot plead matter of law; the plea is bad if you do. Then admitting that he could give that in evidence upon Not Guilty, which would in point of law, if pleaded, amount to an excuſe or a defence, the queſtion ſtill is, what are the facts on which the defence is founded? That brings the caſe to the queſtion of publication; for the innuendos are no more than this; firſt, the indictment ſays, that by the letter G. is meant Gentleman,

man, and by the letter F. is meant Farmer. Now the title of this pamphlet is, "The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer."—The innuendo is not upon initials or letters that may be doubtful, but whether 'the king' written at length means the king of Great Britain, and whether 'the parliament' means the parliament of Great Britain. These are points I don't know how to state a question upon; and if you are satisfied as to the innuendos, the only remaining question of fact is as to the publication.

"Whether Mr. Jones's evidence will or will not operate in mitigation of punishment, is not a question for me to give an opinion upon, because it is not for me to inflict the punishment if the defendant is found guilty. But upon his evidence it stands thus: the dean had thoughts of printing the pamphlet in Welsh, but upon what was said to him by Mr. Jones and other gentlemen, he declined it. But he *afterwards* published it in English; for this conversation is sworn by Jones to be on the 7th of January, and not till the 24th of January does he send this letter to Evans with the pamphlet, desiring that it might be published; therefore there is no contradiction as to the publication; and if you are satisfied of this in point of fact, it is my duty to tell you in point of law, you are bound to find the defendant guilty. —I wish to be explicit in what I say to you, because if I err in any respect, it is open to the defendant to have it corrected. As far as it is necessary to give any opinion in point of law upon the subject of the trial, I readily do it: beyond that I don't mean to say a word, because it is not necessary nor proper here. In a future stage of the business, if the defendant is found guilty, he will have a right to demand my opinion; and if ever that happens, it is my duty to give it, and then I will; but till that happens I do not think it proper, or by any means incumbent upon one who sits where I do, to go out of the case to give an opinion upon a subject which the present stage of the case does not require. Therefore I can only say; that if you are satisfied that the defendant did publish this pamphlet, and are satisfied as to the truth of the innuendos in point of law, you ought to find him guilty. If you are not satisfied of that, you will acquit him."

The Jury withdrew to consider of their Verdict. When they returned again into Court, the Foreman said, They found the Defendant Guilty of publishing only.

Mr. Justice Buller. That verdict is not quite correct.—You, gentlemen of the jury, must explain one way or the other, whether you find the meaning of the innuendos. The indictment has stated, that G. means Gentleman.—F. Farmer.—The King, the King of Great Britain—and the Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain.—Do you find him guilty?

One of the jury, Yes, we find him guilty of that.

Mr. Erskine. They find the defendant guilty of publishing *only*.

One of the jury. We don't say any thing to judge of the libel, we only find him guilty of publishing.

Mr. Erskine. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am sure I mean nothing that is irregular: I understand

ſtand the jury ſaid, they only found that the dean publiſhed it.

One of the jury. Yes.

Mr. Erſkine. They only find that the dean publiſhed this pamphlet.

Mr. Broderick. They have not found that it is a libel of and concerning the king and his government.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. I aſked them whether they were ſatisfied that The King, meant the King of Great Britain; whether the letter G. meant Gentleman, and the letter F. meant Farmer; they ſay they are ſatisfied.—Is there any other innuendo in the indictment?

Mr. Erſkine. When the jury came in, they gave the very verdict that was given in the caſe of the King againſt Woodfall; they ſaid, Guilty of publiſhing only.—Gentlemen of the jury, do you mean that the word *only* ſhall ſtand part of your verdict?

One of the jury. Certainly.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Gentlemen, if you add the word *only*, it will be negativing, or at leaſt not finding the truth of the innuendos; that I underſtood you did not mean to do.

Mr. Erſkine. That has the effect of a general verdict of guilty.—I deſire your lordſhip, ſitting here as judge, to record the verdict as given by the jury; if the jury depart from the word *only*, they alter their verdict.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. I will take their verdict as they mean to give it; it ſhall not be altered.—Gentlemen, do you mean to find him guilty of publiſhing the libel?

One of the jury. Of publiſhing the pamphlet; we don't decide upon its being a libel or not.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. And that the meaning of the innuendos is as ſtated in the indictment?

One of the jury. Yes, certainly.

Mr. Erſkine. Would you have the word *only* recorded?

One of the jury. Yes.

Mr. Erſkine. Then I inſiſt that it ſhall be recorded.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Mr. Erſkine, ſit down, or I ſhall be obliged to interpoſe in ſome other way.

Mr. Erſkine. Your lordſhip may interpoſe in what manner you think fit.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Gentlemen, if you ſay guilty of publiſhing *only*, the conſequence is, that you negative the meaning of the particular words I have mentioned—that is the operation of the word *only*. In effect, you would give a verdict in words contrary to what you mean.

One of the jury. How will it operate?

Mr. Juſtice Buller. If you ſay nothing more, but find him guilty of publiſhing, the queſtion of law is open upon the record, and they have a right to apply firſt to the court of King's Bench to arreſt the judgment; and if they are not ſatisfied with the opinion of that court, either party has a right to go to the houſe of lords, and you find nothing more by that verdict but the ſimple fact; but if you find him guilty of publiſhing *only*, that verdict will not include the innuendos on the record.

One of the jury. That is admitted.

Mr. Erſkine. I deſire to aſk your lordſhip this queſtion, in the hearing of the jury, Whether, if they find the verdict Guilty of publiſhing, leaving out the word *only*, and on my

my application to arreſt the judgment, the judgment ſhall not be arreſted, but entered up in the King's Bench; whether the ſedition does not ſtand recorded?

Mr. Juſtice Buller. No, it does not, unleſs the pamphlet be a libel in point of law.

Mr. Erſkine. True. But can I ſay that the defendant did not publiſh it ſeditiouſly, if judgment is not arreſted, but is entered in the record?

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Gentlemen, this is my ſatisfaction. If in what I am ſaying to you I am wrong in any inſtance, they have a right to have a new trial directly for aſking. But I muſt tell you the law is this: if you find the defendant guilty of publiſhing, without ſaying any more, the queſtion of libel or not is open to the conſideration of the court; but if you ſay he is guilty of publiſhing *only*, it is an incomplete verdict.

One of the jury. We certainly mean to leave the queſtion of libel or not to the conſideration of the court.

Mr. Erſkine. Do you find the ſedition?

One of the Jury. We give no verdict upon it.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. When you underſtand your verdict yourſelves, I will take it in the manner you ſtate it. If you ſay guilty of publiſhing *only*, there muſt be another trial, becauſe the verdict will be imperfect.

One of the jury. No, we did not ſay that; we put the word *only* firſt—Guilty *only* of publiſhing.

Mr. Erſkine. I deſire, with great ſubmiſſion, the jury having ſaid Guilty *only* of publiſhing, that it may be ſo recorded.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Whether you ſay guilty *only* of publiſhing, or guilty of publiſhing *only*, that amounts to the ſame thing. You may ſay this, "Guilty of publiſhing; but whether it is a libel or not, you don't know," if that is your intention.

One of the jury. That is our intention.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Do you give your verdict in this way, "Guilty of publiſhing; but whether it is a libel or not, the jury don't know?"

One of the jury. We don't find it a libel, my lord; we do not decide upon it.

Mr. Erſkine. They find it no libel.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. See what is attempted to be done.

Mr. Erſkine. There is no improper attempt upon my part. I aſk this of your lordſhip, and deſire an anſwer, as a judge, whether or no, if, when I come to move in arreſt of judgment, and the court ſhould enter up judgment, ſaying, that it is a libel, whether I can afterwards ſay, in mitigation of puniſhment, that the defendant did not publiſh it ſeditiouſly, when he is found guilty of publiſhing it in manner and form as ſtated? Therefore the jury are made to find a man guilty of ſedition, when in the ſame moment they ſay they did not mean ſo to do. Gentlemen, do you find the dean guilty of ſedition?

One of the jury. We neither find the one nor the other.

Mr. Price, (Aſſociate.) Do you ſay "Guilty of publiſhing; but whether a libel or not, you do not find?"

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Is that your meaning?

One of the jury. It is our meaning.

Mr.

Mr. Bearcroft. All you mean is to leave the law where it is?

One of the jury. That is all our meaning.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. The intention of the jury was from the firſt as clear as it could be, only they wanted to confound it.

The aſſociate recorded the verdict,

"GUILTY OF PUBLISHING; BUT WHETHER A LIBEL OR NOT, THE JURY DO NOT FIND."

Letters betwixt the Right Honourable William Pitt and Lord George Gordon.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, Preſident of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, to the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury.

'Sir,

'SEVERAL hundred ſeamen have addreſſed me to-day; many of them, lately arrived from India, came in coaches. Acting lieutenants, mates, and midſhipmen of the royal navy, are among them. The following is the copy of the generality of their addreſſes:

"To the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, Preſident of the Proteſtant Aſſociation.

"May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

"We, the ſeamen, whoſe names are under mentioned, are able, willing, and ready, to ſerve the United Proteſtant States of Holland againſt the King of the Romans, and all their popiſh enemies. And your petitioners will ever pray for lord George Gordon.

Signed by Edward Robinſon, and thirty-four other ſeamen, at the Kettle-drum, Radcliffe Highway, Nov. 17, 1784."

'Several officers of diſtinction in the land ſervice have alſo applied to me, and offered their ſervices to the States General, particularly a field-officer of the Connecticut line, in the province of Maſſachuſet's, and an officer who has lately left the Iriſh brigade of France, who wiſhed to enter into a ſervice more agreeable, and congenial to his ſentiments and principles. Many of the guards have requeſted to go volunteers. Some Athol Highlanders are on their way to town, who, I make no doubt, will engage in the good Proteſtant cauſe of their high mightineſſes. I acquaint you, as prime miniſter, with theſe matters, that you may convince baron Van Lynden of the general good diſpoſition of the people of theſe kingdoms to comply with his excellency's requeſt, and to renew again their old friendſhip with Holland upon the righteous and ſolid foundation of the Proteſtant intereſt.

'I am, Sir, with all due reſpect,

'Your humble ſervant,

'G. GORDON.'

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, to the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon.

Downing-ſtreet, Nov. 19, 1784, 26 m. paſt One P. M.

"My lord,

"I have hitherto returned no anſwer to the letters I received from your lordſhip on the 17th and 18th inſtant, becauſe I did not think it my duty to enter into a correſpondence with your lordſhip on the ſubject. But having been informed that many ſeamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in the expectation

of being employed to ſerve againſt the emperor, I think it proper to remind you, that whatever ſteps you have taken, have been without the ſmalleſt degree of authority or countenance from his majeſty's miniſters, and that it is for your lordſhip to conſider what conſequences may be expected from them.

" I am, my lord,
" Your lordſhip's obedient
" Humble ſervant,
" W. PITT."

Right Hon. Lord G. Gordon.

Lord George Gordon's Anſwer to Mr. Pitt.

" Sir,

" I received your letter of to-day juſt now. It was very rude in you not to anſwer my two letters ſooner. I am glad to hear you ſay, that many ſeamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in expectation of being employed to ſerve againſt the emperor. This ſhews the ſeamen's hearts are warm towards the States of Holland, and that they wiſh to lend a hand to aſſiſt them againſt their enemies. As ſoon as you, and the reſt of his majeſty's miniſters, are pleaſed to authorize and countenance theſe honeſt endeavours of the ſeamen to ſupport thoſe Proteſtant ſtates, I will make propoſals to the Dutch ambaſſador, and to the States of Holland, to take them into immediate pay. The conſequences may fall on the heads of the king's ſervants, if they adviſe their ſovereign to take a part againſt the Proteſtant intereſt.

" I am, Sir,
" Your humble ſervant,
" G. GORDON."

Welbeck-ſtreet, Nov. 19, 1784.

Sentence of the Court Martial appointed to try Colonel Debbieg, for writing ſeveral diſreſpectful and injurious Letters to the Duke of Richmond, *as Maſter General of the Ordnance.*

THE court-martial for the trial of colonel Debbieg being on Monday laſt re-aſſembled at the Horſe-Guards, by his majeſty's command, the following ſentence was read by the judge advocate, who declared that his majeſty had approved thereof, and had directed that it be carried into execution.

The court-martial, upon due conſideration of the whole matter, are of opinion, that colonel Hugh Debbieg is guilty of each article of the charge exhibited againſt him, viz.

Of "writing to his grace Charles duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, maſter-general of his majeſty's ordnance, his commanding officer, ſeveral unbecoming letters ſince the month of June laſt, containing indecent and diſreſpectful expreſſions towards him, and groundleſs and injurious imputations of partiality and oppreſſion in the diſcharge of his duty as maſter-general of the ordnance, to the prejudice of good order and military diſcipline;"

And of "writing diſreſpectfully, in the month of Auguſt laſt, of the ſaid duke of Richmond, &c. maſter-general of his majeſty's ordnance, his commanding officer, to major-general James Bramham, the chief engineer, and in terms obviouſly tending to depreciate the conduct of him the ſaid maſter-general in the opinion of the ſaid chief engineer, and of the corps of engineers, to the prejudice of good order and military diſcipline."

In conſideration of the high cha-

racter of the ſaid colonel Debbieg, as an officer, and his meritorious ſervices, which conſideration alone could have induced them to give ſo lenient a ſentence for crimes which they muſt conceive to be highly detrimental, and tending to produce the worſt conſequences to the ſervice, they adjudge, That he, the ſaid colonel Hugh Debbieg, be reprimanded in open court—and that he do alſo make his ſubmiſſion to the duke of Richmond, &c. maſter-general of his majeſty's ordnance, in the following terms:

"My lord duke,

"In compliance with the judgment of this court-martial, I do declare my great concern, that I ſhould have made uſe of expreſſions in my correſpondence with your grace, my ſuperior officer, which in the opinion of the court tended to the prejudice of good order and military diſcipline."

The preſident, lord Howard, then addreſſed col. Debbieg as follows:

"Colonel Debbieg,

"In addreſſing myſelf to an officer of ſo long ſtanding, and ſo diſtinguiſhed as you have been for your meritorious ſervices, it cannot fail to give me the ſincereſt concern to have it fall to my lot to convey to you a reprimand from the court-martial before whom you have been brought.

"It is, Sir, by his majeſty's commands that I do ſo. Wherein, having conſulted the court, I am to ſay to you, that they would have to dread the ill effects of ſuch an unbecoming ſpirit as that which has ſo conſpicuouſly ſhewn itſelf in your late correſpondence, which they have had under their conſideration, if they did not perſuade themſelves, in regard to the dangerous tendency of ſuch behaviour to his majeſty's ſervice, that you will upon cool reflection think as they do, and hereafter regulate your conduct accordingly.

"The other part, Sir, of the judgment of this court, your ſubmiſſion to the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance, has been already read to you by the judge advocate; and which no doubt you will immediately, and agreeable to that becoming deference due to their directions, proceed to comply with."

Colonel Debbieg then read the ſubmiſſion to the duke of Richmond, as the court had directed; after which the duke of Richmond addreſſed himſelf to the court as follows:

"The judgment of the court in pronouncing every article of my charges well founded, and the imputations againſt me groundleſs, together with the obſervations which the court has made on the conduct I complained of, have I truſt fully juſtified the neceſſity I was under of appealing to this tribunal.

"I flatter myſelf that in carrying on this proſecution, I have not ſhewn a vindictive ſpirit; I hope it is not in my nature. The apology directed by the court, I readily accept from col. Debbieg. I truſt his future conduct will be regulated by the ſentiments which the court has expreſſed on what is paſt, and I promiſe col. Debbieg that he ſhall never trace in my behaviour any ungenerous recollection of this tranſaction."

The judge advocate then informed colonel Debbieg, that the ſentence of the court having been complied with, he was releaſed from his arreſt, and then declared that the court-martial was diſſolved.

The Judgment paſſed on Chriſtopher Atkinſon, Eſq; in the Court of King's Bench.

THE court of King's Bench was exceedingly crouded with auditors, anxious to hear the fate of Mr. Atkinſon. At ten Mr. Atkinſon was conducted into court by the deputy-keeper and tipſtaffs. In a quarter of an hour lord Mansfield, Mr. juſtice Aſhurſt, and Mr. juſtice Buller, took their ſeats upon the bench (judge Willes being abſent on account of the death of his brother.) After a few juſtifications of bail, lord Mansfield called for Mr. attorney-general, who immediately attended, and Mr. juſtice Aſhurſt, with great deliberation and ſolemnity, proceeded to pronounce the ſentence of the court.

The learned judge firſt obſerved, that the defendant ſtood convicted of perjury, to the ſatisfaction of the court and jury, and ſtated that it aroſe from an affidavit made by him to ground a motion for an information againſt William Bennet. He then read the words in which the affidavit was couched. The indictment contained nine different aſſignments, of which he was convicted of ſix, viz. 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 9th. He then explained the ſeveral charges or aſſignments in the order they aroſe, and took notice that Mr. Atkinſon's counſel had particularly objected to the conviction on the 4th, which reſpected malt, and the 7th, an article of wheat, purchaſed at 34s. 6d. and charged at 36s. But "admitting that theſe aſſignments or counts were done away, ſtill there were four remaining, and the malignity of the offence, whether to cover one fraud or many, equally tended to ſhew the depravity of the defendant's mind."

The counſel had ſet up two modes of defence; firſt, they had created a diſtinction between ſupplies and purchaſes; and in this inſtance the defendant had rendered himſelf not only the corn-factor, but the corn-ſeller. "The commiſſioners muſt have been the moſt unfaithful or the moſt ignorant of public ſervants, if they had ſuffered ſuch a practice to prevail." The jury were therefore well warranted in finding their verdict upon the aſſignments that were attempted to be defended upon that ground.

The ſecond mode of defence was, that all the over-charges were qualified by a balancing bill. "This idea," ſaid the learned judge, "is contrary to the bills themſelves," which were continually varied in their prices. Beſides which, the affidavit on which the conviction was founded poſitively avers that no more was charged on the ſeveral articles, than the price actually paid, which was utterly repugnant to the charge of an article of the 28th of May, 1779. Theſe balancing bills were made out merely at the defendant's diſcretion, altogether unauthorized by the board, and were ſubject to no cheque or controul. When the court deſired that the books might be inſpected, it was anſwered, they were deſtroyed. How the defendant had exerciſed his diſcretion, was plain to the commiſſioners and jury, the former having diſcharged him from his employment, and the latter having found him guilty of the crime laid to his charge. There was no plea of defence that the money was paid on account, becauſe the charges were regularly adjuſted, and the ſpecific ſums to each article.

The learned judge then concluded in the following words, "I ſhall not endeavour to aggravate your crime; for if you have any feelings, your ſituation muſt be ſufficiently painful: and there remains nothing more for me to ſay, but the diſagreeable neceſſity of pronouncing the ſentence of the law.

"You are to be committed one whole year to the priſon of this court. You are to ſtand in the pillory upon the Corn-market for the ſpace of one whole hour, between twelve and two o'clock; and you are to pay a fine of two thouſand pounds, and remain in priſon until the ſame is paid."

Mr. Atkinſon ſeemed exceedingly affected with this ſentence, and for a few moments looked ſtedfaſtly upon the court, as if going to ſpeak. He then made a reſpectful bow to the judges, and retired with great fortitude.

A GENERAL LIST

OF THE

DISEASES and CASUALTIES,

From 1783, to DECEMBER 14, 1784.

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Still-born	528	Diabetes		Miſcarriage	3	BIT by a mad dog	2
Abſceſs	1	Dropſy	830	Mortification	136	Broken Limbs	3
Aged	1240	Evil	13	Palſy	66	Bruiſed	2
Ague	8	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	1973	Pleuriſy	15	Burnt	11
Apoplexy and Sudden	207	Fiſtula	4	Quinſy	4	Choaked	4
Aſthma and Phthiſic	377	Flux	9	Raſh	8	Drowned	97
Bed-ridden	12	French Pox	32	Rheumatiſm		Exceſſive Drinking	8
Bleeding	4	Gout	63	Rickets		Executed	11
Bloody Flux	1	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	35	Riſing of the Lights		Found Dead	5
Burſten and Rupture	17	Grief	3	Scald Head		Frighted	
Cancer	43	Head-Ach	1	Scurvy	4	Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	39
Canker	2	Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	15	Small Pox	1750	Killed themſelves	23
Chicken Pox	3	Jaundice	62	Sore Throat	6	Murdered	4
Childbed	133	Impoſthume	4	Sores and Ulcers	13	Overlaid	
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	8	Inflammation	198	St. Anthony's Fire		Poiſoned	2
Cold	3	Leproſy		Stoppage in the Stomach	10	Scalded	5
Conſumption	4540	Lethargy		Surfeit	1	Smothered	
Convulſions	4219	Livergrown	4	Swelling	1	Starved	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	467	Lunatick	46	Teeth	369	Suffocated	3
		Meaſles	29	Thruſh	65		
				Tympany	1		
				Vomiting and Looſeneſs	2		
				Worms	11		

Chriſtened { Males 8778 / Females 8401 } Buried { Males 9229 / Females 8599 } Decreaſed in the Burials this Year, 1201.

Total Males and Females Chriſtened 17,179.—Total Males and Females Buried 17,828.

Died under Two Years	5729	—Thirty and Forty	1599	—Eighty and Ninety	391
Between Two and Five	1711	—Forty and Fifty	1781	—Ninety and a Hundred	48
—Five and Ten	683	—Fifty and Sixty	1553	A Hundred	2
—Ten and Twenty	636	—Sixty and Seventy	1359	A Hundred and One	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1417	—Seventy and Eighty	917	A Hundred and Three	1

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, from one Year ended the 5th of* January 1785.

EXPORTED.

1784.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	35,446	6,955	
Wheat Flour	38,867	2,139	
Rye	5,821	800	
Barley	18,676	2,747	22,669 18 3½ Bo.
Malt	45,415	- -	
Oats	8,527	1,087	255 3 5 Dr.
Oatmeal	2,752	- -	
Beans	7,309	613	
Peaſe	2,747	118	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	3,003		
Wheat Flour	2,877		
Bear	2,740		
Rye	110		
Barley	50	- - -	950 6 3 Bo.
Oats	1,073		
Oatmeal	71		
Peaſe and Beans	189		

IMPORTED.

1784.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	169,810	
Wheat Flour	4,783	
Rye	23,722	
Barley	43,729	
Oats	175,765	7,406 15 5
Oatmeal	648	
Beans	28,047	
Peaſe	2,915	
Indian Wheat	46	

SCOT-

1784. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat - - -	42,109	
Wheat Flour - -	245	
Barley - - -	33,453	
Oats - - -	78,962	2,522 15 3
Oatmeal - - -	11,623	
Peaſe and Beans - -	14,854	
Rye - - -	1,057	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1784.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4	$-\frac{1}{4}$	3	$5\frac{3}{4}$	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$	4	$-\frac{1}{4}$

N.B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES of STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1784.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol	4 pr Ct. Consol.	Long Ann.	Ditto 1778.	Ditto 1779.	India Stock.	India Bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	3 pr. Ct. Script.	4 pr. Ct. Script.	Exch. Bills.
January —	111	55 1/8	57 3/4	—	16 1/2	—	—	118 1/2	53 s.	—	—	17 3/4	57 1/8	—	—
	113 1/4	57 7/8	53 7/8	—	17 1/2	—	—	120 1/2	42	—	—	12 1/2	58 3/8	—	—
February —	113	57	57 7/8	74 1/4	16 7/8	12 1/8	—	122 1/2	40	57 1/2	56	20	58 5/8	—	4 s.
	116	58 7/8	55 5/8	75 5/8	17 3/4	12 1/2	—	133 1/2	25	57		18 7/8		—	10
March —	116	56 1/8	56 1/8	75 1/4	17 1/4	12 1/4	—	127 1/2	30	57 7/8	58	18 1/2	—	—	6
	118	59 3/8	60 3/4	76 5/8	18 3/8	12 3/4	—	129 1/2	7	59 1/2	57 1/4	16	—	—	2
April —	116 1/2	57 5/8	59 1/2	75 7/8	17 1/4	12 7/8	—	129	22	—	56 7/8	19	—	—	1
	116 3/8	58	58	75 1/4	17 3/4	12 1/8	—	127	9		58 1/8	17 1/4	—	—	2
May —	116 1/8	58	58 3/4	74 1/8	17 7/8	12 1/2	—	122 3/4	7	58		14	—	—	—
	115	57 3/8	57 5/8	74 7/8	17 1/2	12 5/8	—	124	13	56 5/8	57 3/4	17	—	—	—
June —	115	57 1/2	57 7/8	74 5/8	17 1/2	12 5/8	—	—	9	56 3/4	58	18	—	—	1
	116	58 3/4	59 1/4	75 1/8	17 1/4	12 3/4	—	—	19	57 3/8	57 3/4	14 7/8	—	—	3
July —	113 3/4	56 7/8	59	74 7/8	17 1/8	12 1/8	—	122 1/2	21	—	—	14 1/2	56 3/4	74	—
	116	58 7/8	55 3/4	73	17 1/2	12 3/4	—	119	3	—	—	17 1/2	58 1/4	75 3/8	—
August —	116	58 3/8	57 1/4	74 1/4	17 3/8	12	—		7			15 1/2	57 5/8	75	2
	116 1/2	57 1/8	56 1/8	74 5/8	17 1/8	12 3/4	—	122 1/2	4	56 7/8	56 5/8	12 1/4	56 3/8	75 1/4	1
September —	117 1/4	57 1/4	56 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/4	12 3/8	—	127 1/2	6	56 1/8	55 1/2	13 1/4	56 3/8	74 3/8	2
	117 1/2	56 1/8	54 7/8	74	16 1/2	12 1/4	—	125 1/2	1	55 1/2	54 1/4	15 1/4	55 1/8	73 7/8	—
October —	110	54	54 1/8	70 1/4	16 3/8	12 1/8	—	128	4	—	—	—	55 3/8	—	2
	111 3/4	54 1/2	55 3/4	70 1/2	16 7/8	12	—	126 3/4	2	53 3/4	—	—	54 5/8	—	1
November —	112	53 3/8	54 1/4	—	16 5/8	12	—	—	1	54 3/8	—	—	54 5/8	—	3
	110 1/2	55 7/8	56 1/8	—	17 1/8	12 3/8	—	—	3	54	—	—	56 1/4	—	—
December —	113 3/4	55 1/4	54 3/4	—	17 1/4	12 1/4	—	—	1	54 7/8	55 1/4	—	56 1/8	—	—
	112 1/8	55 1/2	56 1/2	—	17 1/8	12 1/2	—	—	7	54 5/8		—	55 3/4	—	3

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1784.

NAVY.

JUNE 1, 1784.

1. THAT 26,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1784, including 4,495 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 26,000 men, for thirteen months, including ordnance for sea service — £. 1,352,000 s. 0 d. 0

JUNE 21. 1784.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for the year 1784 — 701,869 0 6

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1784 — 1,100,000 0 0

3,153,869 0 6

ORDNANCE.

JUNE 14, 1784.

1. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1783 — 181,141 6 4

2. For the charge of the office of ordnance for the land service, for the year 1784 — 429,008 2 7

610,149 8 11

ARMY.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. That a number of land forces, including 2,300 invalids, amounting to 17,483 effective men, com-

mission

miſſion and non-commiſſioned officers included, be employed for the year 1784.

	£.	s.	d.
2. For defraying the charge of 17,483 effective men, for guards, garriſons, and other his majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernſey, Jerſey, &c. —	636,190	9	1
3. For maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations, and thoſe in garriſon at Gibraltar ——— ——— ———	284,213	2	9
4. For the pay neceſſary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and five battalions of foot, for ſervice in Eaſt India, for the year 1784 —	8,252	7	9
5. For the pay of the general and general ſtaff-officers in Great Britain, for the year 1784 —	6,080	6	6
6. For defraying the charge of two Hanoverian battalions of foot in Great Britain, for 183 days, from the 25th day of June 1783, to the 24th day of December 1784 — — —	9,371	17	9
7. For the amount of exchequer fees, to be paid by the paymaſter-general, and on account for poundage to be returned to the infantry of his majeſty's forces, for the year 1784 — — —	67,551	14	1
8. For defraying the charge of the in and out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital, and of the expences of the ſaid hoſpital, for the year 1784 — —	173,001	15	5½

JUNE 28, 1784.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices, incurred from the 1ſt day of February 1783, to the 24th of December following, both days incluſive, and not provided for by parliament — —	2,360,992	0	9
2. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and marines, for the year 1784 —	75,116	18	6
3. For defraying the charge of allowances to the ſeveral officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe-guards reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe-guards, for the year 1784 — — —	563	12	10
4. Upon further account of the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces, for the year 1784 —	130,300	0	0
5. Upon account of the commiſſioned officers of his majeſty's Britiſh American forces, for the year 1784	54,653	10	6
6. Upon account of ſeveral officers late in the ſervice of the States General, for the year 1784 —	3,544	14	3
7. For defraying the charge of penſions to be paid to the widows of commiſſioned officers, and expences attending the ſame, for the year 1784 — —	17,000	4	0

8. For

	£.	s.	d.
8. For defraying the charge of penſions to be paid to the widows of commiſſioned officers of his majeſty's Britiſh American forces, for the year 1784 —	686	0	0
9. For defraying the charge of two regiments of foot, ſent from Ireland to Gibraltar during the year 1783 — — — —	4,246	11	0
10. For defraying the charge of additionals to three regiments of foot, for the year 1783 — —	10,524	17	4
11. For defraying the charge of ſeveral corps to the reſpective times of their being diſbanded, during the year 1783 — — —	9,821	15	6
12. For defraying the charge of five battalions of his majeſty's Hanoverian infantry in the pay of Great Britain, from the 25th of December 1783, to the 24th of June 1784, both days incluſive, being 183 days — — —	23,419	0	10½
13. For defraying the charges of general and ſtaff-officers of the hoſpital ſerving with the forces in North America and the Weſt Indies, for the year 1784 — — —	6,291	7	0

JUNE 29, 1784.

1. Towards defraying the charge of ſubſidies due to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, the reigning prince of Waldeck, the margrave of Brandenbourg Anſpach, the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, and the reigning duke of Brunſwick, purſuant to treaties for the year 1784 —	120,369	11	7
2. Towards defraying the charge of 6,463 men, being a detachment of the troops of the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, including ſtaff-officers in the pay of Great Britain, from the 28th of May, 1784, to the 24th of December following, both days incluſive —	60,035	8	4½
3. To make good a deficiency on the ſubſidy due to the reigning duke of Brunſwick, for the year 1783 —	2,366	13	0

AUGUST 7, 1784.

For defraying the charge of three regiments of foot, from the 25th of June 1784, to the 24th of December following, both days incluſive, being 183 days — — —	15,626	4	11
	4,080,220	13	9½

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JUNE 3, 1784.

1. For diſcharging exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, "An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money

" by

	£.	s.	d.
" by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the " year 1783," and charged upon the first aid to be granted in this session of parliament ——	1,000,000	0	0
2. For paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled, " An Act for raising a " further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, " for the service of the year 1783," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament — — —	1,169,400	0	0

JUNE 14, 1784.

1. To be advanced to the governor and company of merchants of England trading into the Levant seas, to be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on their trade — — — —	4,000	0	0
2. Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by parliament — — —	3,000	0	0

JUNE 15, 1784.

Upon account of the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1784 — —	4,830	7	6

JULY 20, 1784.

To make compensation to the rev. Thomas Weekes Dalby, the representative of Charles Weekes, deceased, for the loss sustained by the detainer of the ship Hope, belonging to the said Charles Weekes, on account of his majesty's victualling office, in the years 1743 and 1744 — — —	1,891	13	8

JULY 26, 1784.

To discharge the debt contracted on his majesty's civil list, and to defray the further expences thereof	60,000	0	0

AUGUST 5, 1784.

For defraying the charges of the following civil establishments, and other incidental expences attending the same in America.			
1. His majesty's colony of Nova Scotia —	5,559	8	0
2. His majesty's island of St. John's — —	3,150	0	0
3. His majesty's province of East Florida —	3,950	0	0
4. His majesty's province of New Brunswick —	3,100	0	0
5. His majesty's island of Cape Breton —	1,750	0	0
6. For the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government —	75,750	13	6
7. To discharge bills drawn on the commissioners of			

the

	£.	s.	d.
the treaſury by John Parr, eſq; governor of Nova Scotia, and other ſervices — —	12,816	15	9½
8. Towards carring on the buildings at Somerſet-houſe, for the year 1784 — —	25,000	0	0
9. To be paid to Joſeph White, eſq; for the expences attending the bill for inflicting pains and penalties on ſir Thomas Rumbold, baronet, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament — — —			
10. To George White, eſq; clerk to the committees appointed to enquire into the cauſes of the war in the Carnatic, in the years 1781 and 1782 —			
11. To William Evatt, clerk to the ſelect committees appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the adminiſtration of juſtice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, in the four laſt ſeſſions of parliament — — —			
12. To Mr. White, junior, clerk to the ſelect committees, to whom "The reports of the court of directors of the united company of the merchants "trading to the Eaſt Indies" were referred, during the laſt and this preſent ſeſſion of parliament —			
13. To Mr. Arthur Benſon, clerk to the committee appointed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to enquire into the illicit practices uſes in defrauding the revenue of this kingdom — —	6,623	19	9
AUGUST 7, 1784.			
1. To make compenſation to the commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the public accounts of the kingdom, for their diligence, &c. —	9,000	0	0
2. To make good the like ſum which has been paid to the ſecretaries of the commiſſioners appointed to examine the public accounts, &c. and to the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts, and which has not been made good by parliament — — —	7,000	0	0
3. To make good the ſum which has been iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſſes of this houſe — — —	36,841	1	6
4. For repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting, the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa	13,000	0	0
5. To replace the ſum iſſued by his majeſty's order to Duncan Campbell, eſq. for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames — — —	12,212	11	6
6. To perfect the purchaſe of the ſoil of the Bahama iſlands, and to ſupport the civil eſtabliſhment of the ſaid iſlands, in addition to the ſalaries now paid out of the duty fund, to the public officers — —	7,850	0	0

7. For

	£.	s.	d.
7. For the salary proposed to be allowed to the chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers islands, from the 24th of June 1784, to the 24th of June 1785	500	0	0
	2,467,226	11	2¼

DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1758, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	23,556	2	7
2. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1778, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	168,090	2	9¾
3. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1779, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	73,339	19	8
4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1780, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	207,909	10	3
5. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1782, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	435,888	19	2
6. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same — —	24,943	5	0½
7. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783 — —	36,814	15	5¾
To make good deficiencies in the malt tax and land tax — — — —	706,166	0	0
	1,676,708	15	0
Total of supplies — —	11,988,174	9	4⅞

Ways *and* Means *for raising the Supplies granted to his Majesty for the Year* 1784.

NOVEMBER 24, 1783.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be further continued for one year — —	750,000	0	0

DECEMBER 10, 1783.

That the sum of four shillings in the pound be raised, within the space of one year, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal

	£.	s.	d.
sonal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable cess be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland —	2,000,000	0	0

JULY 1, 1784.

1. That the sum of 6,000,000 l. be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 360,000 l. by a lottery, in manner following:—

That every contributor shall, for every hundred pounds contributed, be entitled to the principal sum of 100 l. in annuities, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. to 50 l. after the rate of 4 l. per cent. and to an annuity of five shillings and six-pence for the term of seventy-five years and six months.

That every contributor shall, for every 1000 l. be entitled to six tickets in a lottery, to consist of 36,000 tickets, upon the payment of the sum of 10 l. per ticket. The said 360,000 l. to be distributed into prizes for the lottery.

That the annuities, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. be made one joint stock with the 3 l. per cent annuities consolidated; the annuities, after the rate of 4 l. per cent. one joint stock with the 4 l. per cent annuities consolidated; and the annuities of five shillings and six-pence, one joint stock with annuities granted for the several terms of 99, 98, 80, 78, and 77 years, consolidated — — — 6,360,000 0 0

2. That out of the savings of the several army services, be applied, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 1st of February, 1783, and the 24th of December following, and not provided for by parliament, the sum of — — 441,702 13 9½

AUGUST 2, 1784.

1. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — 1,500,000 0 0

2. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — 1,000,000 0 0

AUGUST 7, 1784.

1. That there be issued and applied, out of the overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund, the sum of — — 800,000 0 0

2. That

	£.	s.	d.
2. That there be applied, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, for the diſpoſition of parliament, the ſum of — — —	105,818	5	11¼
Total of ways and means — —	12,957,520	19	8¾
Total of ſupplies — —	11,988,174	9	4⅞
Exceſs of ways and means —	969,346	10	3⅞

NEW TAXES *for the Year* 1784.

Candles, one halfpenny per pound — —	100,000	0	0
Bricks, two ſhillings and ſix-pence per thouſand; and tiles, from three to thirty ſhillings per thouſand	50,000	0	0
Hats, from three-pence to two ſhillings, and licences for vending the ſame — —	150,000	0	0
Pleaſure horſes, ten ſhillings per head; running horſes, two guineas per head — —	100,000	0	0
Britiſh linens and cottons, from three farthings to one ſhilling per yard, and licences for bleaching and dying the ſame — — —	120,000	0	0
Ribbands, from one penny for every twelve yards, to one penny per yard; and gauzes, from two-pence to four-pence per yard — — —	120,000	0	0
Licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciſeable liquors, and to the makers and dealers in certain exciſeable commodities, from ten ſhillings to fifty pounds — — — —	110,000	0	0
Qualifications of ſhooters, two pounds two ſhillings per head; and deputations from lords of manors ten ſhillings per head — — —	10,000	0	0
Paper, from one penny to ten ſhillings per ream, paſteboards, millboards, and ſcaleboards —	18,000	0	0
Hackney coaches, five ſhillings per week —	12,000	0	0
Silver plate, ſix-pence per ounce; and gold plate eight ſhillings per ounce — —	25,000	0	0
Lead exported, one guinea per ton — —	15,000	0	0
Poſtage of letters, one penny and two-pence —	100,000	0	0
Regulations of franking — —	20,000	0	0
Raw and thrown ſilk imported, three ſhillings, and two ſhillings per pound — — —			
	930,000	0	0
Intereſt of the loan of 6,000,000 —	280,000	0	0
Exceſs of taxes — —	650,000	0	0

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

1784.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the Sessions, Nov. 11, 1783.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you, that Definitive Treaties of Peace have been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America. Preliminary Articles have also been ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. I have ordered these several treaties to be laid before you; and I am happy to add, that I have no cause to doubt but that all those powers agree with me in my sincere inclination to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

"The objects which are to be brought under your deliberation will sufficiently explain my reasons for calling you together after so short a recess. Enquiries of the utmost importance have been long and diligently pursued, and the fruit of them will be expected. The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces.

"The season of peace will call upon you for an attention to every thing which can recruit the strength of the nation, after so long and so expensive a war.

"The security and increase of the revenue in the manner least burthensome to my subjects, will be amongst your first objects. In many essential parts it has suffered: dangerous frauds have prevailed, and alarming outrages have been committed. Exertions have not been wanting to repress this daring spirit, nor pains to enquire into its true causes. In any instances in which the powers of government may not be equal to its utmost care and vigilance, I have no doubt that the wisdom of my parliament will provide such remedies as may be found wanting for the accomplishment of purposes, in which the material interests of this nation are so deeply concerned.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the estimates of the expences for the year to be laid before

before you. From these you will perceive the reduction which I have made in all the establishments, which appear to me to be brought as low as prudence will admit; and you will participate with me in the satisfaction which I feel in this step towards the relief of my subjects. At the end of a war some part of its weight must inevitably be borne for a time. I feel for the burthens of my people: but I rely on that fortitude which has hitherto supported this nation under many difficulties, for their bearing those which the present exigencies require, and which are so necessary for the full support of the national credit.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In many respects our situation is new. Your counsels will provide what is called for by that situation; and your wisdom will give permanence to whatever has been found beneficial by the experience of ages. In your deliberations you will preserve that temper and moderation which the importance of their objects demand, and will, I have no doubt, produce; and I am sure that you are unanimous in your desire to direct all those deliberations to the honour of my crown, the safety of my dominions, and the prosperity of my people.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, Nov. 12, 1783.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"With the most respectful affection to your royal person and family, we beg leave to offer our sincere congratulations on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of the Queen. Truly sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious government, we rejoice at every event that can add to your Majesty's domestic happiness.

"We congratulate your Majesty on the success of your endeavours to restore the public tranquillity. We return your Majesty our most humble thanks for having ordered the Definitive Treaty with the courts of France and Spain, and the United States of America, and the Preliminary Articles ratified with the States General of the United Provinces, to be laid before us; and we assure your Majesty that we learn with the greatest satisfaction, that all those powers agree with your Majesty in your sincere inclination, to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

"We humbly and thankfully acknowledge your Majesty's royal regard to the general welfare of all your Majesty's dominions, in having called your parliament together at this early season; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that the most diligent attention shall be given by us to those objects which wait our deliberation.——The situation of the East India Company will require our immediate consideration; and we beg your Majesty to be assured, that we will use our utmost endeavours to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from

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our Indian poſſeſſions, and to ſecure the happineſs of the native inhabitants of thoſe provinces.

"Animated by your Majeſty's example, and by the love of our country, we ſhall take the earlieſt advantage of the ſeaſon of peace to direct our counſels to every thing that can recruit the ſtrength of the nation, after ſo long and ſo expenſive a war; and while we expreſs the grateful ſenſe we entertain of your Majeſty's paternal care in recommending the ſecurity and increaſe of the revenue in a manner the leaſt burthenſome to your people, we ſhall be happy to co-operate in whatever may be found expedient for thoſe ſalutary purpoſes, or may tend to counteract thoſe frauds, and to repreſs that ſpirit of outrage which has been ſo alarmingly prevalent.

"We humbly intreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded that our utmoſt aſſiduity ſhall be employed in providing what is called for by the preſent ſituation of this country, and that in our labours for that purpoſe we ſhall not only uſe the utmoſt caution in regard to whatever the experience of paſt times has ſhewn to be beneficial, but ſhall endeavour, to the extent of our abilities, to make all ſuch benefits permanent.

"It will be our duty to preſerve that temper and moderation in our deliberations which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to recommend, and which the importance of their objects will demand; and we ſhall be anxious not to neglect any opportunity of meriting the good opinion your Majeſty has graciouſly expreſſed of our unanimous deſire to ſecure and promote the honour of your Majeſty's crown, the ſafety of your dominions, and the proſperity of your people."

After which his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay,

"My Lords,

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal addreſs. I receive with pleaſure your congratulations on the birth of a princeſs, and the recovery of the Queen, as renewed proofs of your affection to my perſon and family. The aſſurances you give me of your attention to the objects recommended for the welfare of my ſubjects, are highly acceptable; and I regard the unanimity with which they are offered as an earneſt of the ſucceſs which, I truſt, will attend your endeavours to eſtabliſh the honour of my crown, and the proſperity of my people."

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King, Nov. 13, 1783.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks, for your Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

"Affectionately and dutifully intereſted in whatever concerns your Majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, we beg leave to offer our moſt ſincere congratulations on the birth of another princeſs, and to expreſs our unfeigned joy at the happy recovery of the Queen.

"We are gratefully ſenſible of the paternal regard for the welfare of your people, which has induced your Majeſty to conclude the Definitive Treaties of Peace with France and Spain, and the United States of

America, and to ratify Preliminary Articles with the States General of the United Provinces; and we beg your Majesty to accept our most humble thanks for having ordered those several treaties to be laid before us. We have great satisfaction in learning that your Majesty has no cause to doubt but that all those powers agree in sincere inclination with your Majesty to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

"We entertain a just sense of the importance of the objects which demand our attention; and we acknowledge, with thanks, the anxious solicitude for the public good, which has induced your Majesty to give us, thus early, an opportunity of taking them into consideration. Your faithful commons are sensible that the fruits of those enquiries which they have so long pursued are now justly expected, and that the situation of the East India Company claims our utmost exertions to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the maintenance and improvement of the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants in those provinces.

"The season of peace will call for our attention to every thing which can recruit the strength of the nation, after so long and so expensive a war.

"We acknowledge your Majesty's paternal goodness in recommending such means of increasing and securing the public revenue, as may be least burthensome to your subjects. The frauds which have prevailed in many of its most essential parts, as well as the outrages which have been committed, are truly alarming; and we have the fullest confidence that no exertions have been wanting to repress this daring spirit, nor pains to inquire into its true causes. In those instances in which the powers of government may not be found equal to its utmost care and vigilance, we shall use our utmost endeavours to provide such remedies as may apply to this evil, and such means as may be found wanting to the accomplishment of purposes in which our material interests are so deeply concerned.

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that your faithful commons will chearfully grant your Majesty such supplies as may be found necessary for the service of the year; acknowledging, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's immediate attention to the relief of your subjects, in the reduction of all the establishments to as low a state as your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, thought prudence would admit. We take a sincere part in the satisfaction which your Majesty feels in this step towards the relief of your subjects; and we have no doubt, that your people will justify your Majesty's gracious reliance on the fortitude of this nation, by willingly bearing those burthens which are the inevitable consequences of the war, which the present exigencies require, and which are so necessary for the full support of the national credit.

"We feel that our situation is, in many respects, new; and we beg your Majesty to be assured, that we shall use our utmost diligence to provide what is called for by that situation; at the same time, to the extent of our power, giving permanence to whatever has been found beneficial by the experience of ages.

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The objects of our deliberations fully demand that temper and moderation which your Majesty so graciously recommends; and we intreat your Majesty, to accept our most humble thanks for the confidence your Majesty has been pleased to express in our unanimous desire to direct all those deliberations to the honour of your Majesty's crown, the safety of your dominions, and the prosperity of your people: and we assure your Majesty, that we will use our best and utmost endeavours to demonstrate by our conduct, that a confidence so honourable to us has been well founded.

Friday, Nov. 14.

The Speaker reported to the House his Majesty's Answer to their Address.

"Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address, and for the fresh mark you give of your attachment to me and my family in the congratulation on the happy recovery of the Queen, and the birth of another princess.

"I receive with the utmost satisfaction your assurances of promoting such measures as may tend to the support of the national credit, and to the welfare of my people. And I consider the unanimity with which they are offered as a happy earnest of the success of your endeavours."

Address of the House of Lords to his Majesty, Feb. 6, 1784.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, acknowledge with great satisfaction the wisdom of our happy constitution, which places in your Majesty's hand the undoubted authority of appointing to all the great offices of executive government. We have the firmest reliance on your Majesty's known wisdom and paternal goodness, that you will always be anxious to call into and continue in your service men the most deserving of the confidence of your parliament, and the public in general.

"In this confidence we beg leave to approach your Majesty with our most earnest assurances, that we will, on all occasions, support your Majesty in the just exercise of those prerogatives which the wisdom of the law has entrusted to your Majesty, for the preservation of our lives and properties, and upon the due and uninterrupted exercise of which must depend the blessings which your people derive from the best of all forms of government."

His Majesty's Answer to the above Address.

"My Lords,

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address; and I desire you will rest assured that I have no object in the choice of ministers, but to call into my service men the most deserving of the confidence of my parliament, and of the public in general.

"I cannot too often repeat my assurances, that my constant study, in the exercise of every prerogative entrusted to me by the constitution, is to employ it for the welfare of my people."

Address

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King, on the 20th Feb. 1784.

"To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

"WE, your Majeſty's moſt faithful commons, impreſſed with the moſt dutiful ſenſe of your Majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare of your people, approach your throne, to expreſs our reliance on your Majeſty's paternal wiſdom, that your Majeſty will take ſuch meaſures, by removing any obſtacle to forming ſuch an adminiſtration as the houſe has declared to be requiſite in the preſent critical and arduous ſituation of affairs, as may tend to give effect to the wiſhes of your faithful commons, which have already been moſt humbly repreſented to your Majeſty."

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the above Addreſs, Feb. 27, 1784.

"Gentlemen,

"I am deeply ſenſible how highly it concerns the honour of my crown, and the welfare of my people, which is the object always neareſt my heart, that the public affairs ſhould be conducted by a firm, efficient, extended, united adminiſtration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and ſuch as may have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate diviſions and diſtractions of the country. Very recent endeavours have been employed, on my part, to unite in the public ſervice, on a fair and equal footing, thoſe whoſe joint efforts appear to me moſt capable of producing that happy effect: thoſe endeavours have not had the effect I wiſhed. I ſhall be always deſirous of taking every ſtep moſt conducive to ſuch an object, but I cannot ſee that it would in any degree be advanced by the diſmiſſion of thoſe at preſent in my ſervice.

"I obſerve, at the ſame time, that there is no charge or complaint ſuggeſted againſt my preſent miniſters, nor is any one or more of them ſpecifically objected to; and numbers of my ſubjects have expreſſed to me in the warmeſt manner, their ſatisfaction of the late changes I have made in my councils. Under theſe circumſtances, I truſt my faithful commons will not wiſh that the eſſential offices of executive government ſhall be vacated, until I ſee a proſpect that ſuch a plan of union, as I have called for, and they pointed out, may be carried into effect."

The ſecond Addreſs preſented to his Majeſty by the Houſe of Commons, on March the 4th, 1784, *as moved in the Houſe of Commons, March 1ſt.*

"THAT an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, moſt humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty the ſatisfaction his faithful commons derive from the late moſt gracious aſſurances we have received, that his Majeſty concurs with us in opinion, that it concerns the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his people, that the public affairs ſhould be conducted by a firm, efficient, extended, united adminiſtration, entitled to the confidence of his people, and ſuch as may have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy diviſions and diſtractions of this country.

"To acknowledge his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs in his late moſt gracious endeavours to give effect

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to the object of our late dutiful repreſentation to his Majeſty.

" To lament that the failure of this his Majeſty's moſt gracious endeavours ſhould be conſidered as a final bar to the accompliſhing ſo ſalutary and deſirable a purpoſe; and to expreſs our concern and diſappointment that his Majeſty has not been adviſed to take any farther ſtep towards uniting in the public ſervice thoſe whoſe joint efforts have recently appeared to his Majeſty moſt capable of producing ſo happy an effect.

" That this houſe with all humility claims it as its right, and on every proper occaſion feels it to be their bounden duty, to adviſe his Majeſty touching the exerciſe of any branch of his royal prerogative.

" That we ſubmit it to his Majeſty's royal conſideration, that the continuance of an adminiſtration which does not poſſeſs the confidence of the repreſentatives of the people muſt be injurious to the public ſervice.

" That this houſe can have no intereſt diſtinct and ſeparate from that of their conſtituents, and that they therefore feel themſelves called upon to repeat thoſe loyal and dutiful aſſurances they have already expreſſed of their reliance on his Majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare of his people, that his Majeſty would graciouſly enable them to execute thoſe important truſts which the conſtitution has veſted in them, with honour to themſelves, and advantage to the public, by the confirmation of a new adminiſtration, appointed under circumſtances which may tend to conciliate the minds of his faithful commons, and give energy and ſtability to his Majeſty's councils.

" That as his Majeſty's faithful commons, upon the matureſt deliberations, cannot but conſider the continuance of the preſent miniſters as an unwarrantable obſtacle to his Majeſty's moſt gracious purpoſe, to comply with their wiſhes in the formation of ſuch an adminiſtration as his Majeſty, in concurrence with the unanimous reſolution of this houſe, ſeems to think requiſite, in the preſent exigencies of the country, they feel themſelves bound to remain firm in the wiſh expreſſed to his Majeſty in their late humble addreſs; and do therefore find themſelves obliged again to beſeech his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to lay the foundation of a ſtrong and ſtable government, by the previous removal of his preſent miniſters."

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the foregoing Addreſs, March 4, 1784.

" Gentlemen,

" I have already expreſſed to you how ſenſible I am of the advantages to be derived from ſuch an adminiſtration as was pointed out in your unanimous reſolution; and I aſſured you that I was deſirous of taking every ſtep moſt conducive to ſuch an object—I remain in the ſame ſentiments—but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be attained by the diſmiſſion of my preſent miniſters.

" I muſt repeat, that no charge or complaint, nor any ſpecific objection, is yet made againſt any of them. If there were any ſuch ground for their removal at preſent, it ought to be equally a reaſon for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united admi-

niſtration, which you ſtate to be requiſite.

"I did not conſider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accompliſhment of the purpoſe which I had in view, if it could have been attained on thoſe principles of fairneſs and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to thoſe who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of ſuch a ſtrong and ſtable government as may be of laſting advantage to the country. But I know of no further ſteps which I can take, that can be effectual to remove the difficulties which obſtruct that deſirable end.

"I have never called in queſtion the right of my faithful commons to offer me their advice on every proper occaſion, touching the exerciſe of any branch of my prerogative; I ſhall be ready at all times to receive it, and give it the moſt attentive conſideration: and they will ever find me diſpoſed to ſhew my regard to the true principles of the conſtitution, and to take ſuch meaſures as may beſt conduce to the ſatisfaction and proſperity of my people."

Reſolutions voted by the Houſe of Commons to be laid before his Majeſty by ſuch of the Members of that Houſe as were Privy Counſellors.

"THAT an humble repreſentation be preſented to his Majeſty, moſt humbly to teſtify the ſurpriſe and affliction of this houſe, on receiving the anſwer which his Majeſty's miniſters have adviſed, to the dutiful and ſeaſonable addreſs of this houſe, concerning one of the moſt important acts of his Majeſty's government.

"To expreſs our concern, that when his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs has graciouſly inclined his Majeſty to be ſenſible of the advantage to be derived from ſuch an adminiſtration as was pointed out in our reſolution, his Majeſty ſhould ſtill be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the repreſentatives of his people in parliament aſſembled, with reſpect to the means of obtaining ſo deſirable an end.

"To repreſent to his Majeſty, that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true intereſts of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the ſpirit of our free conſtitution. That ſyſtems founded on ſuch a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country; that they have been the characteriſtic features of thoſe unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now juſtly and univerſally exploded; while his Majeſty and his Royal Progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the reſpect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a conſtant and uniform attention to the advice of their commons, however adverſe ſuch advice may have been to the opinions of the executive ſervants of the crown.

"To aſſure his Majeſty, that we neither have diſputed, nor mean in any inſtance to diſpute, much leſs to deny, his Majeſty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of ſtate ſuch perſons as to his Majeſty's wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet. But at the ſame time that we muſt with all humility again ſubmit to his Majeſty's royal wiſdom, that no adminiſtration, however legally appointed, can ſerve his Majeſty and the public with

effect,

effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of this house.

"That in his Majesty's present administration we cannot confide; the circumstances under which it was constituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created such suspicions in the breasts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted and views entertained unfriendly to the privileges of this house, and to the freedom of our excellent constitution. That we have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal and not their punishment which we have desired: and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient usage of this house, to desire such removal, without making any charge whatever; that confidence may be very prudently withheld when no criminal process can be properly instituted; that altho' we have made no criminal charge against any individual of his Majesty's ministers, yet with all humility we do conceive, that we have stated to his Majesty very distinct objections and very forcible reasons against their continuance. That with regard to the propriety of admitting either the present ministers, or any other person, as a part of that extended and united administration, which his Majesty, in concurrence with the sentiments of this house, considers as requisite, it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty to presume to offer any advice to his Majesty, well knowing it to be the undoubted prerogative of his Majesty to appoint his ministers, without any previous advice from either house of parliament, and our duty humbly to offer to his Majesty our advice, when such appointments shall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public service.

"To acknowledge with gratitude his Majesty's goodness, is not considering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the gracious purpose which his Majesty has in view; and to express the great concern and mortification with which we find ourselves obliged to declare, that the consolation which we should naturally have derived from his Majesty's most gracious disposition is considerably abated, by understanding that his Majesty's advisers have not thought fit to suggest to his Majesty any farther steps to remove the difficulties which obstruct so desirable an end.

"To recall to his Majesty's recollection, that his faithful commons have already submitted to his Majesty, most humbly but most distinctly, their opinion upon this subject—That they can have no interests but those of his Majesty and of their constituents;—whereas it is needless to suggest to his Majesty's wisdom and discernment, that individual advisers may be actuated by very different motives.

"To express our most unfeigned gratitude to his Majesty for his Majesty's royal assurances, that he does not call in question the right of this house to offer their advice to his Majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his Majesty's readiness at all times to receive such advice, and to give it the most attentive consideration.

"To declare that we recognize in these gracious expressions, those excellent and constitutional sentiments, which we have ever been accustomed to hear from the throne

since

ſince the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characteriſed his Majeſty, and the princes of his illuſtrious houſe; but to lament that theſe moſt gracious expreſſions, while they inſpire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his Majeſty's royal perſon, do not a little contribute to increaſe our ſuſpicions of thoſe men, who have adviſed his Majeſty, in direct contradiction to theſe aſſurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his ſervice an adminiſtration, whoſe continuance in office we have ſo repeatedly and ſo diſtinctly condemned.

"To repreſent to his Majeſty, that it has anciently been the practice of this houſe to withhold ſupplies, until the grievances were redreſſed; and that if we were to follow this courſe in the preſent conjuncture, we ſhould be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the moſt approved precedents, as by the ſpirit of the conſtitution itſelf. But if, in conſideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we ſhould be induced to wave for the preſent the exerciſe in this inſtance of our undoubted, legal, and conſtitutional mode of obtaining redreſs, that we humbly implore his Majeſty not to impute our forbearance to any want of ſincerity in our complaints, or diſtruſt in the juſtice of our cauſe.

"That we know and are ſure, that the proſperity of his Majeſty's dominions in former times has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and this houſe.

"That we are convinced, that there is no way to extricate this country from its preſent difficulties, but by purſuing the ſame ſyſtem to which we have been indebted at various periods of our hiſtory for our ſucceſſes abroad, and which is at all times ſo neceſſary for our tranquillity at home.

"That we feel the continuance of the preſent adminiſtration to be an innovation upon that happy ſyſtem —that we cannot but expect, from their exiſtence under the diſpleaſure of the houſe, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and diſtracted government.

"That if we had concealed from his Majeſty our honeſt ſentiments upon this important criſis, we ſhould have been in ſome degree reſponſible for the miſchiefs which are but too certain to enſue.

"That we have done our duty to his Majeſty and our conſtituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redreſs; that the blame and reſponſibility muſt now lie wholly upon thoſe who have preſumed to adviſe his Majeſty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his Majeſty, as well as every other prince of his illuſtrious houſe; upon thoſe who have diſregarded the opinions and neglected the admonitions of the repreſentatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to ſet up a new ſyſtem of executive adminiſtration, which, wanting the confidence of this houſe, and acting in defiance to our reſolutions, muſt prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous, by its example, to the liberties of the people.

His

His Majesty's Speech from the Throne, on proroguing the late Parliament, previous to his dissolving it.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"ON a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this session of parliament: I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and to the country, in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament.

"I trust that this means will tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy division and distractions which have lately subsisted; and that the various important objects which will require consideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption, and with happier effect.

"I can have no other object, but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy constitution, and to employ the powers entrusted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, to the good of my people."

Then the earl of Mansfield, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, speaker of the house of lords, by his Majesty's command, said,

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is his Majesty's royal will "and pleasure, that this parliament "be prorogued to Tuesday, the "sixth day of April next, to be then "here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to "Tuesday, the sixth day of April "next."

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on the Meeting of the New Parliament, May 17, 1784.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Have the greatest satisfaction in meeting you in parliament at this time, after recurring, in so important a moment, to the sense of my people. I have a just and confident reliance, that you are animated with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the same attachment to our excellent constitution, which I have had the happiness to see so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. The happy effects of such a disposition will, I doubt not, appear in the temper and wisdom of your deliberations, and in the dispatch of the important objects of public business which demand your attention. It will afford me peculiar pleasure to find that the exercise of the power entrusted to me by the constitution has been productive of consequences so beneficial to my subjects, whose interest and welfare are always nearest my heart."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

"I have ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you; and I trust to your zeal and affection to make such provisions for their further supply, and for the application of the sums granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.

"I sincerely lament every addition to the burthens of my people; but they will, I am persuaded, feel the necessity, after a long and expensive war, of effectually providing for the maintenance of our national faith and our public credit, so

so essential to the power and prosperity of the state."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The alarming progress of frauds in the revenue, accompanied in so many instances with violence, will not fail on every account to excite your attention. I must, at the same time, recommend to your most serious consideration, to frame such commercial regulations as may appear immediately necessary in the present moment. The affairs of the East India Company form an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of the country. While you feel a just anxiety to provide for the good government of our possessions in that part of the world, you will, I trust, never lose sight of the effect which any measure to be adopted for that purpose may have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home. You will find me always desirous to concur with you in such measures as may be of lasting benefit to my people: I have no wish but to consult their prosperity, by a constant attention to every object of national concern, by an uniform adherence to the true principles of our free constitution, and by supporting and maintaining, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature."

The humble Address of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

Die Mercurii, 19 Maii, 1784.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"Deeply sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's government, we desire to express our satisfaction and gratitude, that in the exercise of the powers vested in you by the constitution, your Majesty has been graciously pleased to recur to the sense of your people at a conjuncture when the situation of public affairs called loudly for that exertion.

"Animated with the truest sentiments of loyalty to your Majesty's person and government, of attachment to our excellent constitution, and of regard for the public welfare, your Majesty may safely rely, that we will enter upon the important objects of public business, which call for our attention, with temper and assiduity, and that we will prosecute them with all the dispatch of which their nature will admit.

"In pursuit of those objects which your Majesty has been pleased to recommend to our consideration, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall apply ourselves with industry to the stopping the alarming progress of frauds in the revenue; and that we shall be ready to co-operate with the other branches of the legislature in framing such further commercial regulations as the present circumstances may require.

"Convinced, as we are, how materially the situation of the affairs of the East India Company is connected with the general interests of the country, and that it forms a most important subject of deliberation,

tion, your Majesty may depend, that in applying our utmost attention to provide for the good government of our possessions in India, we shall well and anxiously weigh the effect which the measures we may adopt may have upon the invaluable constitution of Great Britain.

" We beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that we have the fullest conviction of your Majesty's paternal care and affection for your people, and that the prosperity of your subjects is the first object of your royal attention; which could not be more fully manifested than in the resolution your Majesty has taken to support and maintain, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

" My lords,

" I thank you for this very loyal " and dutiful address. I receive " with great satisfaction every " fresh mark of your attachment " to me, and your zeal for the " public interests, and for the pre- " servation of our most excellent " constitution."

A similar Address was presented by the House of Commons.

Lords Protest on the East India Regulation Bill, 9th August, 1784.

Dissentient,

" BECAUSE we think the principle of the bill false, unjust, and unconstitutional; false, inasmuch as it provides no effectual remedy for the evils it affects to cure; unjust, as it indiscriminately compels all persons returning from India to furnish the means of accusation and persecution against themselves; and unconstitutional, because it establishes a new criminal court of judicature, in which the admission of incompetent evidence is expressly directed, and the subject is unnecessarily deprived of his most inestimable birthright, a trial by jury.

PORTLAND,
CARLISLE,
CHOLMONDELEY,
NORTHINGTON."

His Majesty's Speech at the close of the first Session of this Parliament, August 20th, 1784.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I Cannot close this session of parliament without returning you my warmest thanks for the eminent proofs you have given of your zealous and diligent attention to the public service.

" The happiest effects may be expected from the provisions which you have made for the better government of India, and from the institution of a tribunal so peculiarly adapted to the trial of offences committed in that distant country.

" I observe with great satisfaction the laws which you have passed for the preservation and improvement of the revenue. No exertions shall be wanting on my part to give them vigour and effect."

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the exigencies of the public service, and the assistance which you have given me to prevent a growing arrear

in the expences of my civil list, demand my particular thanks.

" I feel in common with you for the unavoidable burdens of my people.

" The importance of effectually supporting our national credit, after a long and exhausting war, can alone reconcile me to so painful a necessity. I trust the same consideration will enable my faithful subjects to meet it, as they have uniformly done, with fortitude and patience."

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The definitive treaty which has been signed with the States General of the United Provinces, and the peace concluded in India, as well as the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, promise the continuance of general tranquillity.

" I trust, therefore, that after so laborious a session, it will not be found necessary to call you again together at a very early period.

" Many important objects with respect to our trade and commerce, which could not now be provided for, will naturally require your attention after the recess; and such regulations will, I trust, be framed, after a full investigation, as shall be found best calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of all parts of the empire."

Then the lord chancellor said,

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 26th day of October next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 26th day of October next.

Ratification of Peace by the American Congress, and their Recommendation of the Loyalists, agreeable to the Fifth Article.

By the UNITED STATES, in CONGRESS assembled,

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS definitive articles of peace and friendship between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty were concluded and signed at Paris, on the 3d day of September, 1783, by the Plenipotentiaries of the said United States, and of his Britannic majesty, duly and respectively authorised for that purpose; which definitive articles are in the words following:

And we the United States in congress assembled, having seen and duly considered the definitive articles aforesaid, did, by a certain act under the seal of the United States, bearing date this 14th day of January, 1784, approve, ratify, and confirm the same, and every part and clause thereof, engaging and promising that we would sincerely and faithfully perform and observe the same, and never suffer them to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as should be in our power: and being sincerely disposed to carry the said articles into execution truly, honestly, and with good faith, according to the intent and meaning thereof, we have thought proper, by these presents, to notify the premises to all

all good citizens of these United States, hereby requiring and enjoining all bodies of magistracy, legislative, executive, and judiciary, all persons bearing office, civil or military, of whatever rank, degree, or powers, and all others the good citizens of these states of every vocation and condition, that reverencing those stipulations entered into on their behalf, under the authority of the federal bond by which their existence as an independent people is bound up together, and is known and acknowledged by the nations of the world, and with that good faith which is every man's surest guide within their several offices, jurisdictions, and vocations, they carry into effect the said definitive articles, and every clause and sentiment thereof, sincerely, strictly, and completely.

Given under the seal of the United States. Witness his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, our President, at Annapolis, this 14th day of January, in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

And in compliance with the 5th article of the treaty alluded to in the foregoing proclamation, they resolve unanimously, nine states present:—"That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts which were in possession of his Britannic majesty's arms, at any time between the 30th day of November 1782, and the 14th day of January 1784, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested, in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated.—And it is also hereby earnestly recommended to the several states, to re-consider and revise all their acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And it is hereby also earnestly recommended to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last-mentioned persons should be restored to them, they refunding to any person who may be now in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the said confiscation.

Letter from the King of Prussia *to the* States General, *in favour of the* Prince of Orange.

WE FREDERICK, &c. &c.

High and Mighty Lords,

YOUR High Mightinesses will be pleased to recollect that we have caused a memorial to be laid before

before the States General on the 21ſt of January 1783, by our envoy extraordinary, the ſieur de Thulemeir, requeſting you would take ſuch meaſures as might effectually put an end to the odious perſecutions carried on againſt the Prince Stadtholder, and maintain him in the full enjoyment of thoſe prerogatives which are the rightful attributes of his perſon and family. The very ſame requiſition had been previouſly made to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friezeland, by a letter bearing date January 15th, in the ſame year. We had flattered ourſelves that ſuch friendly exhortations would be taken in good part, be productive of ſome ſalutary effect, and contribute to the internal pacification of the United Provinces; yet, to our very great diſappointment, we find that the very contrary has been the caſe, as appears by facts equally public and notorious, which clearly evinces that ſome perſons, actuated by a ſpirit of faction, ambition, and by ſelfiſh views, ſtill continue to perſecute the prince of Orange with the greateſt animoſity, and to moleſt him unjuſtly both in his perſon, and in regard to his prerogatives and dignity.

No one is ignorant in what outrageous manner the above prince is treated in ſcurrilous libels daily printed and countenanced, and whoſe authors are not ſo much as cenſured by the magiſtrates. Such libels tend manifeſtly to exaſperate the nation againſt the ſaid prince, eſpecially as any one who dares ſpeak or write in his favour are proſecuted, ill-treated, baniſhed, nay and puniſhed, as if guilty of ſome enormous crime. It is likewiſe known that arbitrary attempts are made to deſpoil ſucceſſively the ſtadtholder of his moſt important prerogatives, as it were, one by one, without any right, or even the ſhadow of a well-grounded motive. We freely confeſs that we are not acquainted with the internal conſtitution of the republic in all its parts. Our intention, therefore, cannot be to rate it at its proper value, much leſs to criticiſe upon it. Nevertheleſs, as it is evident to all, that the States General, who repreſent the republic at large, have by expreſs and irrevocable ſtipulation deferred to the prince of Orange's father, for himſelf and heirs, both male and female, the ſtadtholderſhip, with all the rights, dignities, and prerogatives thereto belonging, ſuch as were enjoyed by former ſtadtholders: it does not by any means admit of a doubt, but that ſuch rights and prerogatives as have been enjoyed by the ſaid prince, ſome of which are now diſputed, cannot be aboliſhed or recalled in an arbitrary manner, againſt his conſent, and without the joint concurrence of the whole body of the republic: at leaſt, it appears evident, that no particular city or province can deſpoil him of ſuch rights and prerogatives, he never having made a bad uſe of them, as his own well known character, and even the public voice, aſſures us he has not. Nay, were any doubts to ariſe in regard to the extent of ſuch rights, natural equity ſeems even in ſuch caſes to require, that thoſe prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by the prince be not taken away or ſuſpended, as has been the caſe of late; but, on the contrary, that he be ſupported therein, until the matter ſhould be finally determined, after the ſerious deliberation and judgment of the general aſſembly of the ſtates, between the republic and the prince, either

either by way of compromiſe, or a formal and conſtitutional deciſion.

"We cannot believe that the intention of your High Mightineſſes, or indeed of any well-meaning member of the ſtate, is to aboliſh the high office of ſtadtholder, or to circumſcribe it within ſuch narrow limits, or to ſubſtitute a mere ſhadow to the reality. It is rather to be hoped that every ſenſible citizen of the republic ſhall gratefully remember, that it is, eſpecially, by the unſhaken bravery, the conſummate prudence, and even the blood, of the illuſtrious princes of Orange and Naſſau, that during the courſe of two centuries the freedom of the republic, ſecured by them, has been ſupported, and the United Provinces often reſcued from the moſt imminent dangers: ſuch well-wiſhers to their country muſt alſo confeſs, that during the temporary ſuſpenſion of the ſtadtholderſhip, the ſtate has proved leſs proſperous, that it has been ſo torn and diſtracted by internal faction, that it was nearly brought to final ruin, in ſo much, that in order to ſave it from deſtruction, it was found neceſſary to reſtore the office of ſtadtholder.

"We know full well, that owing to a dread leſt the liberty of the republic ſhould be endangered, the dignity of ſtadtholder has, at times, been entirely laid aſide; but without inveſtigating whether ſuch apprehenſions were grounded or not; certain it is, that they cannot exiſt at preſent; ſince the wiſe and ſafe policy that actuates the reigning potentates of Europe, thoſe reſpective powers are watchful for the preſervation of each other, and that none of them can tamely ſuffer, much leſs contribute to the ſubverſion of the other. You would ſee us eagerly take the part of the republic, and be the firſt to act in its behalf, were any ſuch deſign broached againſt the ſtates. But we can ſafely take upon us to aſſure, that neither the preſent ſtadtholder, nor any his moſt immediate ſucceſſors, will ever contrive or undertake any thing againſt the freedom or welfare of the republic, as it is inſeparable from their own proſperity; we, on the contrary, could pledge ourſelves, that they will ever diſcharge the high and important office of ſtadtholder, and exerciſe its prerogatives conformably to the intentions and meaning of your High Mightineſſes, from which they never will depart; and for this we do moſt ſolemnly ſtand pledged to the States General. We can do it the more ſecurely, that we are fully acquainted with the noble and generous principles of the prince of Orange and his conſort, as well as thoſe their family muſt imbibe from them; and that on all occaſions we adviſe them to place their happineſs ſolely in the union and proſperity of the republic; but above all, in a perfect good underſtanding between them and your High Mightineſſes. The connections between our reſpective ſtates require the very ſame from us; and as we are in hopes that your High Mightineſſes will fully rely on our long experience, we, of courſe, flatter ourſelves you will conſider theſe our repreſentations merely as the emanations of that friendſhip, which, as their good neighbours, actuates us in favour of the republic; and alſo of that concern which we muſt naturally feel for an illuſtrious houſe, to which we are ſo nearly allied; and by no means ſuppoſe that we only preſume to meddle ourſelves in the private affairs of the ſtates, or encroach

croach upon their freedom, grounded on the firmeſt baſis, and ſo glorioufly acquired.

"What we have hitherto adduced, is ſo ſelf-evident, that it cannot admit of the leaſt doubt, and therefore we do earneſtly entreat your High Mightineſſes ſeriouſly to interpoſe your authority in the preſent troubles of the republic, and to take ſuch meaſures as may tend in the firſt place to prohibit and repreſs the publication of thoſe violent and dangerous libels, either againſt the ſtadtholder, or even on either ſide, and puniſh thoſe who may have wrote or promoted ſuch libels, as tending only to inflame the minds of the nation. On our part we ſhall take the moſt effectual ſteps in the neighbouring dominions, that by proper exertions, and legal prohibitions, a ſtop may be put to the proſecutions and indecent perſonalities levelled againſt the prince and his friends. In order, if poſſible, to ſtay in time the alarming progreſs of the ſpirit of innovation, and the dangerous train of civil diſſenſions which generally follows the former; to reſtore a proper confidence and harmony between the prince and his oppoſers; to maintain him in the quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the rights and prerogatives which he has hitherto enjoyed, not permitting his being deprived of any of them in an arbitrary manner, but rather reſtoring him to the enjoyment of ſuch as may have been unjuſtly taken from him; and providing, that henceforth the ſtate affairs be treated of, and ſettled with him in a ſatisfactory manner, as it is ſtipulated by the ancient conſtitution of the United Provinces. By theſe means the latter will ſoon be reſtored to their wonted peace and tranquillity, and your High Mightineſſes will be entitled to the approbation of every well-meaning citizen, and even of all Europe.

"We cannot, conſidering the ſituation of our dominions, and of our ancient connections with the republic, forbear feeling the deepeſt concern for the fate of the illuſtrious houſe of Orange, and the continuance of the ſtadtholderſhip, which we never can tamely ſuffer to undergo any alteration. We truſt, therefore, that your High Mightineſſes will take in good part the contents of this letter; and will conſider them as the advice of a true and ſincere friend to the republic; and that your High Mightineſſes will not refuſe to give it ſome attention, as well as to what may be laid hereafter before them by our miniſter at the Hague, the ſieur de Thulemeir, whenever he has any thing in command from us.

"It is in full confidence thereof that we remain

The good friend and neighbour
of your High Mightineſſes.
(Signed) FREDERIC."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

For 1785.

An Account of Mr. Blanchard's Flight acroſs the Engliſh Channel, with Dr. Jefferies; together with two letters from the ſame gentlemen after their arrival at Calais.

ON Friday, January 7, the wind being N. N. W. very moderate, and the ſky clear, Mr. Blanchard, accompanied by Dr. Jefferies, took his departure for the continent in his balloon, from the caſtle at Dover. Three guns were fired from the caſtle at nine in the morning, and the flag was hoiſted upon the firing of the firſt gun, as a ſignal that the aeronauts were preparing to fill the balloon. About ten minutes before its aſcenſion, a fourth gun was fired, as a ſignal that the aerial veſſel and voyagers were about to depart. The balloon was completely filled by one o'clock; the veſſel, which aſcended with it in the five former voyages, was affixed: the courageous and intrepid voyagers took their ſeats; the oars and fly, uſed in the laſt voyages, were placed in the boat; nine bags of ballaſt, the French edition of Mr. Blanchard's voyage with Mr. Sheldon; a large inflated bladder, containing a number of letters from people of the firſt diſtinction in this country, to ſeveral of the French nobility, a compaſs and ſome philoſophical inſtruments, a ſmall bottle of brandy, two beautiful ſilk enſigns, Engliſh and French, a few biſcuits, and two cork jackets, made the whole of their cargo. Mr. Blanchard had adapted an apparatus to ſuſtain himſelf and friend, without the boat, which weighed ſixty-four pounds, if they ſhould have occaſion for an addition of levity upon the voyage. The balloon was filled in about two hours and a half, and the proceſs conducted by Mr. Blanchard, and Mr. Decker, of Berwick-ſtreet, Soho.—They aſcended at 13 minutes paſt one, cloſe to the large gun, well known by the name of Queen Anne's pocket piſtol. Mr. Blanchard kept the balloon in exact equilibrium for a conſiderable time. The greateſt ſilence reigned among the numerous concourſe of ſpectators, until Mr. Blanchard had got ſo far from the cliff as to be over the ſea. He ſtood erect in the car, and ſaluted the ſpectators moſt gracefully, by bowing, taking off his hat, and

waving his enſign. He was then cheered by the loudeſt acclamations.

The balloon continued its route in the horizontal direction, then appeared to riſe; and at one time the balloon was ſo low, as apparently to touch the ſea; then roſe again, and was ſeen much above the cliffs on the French coaſt, and diſappeared in the horizon far beyond them. The balloon reached the continent between Calais and Boulogne; was ſeen by glaſſes from the Engliſh ſhore till ten minutes paſt three, far over the land; and an account was brought by a king's cutter, at five o'clock, that the balloon deſcended at twenty-five minutes paſt three, at Banni. Mr. Blanchard was in the higheſt ſpirits at his departure.—It was exceeding cold.—He wore his great coat.—Dr. Jefferies was in a light ſailor's dreſs.

No certain accounts have as yet been received from France of their arrival, but there is not the leaſt doubt entertained at Dover of the balloon having croſſed the channel, as the French coaſt could be clearly diſcovered as well as the balloon. This is the ſixth voyage performed by Mr. Blanchard in this balloon, and one of the moſt ſingular and bold attempts ever made by man. Mr. Blanchard and Dr. Jefferies have the honour of being the firſt aerial mariners.

Mr. Blanchard has taken with him to France letters from the prince of Wales, the ducheſs of Devonſhire, and many of the nobility, to madame de Polignac, count d'Artois, the duc de Chartres, and moſt of the principal perſonages of the French court.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Jefferies, dated Calais, Jan. 8, 1785.

"Heaven has crowned my utmoſt wiſhes with ſucceſs; I cannot deſcribe to you the magnificence of our voyage. When about mid-channel, and at high elevation, we had ſuch a proſpect of the country as ſurpaſſes my deſcriptive faculties; when two-thirds over, we had expended the whole of our ballaſt. At about five or ſix miles from the French coaſt, we were again falling rapidly towards the ſea, on which occaſion my noble *little captain* gave orders, and ſet the example, by beginning to ſtrip our aerial car, firſt of our ſilk and finery; this not giving us ſufficient releaſe, we caſt one wing, then the other; after which I was obliged to unſcrew and caſt away our *moulinet*; yet ſtill approaching the ſea very faſt, and the boats being much alarmed for us, we, though unwillingly, caſt away firſt one anchor, then the other; after which, my little hero ſtripped, and threw away his coat (great coat). On this I was compelled to follow his example. Then he ſtripped, and caſt away his trowſers. We put on our cork jackets, and were, God knows how, but as merry as grigs, to think how we ſhould ſplatter in the water. We had a fixed cord, &c. to mount into our upper ſtory, and I believe both of us, as though inſpired, felt ourſelves confident of ſucceſs in the event. Luckily, at this inſtant, we found the mercury beginning to fall in the barometer, and we ſoon aſcended much higher than ever before, and made a moſt beautiful and lofty *entrée* into France exactly at three o'clock. We entered riſing, and to

ſuch

ſuch a height, that the arch we deſcribed brought us down juſt twelve miles into the country, when we deſcended moſt tranquilly into the midſt of the foreſt *De Felmores*, almoſt as naked as the trees, not an inch of cord or rope left, no anchor, or any thing elſe to help us, nor a being within ſeveral miles. My good little captain begged for all my exertion to ſtop at the top of the firſt tree I could reach. I ſucceeded beyond my comprehenſion, and you would have laughed to ſee us, each without a coat of any ſort, Mr. Blanchard aſſiſting at the *valve*, and I holding the top of a lofty tree, and the balloon playing to and fro over us, holding almoſt too ſevere a conteſt for my arms. It took exactly twenty-eight minutes to let out air enough to relieve the balloon without injury. We ſoon heard the wood ſurrounded with footmen, horſemen, &c. and received every poſſible aſſiſtance from them. I was ſoon well mounted, and had a fine gallop of ſeven miles. We were invited to the chateau or ſeat of monſieur de Sandrouin, where we received every polite attention, and were led through a noble ſuite of apartments, to partake of an elegant refreſhment, &c. and at nine o'clock ſent away in an elegant chariot and ſix horſes, but under a promiſe that we would call at the chateau of Mr. Brounot, at Arainghan, where we ſtaid about an hour, and then ſet off again as before towards Calais, where we arrived between one and two o'clock this morning. I was ſurpriſed to find the difficulties of acceſs; five very ſtrong gates, bridges, &c. the guards very vigilant, but had all orders to let us paſs, the commandant having ſat up for us. We viſited him, and were very politely received; but the attentions of Mr. Mouron and his family exceeded all deſcription. This morning the mayor, governor, commandant, the officers in a body, the king's attorney-general, &c. have been to pay us a congratulatory viſit; and we have been complimented as they compliment the king alone, by ſending us the wine of the city. A patent is now making out to make my captain a citizen of Calais. We are receiving honours and attentions much above our merit."

To the above account we have authority to add, that the corporation of Calais have come to a reſolution of erecting a monument to perpetuate the memory of the two intrepid aeronauts.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Blanchard, dated Calais, Jan. 8.

"We arrived here ſafe and well, and are at this moment with Mr. Mouron, to whoſe houſe we came laſt night. At the inſtant of my writing to you, the magiſtrates are buſy in preparing a patent to make me a citizen of Calais. To this ſingular honour, they have added that of ſending me the wine of the city, a compliment paid only to royalty, and inviting me to a public dinner. I cannot expreſs my feelings on thoſe marks of favour, which honour me far more highly than my feeble efforts have deſerved.

"Mr. le commandant, who had ſo politely attended our arrival, and made the gates of the city to be opened to us, has behaved in a manner not leſs flattering. They drew out their cannon to ſalute us immediately on our appearing above the French coaſt; and I can ſcarcely finiſh this ſhort billet, ſo eager are

they to felicitate me on an event which has doubtleſs been attended with much danger; for we were two hours on the ſea, and had never reached hither, but by ſtripping ourſelves of all our clothes. By the next poſt I will give you a more exact and circumſtantial detail.

" I am, &c.

" BLANCHARD."

Reſolutions and Addreſs to the People of Ireland, by the Iriſh Delegates.

The following AUTHENTIC PAPER *has been publiſhed by the* IRISH CONGRESS, *ſince their laſt Adjournment.*

National Aſſembly of Delegates, for promoting a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, held in Dublin on Thurſday, the 20th of January, 1785, and from thence continued till Friday, the 4th of February following, purſuant to adjournment from the 27th of October, 1784.

A Motion being made and ſeconded, That printed paper, entitled, " A Third Addreſs from the Society for Conſtitutional Information, to the People of Great Britain and Ireland," be now read; and the queſtion being put, and carried unanimouſly in the affirmative, the ſame was read accordingly.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the ſaid addreſs, as relating to a parliamentary reform, comes properly within the conſideration of this aſſembly.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the ſaid addreſs appears to be intended to promote and defend the rights of the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland conjointly.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That it is the opinion of this aſſembly, that the expreſſions of affectionate regard and common intereſt between the two kingdoms, contained in ſaid addreſs, demand grateful applauſe, and the kindeſt acknowledgments on the part of the people of Ireland; and that it appears to be the wiſh of the people of Ireland, and equally for the advantage of both kingdoms, that ſuch ſentiments of mutual friendſhip ſhould be univerſally cheriſhed between the two countries.

Reſolved therefore unanimouſly, That a copy of the above reſolutions be tranſmitted to the ſaid ſociety, as a token of the grateful and brotherly regards towards them, entertained by the aſſembly of Delegates, appointed for the promoting a parliamentary reform in Ireland.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That a ſufficient number of copies of the following addreſs be printed, and that the ſame be publiſhed in Great Britain and Ireland.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That our preſident have power to convene this aſſembly prior to the day of adjournment, if occaſion ſhall require.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this aſſembly be given to our worthy preſident, William Sharman, eſq; for his very upright, able, and ſpirited conduct in the chair.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this aſſembly be given to Simon Iſaac, eſq; our worthy member, for his very proper and impartial conduct as chairman of the committee.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this aſſembly be given to our worthy member, John Talbot Aſhenhurſt,

Aſhenhurſt, eſq. for acting as ſecretary, and for his proper conduct and attention to this aſſembly.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this aſſembly do now adjourn till Wedneſday, the 20th of April next, then to meet in Dublin.

To the PEOPLE *of* IRELAND.

WE, the aſſembly of delegates, for promoting a parliamentary reform, have deliberated with care, and with the warmeſt zeal, upon the ſubjects referred to our conſideration. We have, therefore, contented ourſelves for the preſent, with conſidering and reducing into ſome order the materials which we have hitherto been able to collect, leaving to a future meeting the probability of affording further lights, conſcious at the ſame time how much muſt be referred to parliament.

Continue to cheriſh an affectionate attachment to his majeſty, and a reliance on his paternal attention to the liberties of his ſubjects, truſting that his majeſty's councils, and the wiſdom of parliament, will deviſe ſome effectual means to gratify the wiſhes of a peaceable and loyal people.

Perſevere in a due reſpect to the authority of the laws, and the dignity of the legiſlature.

Encourage thoſe kind ſentiments of affection to Great Britain, which already animate this country, and which ought to ſubſiſt between aſſociates in the cauſe of freedom.

Turn your attention to thoſe grievances which have called forth the voice, and awakened the exertions of Great Britain; and remember, that this country labours under a more enormous and complicated uſurpation.

Your right to a controul over your repreſentatives, by frequency of election, has been infringed.—Oaths are multiplied upon electors, whilſt the conſciences of the elected are left at large. Your counties groan under ariſtocratic combinations; and, even if they were free, their members compoſe but a fifth, whilſt a few individuals nominate a large majority of the repreſentative body. The freedom of your cities has been undermined by perverſion of their charters; and their independence is oppreſſed by a multitude of fraudulent electors. Places and penſions are the rewards of apoſtacy.—Your boroughs are become the property of individuals, which they notoriouſly barter for gain, and a price is thus ſet on the rights of a people.

If theſe enormities be not corrected, the houſe of commons may in time become ſo degraded by venality, and diſfigured by innovation, that the beſt adminiſtration may find corruption a neceſſary engine of government. The rapacity of your repreſentatives may prey upon the earnings of your induſtry. The protectors of your rights may receive the wages of treachery. The truſtees of the people may become the partiſans of factious nobles. The prerogative of the crown and the liberty of the ſubject may be equally overwhelmed, and the houſe of commons may at length ceaſe to be the repreſentative of the people.

We conjure you to look back to the glory of your former ſucceſſes; and we ſolemnly remind you, that the ſacred honour of the nation is pledged for the attainment of a parliamentary reform; without that, the accompliſhment of this great

object, your commercial intereſts, are inſecure, and the independence of your legiſlature but a name.

You have ſent us to conſult upon the means of redreſſing your grievances. We have told you the progreſs of our deliberations, we exhort you to recollect, that upon yourſelves depends the completion of your wiſhes. Shun the extremes of temerity and indolence. Keep alive the ſpirit, but let prudence regulate the activity of your zeal. Believe, for you feel it, that patriotiſm exiſts; be warned, but not ſeduced, by the example of thoſe who have uſurped your rights; nor think that the dignity of conſtitutional aſſemblies can be degraded by the mockery of men who add inſult to oppreſſion. Reward with your favour, and encourage with your confidence, thoſe who have ſtood forward in your cauſe, from the threats of unconſtitutional power, which endeavours to ſubdue the unconquerable ſpirit of a free people. Informed of what the laws permit, neither tranſgreſs their bounds, nor diſtruſt their protection. Lawyers may cavil about forms, but your rights are unalienable, and redreſs is in your power. Cunning, cabal, and violence, are oppoſed to prudence, union, and perſeverance. Time ſhall lead us to ſucceſs, and we ſhall wear thoſe honours well which we ſhall have obtained by honourable exertions.—This ſtruggle for their liberties will inform the minds, and fortify the hearts of Iriſhmen; and when they ſhall have obtained, they will have ſenſe to perceive and reſolution to preſerve the bleſſings of a free conſtitution.—Teach poſterity, that temper and firmneſs can produce what in other countries has been accompliſhed by blood.—Perſevere therefore, unleſs you would be the mockery of the world, and would have your triumph of yeſterday become the reproach of to-day.

W. SHARMAN, Preſident.
J. T. ASHENHURST, Sec.

Particulars relative to the unfortunate Death of M. Pilatre du Roſiere, and M. Romain, who periſhed from their Balloon's taking Fire, while they were at the Height of three-fourths of a Mile from the Earth.

Wedneſday, June 15th.

A BALLOON was launched from Boulogne, in France, which took up Monſieur Pilatre du Roſiere, and another gentleman: when they were at an amazing height, the balloon took fire, burnt the cords by which the car was ſuſpended, and the above gentlemen were daſhed to pieces in a manner too ſhocking to mention.

Extract of a letter to Mr. Fector, at Dover, dated Boulogne, June 15, 1785.

"As you will naturally be deſirous to know the particulars of the unhappy fate of our two aeronauts, who periſhed this morning, you may depend on the following, of which I was an eye-witneſs.

"At a quarter paſt ſeven they aſcended, and for the firſt twenty minutes appeared to take the beſt poſſible direction; when, for a few ſeconds, they appeared ſtationary; then took a direction to the left, towards Portee; then a contrary direction, and at about three quarters of a mile's height the whole was in flames, from the fire of the Montgolfier, and fell with incredible velocity on Huitmille Warren, where the

the two unfortunate adventurers were found, inſtantly on their fall, Pilatre with his thighs both broke, and a violent contuſion on his breaſt; he was dead before his deſcent, apparently. Romain had both his legs broken, and moſt of his limbs disjointed, but breathed for ſome moments, and uttered the exclamation, *O Jeſu!* and inſtantly expired.

"Excuſe me; the ſubject has ſo affected me, that I can ſay no more. There were faggots and ſtaves all round the gallery, and the fire actually blew about the gallery at the moment of their aſcenſion. The whole ſcene laſted about fifty minutes."

The unfortunate M. Pilatre de Roſiere, was the perſon that ventured firſt to ſail through the unexplored fields of air, in company with M. d'Arlande at Paris; it is a miſtaken notion that M. Montgolfier firſt aſcended with a balloon; true it is, that he invented, but did not truſt himſelf with one *off terra firma*. About three months ago, a new Muſeum was opened at Paris, under the ſanction of the royal family and nobility of France, called Roſiere's Muſeum, for, independent of his ſkill in aeroſtation, he was a man of extraordinary knowledge and ſcience; and his love and ardent deſire of improving aeroſtation, may be ſaid to have been the cauſe of his death: his machine, a Carolo Montgolfier, was conſtructed in the following method—in order to try a new experiment he made a ſmall balloon, filled with inflammable air, which he fixed topmoſt, ſuſpended to which was an enormous Montgolfier (a balloon of rarified air) to ſupply which, he was obliged to carry up a fire ſuſpended to that as well as the gallery, which was the cruel cauſe of the very melancholy diſaſter; the whole apparatus was above 70 feet high, and formed in its aſcenſion an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle.

It ſeems agreed that they came down to the ground alive, notwithſtanding the altitude, and the received opinion of the probability of the contrary, for they fell in a perpendicular poſition, as it proved in the dreadful fractures of their legs, from the violent concuſſion on the ground. Beſides, a man who was working in a field, heard Monſ. de Romain ſay ſomething in his deſcent through a ſpeaking trumpet, but what, he could not tell. In the hiſtory of human calamities and tragical events, one can ſcarcely be produced more truly ſhocking, more awfully impreſſive than this.—Roſiere's fate is lamented by every one here, as he conciliated the affections of all by the urbanity and elegance of his manners; he was a ſcholar and a ſcientific character, and high in favour with the king of France. His mutilated remains, with thoſe of his companion, were interred a few hours after the accident, at the village near which they loſt their lives.—A doctrinal leſſon in their fate is held out to thoſe who may in future be tempted to ſuch uſeleſs atchievements, of no benefit to mankind or themſelves. Let ſuch, when they conceive the idea of navigating an element, never intended to be ſo by man, remember the fate of Icarus and Phaeton, but more ſo the real fall of Pilatre de Roſiere!

EPITAPHE.

Cy git le brave De Rozier,
Qui d'un ballon, fut le premier,
Diriger

Diriger la marche rapide;
Il fut heureux; il fut content;
Mais maintenant la mort avide
Du ballon fait ſon monument.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

Sacred to thee, Roſiere, this ſtone,
Who firſt th' advent'rous art eſſay'd,
To rule at will the ſwift balloon,
Amidſt the ambient air diſplay'd;
When from Death's ſtore a cruel dart was ſent,
To make thy Aeroſtaut thy Monument!

M. Pilatre de Roſiere was in England a fortnight ago, and dined at lord Orford's, at Blackheath, in company with Mr. Blanchard, on the King's birth-day, and he left London with the Marquis de la Maiſonfort, whom he had promiſed ſhould accompany him in his expedition acroſs the channel; but on his arrival at Boulogne, M. Romain inſiſted on a prior promiſe of aſcending with him, and thus the Marquis may thank his better ſtars that he has eſcaped this horrible diſaſter. A monument has been erected by the king of France's order, on the ſpot where M. Roſiere deſcended in his firſt expedition, and we hear another monument is to be erected at Boulogne, in memory of this too cruel cataſtrophe.

M. Pilatre de Roſiere aſcended with different balloons in the preſence of the kings of France and Sweden, emperor of Germany, and prince Henry of Pruſſia, and it was his intention, on his arrival in England, after croſſing the ſea, to have made ſeveral experiments in London. He was a gentlemen of conſiderable fortune, and very much eſteemed by the ſcientific all over Europe.

M. Pilatre de Roſiere was born in Franche Compté. He was placed as an apprentice to an apothecary, from whom he ſoon ran away to Paris, finding his genius ſuperior to ſo retired a ſituation. He commenced the ſtudy of natural philoſophy and phyſic, and, having acquired reputation, became an object of royal attention, and was honoured by the king's commands to make the firſt aſcent in a Montgolfier, conſtructed by the order, and at the expence of his majeſty.—He ſucceeded to his wiſh, and obtained a very handſome penſion, and ſeveral honourable and lucrative employments. The king having ſuggeſted a wiſh that he ſhould croſs the channel from Boulogne, he repaired to that place in the winter, and conſtructed a balloon at his majeſty's expence.—He had waited at that place ſeveral months for a favourable wind, and there fell in love with a young lady (a Miſs Dyer, a great fortune in Yorkſhire) ſent from England to learn the French language, and very lately returned home. His apprehenſion that her charms might produce the ſame effect in England induced him immediately to follow her, and he obtained the approbation of her friends, who, on enquiry, finding the connection would be advantageous and honourable, conſented it ſhould take place immediately on his return to England. Every tender mind muſt partake of the diſtreſs this poor young lady will feel from ſo horrid a cataſtrophe, when it comes to her knowledge.

The unfortunate Pilatre de Roſiere, a few days previous to his late departure

departure for France, ſat for his portrait to Ruſſell, by which circumſtance a very ſtriking likeneſs is preſerved of that celebrated philoſopher.

Extracts from Dr. Burney's Account of the Commemoration of Handel, in May 1784.

"AT the general rehearſal in the abbey*, more than 500 perſons got admiſſion, in ſpite of every endeavour to prevent it. This ſuggeſted the idea of turning the eagerneſs of the public to ſome profitable account for the charity, by fixing the price of admiſſion at half a guinea each perſon. The pleaſure and aſtoniſhment of the audience at the great effects of this firſt experiment, were not without their uſe; for the public in general did not manifeſt much eagerneſs in ſecuring tickets until after this rehearſal, Friday May 21, which was reported to have aſtoniſhed even the performers themſelves. But the undertaking became ſo intereſting by this favourable rumour, and the demand for tickets ſo great, that it was found neceſſary to cloſe the ſubſcription; which was done ſo rigorouſly, that Dr. Burney, on Monday 24th, could not obtain of the managers tickets of any kind, on any terms, for ſome friends, who had neglected to give in their names ſooner.

So many families and individuals were attracted to the capital, that the town was never ſo full ſo late in the year, except at the coronation.

Many of the performers came unſolicited, from the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, at their own expence.

Foreigners, particularly the French, muſt have been aſtoniſhed at ſo numerous a band, moving in ſuch exact meaſure, without the aſſiſtance of a Coryphæus to beat time. Rouſſeau ſays, that "the more time is beaten, the leſs it is kept." Certain it is, that the fury of the *muſical-general* encreaſing with the confuſion of his troops, he becomes more violent, and his geſticulations more ridiculous, in proportion to their diſorder. The celebrated Lulli may be ſaid to have beat himſelf to death; for in regulating with his cane a *Te Deum*, for the recovery of Lewis XIV. in 1686, he wounded his foot in ſo violent a manner, that it mortified, and he expired at the age of fifty-four.

This is the firſt inſtance of any numerous band performing without the aſſiſtance of a *manu-ductor* to regulate the meaſure. The totality of ſound ſeemed to proceed from one voice and one inſtrument.

Theſe effects will be long remembered by the preſent public, perhaps to the diſadvantage of all other choral performances; run the riſk of being doubted by all but thoſe who heard them; and the preſent deſcription of being pronounced fabulous, ſhould it ſurvive the preſent generation.

The Five Performances.

Dr. Burney, in remarking on the firſt days performance, ſays, ſuch ſtillneſs reigned, as perhaps never happened before in ſo large an aſ-

* As the commemoration of Handel is now intended to return annually, and as the years 1784 and 5 have ſo nearly reſembled each other, both with reſpect to the muſic and the induſtry of the performers, we ſhall give this one account as for both.

ſembly,

ſembly; and the midnight hour was never ſounded in more perfect tranquillity, than every note of theſe compoſitions. During his travels in Europe, he never obſerved ſo much curioſity excited, attention beſtowed, or ſatisfaction glow, in the countenances of thoſe preſent, as on this occaſion. The effects were ſuch as modern times have never before experienced. The choral power of harmonic combinations affected ſome to tears and fainting; while others were melted and enrapt by the exquiſite ſweetneſs of ſingle ſounds. When the doctor happened to turn his eyes from the performers, he ſaw nothing but tears of extaſy, and looks of wonder and delight.

At the ſecond performance at the Pantheon, the audience were neither ſo attentive, nor ſo willing to be pleaſed, as at the abbey; though the band this night conſiſted of two hundred of the moſt ſelect performers, with the addition of Signor Pacchierotti.

On the third day, when Mara was performing the affecting air with which the third part of the Meſſiah is opened, there was no eye within Dr. Burney's view which did not

"Silently a gentle tear let fall."

At the rehearſal of the fourth performance, upwards of 800 paid half a guinea each for admiſſion.

During the fourth performance, at the ſecond ſtrain in the chorus in Eſther, "Earth trembles," &c. there is a grandeur of expreſſion and effect, which, as it was the firſt time Dr. Burney had heard it performed, acted on his feelings in a very uncommon manner.

The company on the fifth day ſeemed of a higher claſs than had yet appeared. In this performance, when the whole chorus from each ſide of the orcheſtra, joined by all the inſtruments, burſt out, "He is the King of Glory;" the effect was ſo admirable, that tears came into the eyes of ſeveral of the performers; neither was this effect ſuperficial, or confined to the orcheſtra.

For accuracy of execution, and grandeur of effect, the three laſt performances merited ſtill warmer praiſe than the two firſt.

Extract from Count Benincaſa's Letter to Dr. Burney.*

"I ſhall long have before my eyes that beautiful temple, whoſe pointed vaults aſcend to Heaven; that immenſe crowd of the moſt beautiful and wealthy inhabitants of the firſt city in the univerſe; the intereſting ſpectacle of a royal family, whoſe beauty charms, and whoſe goodneſs captivates, every eye and heart; and that prodigious orcheſtra, which never before had exiſtence on the earth; and which, by its admirable arrangement, ſeemed, like muſic itſelf, to deſcend from the ſkies.

"Since the inexhauſtible riches and variety of harmony were firſt diſplayed, I believe that it has not been poſſible, till now, to aſſemble upwards of 500 muſicians; and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, without impeding, by their number, the moſt accurate and finiſhed execution."

* Count Benincaſa is a Venetian nobleman, whoſe authority in the muſical world ſtands very high.

Though

Though upwards of 500 muſicians were employed in the Meſſiah, yet ſuch is the muſical ſtrength of this country, that it could have furniſhed an equal number for the other end of the abbey, with Giardini, Barthelemon, Salomon, &c. &c. at their head.

Fund for decayed Muſicians, and their Families.

Dr. Burney, in an appendix, gives an account of the Muſical Fund, inſtituted in 1738, for the ſupport of decayed muſicians and their families.

Previouſly to the grand acceſſion of the commemoration money, the ſociety had been honoured with but few benefactions. In 1758, Mr. Rojere, a profeſſional ſubſcriber, bequeathed to it 100l.; in 1760, Mr. Waldron ditto 50l.; in 1782, Mr. Mathias, a merchant and honorary ſubſcriber, 50l.; but the chief bequeſt was from Handel, who left the ſociety 1000l.

The ſociety, in 45 years, accumulated a capital of 12,000l. South Sea annuities and three per cents, beſides paying their indigent brethren and their families 24,814l. 14s. The ſociety pays at preſent 65l. 16s. 8d. a month, or 790l. a year.

The commemoration has increaſed the capital to 22,000l. South Sea annuities and three per cents; which aſcertains an income of 678l. a year, excluſive of benefit or ſubſcriptions.

State of Money received, in conſequence of the Five Commemoration Muſical Performances. From Dr. Burney's Account.

Received the firſt day at Weſtminſter-abbey, Wedneſday, May 26, 1784 —	2966	5	0
Second performance in the Pantheon, Thurſday, May 27	1650	10	0
Third performance in the abbey, Saturday, May 29	2626	1	0
Fourth performance, Thurſ. June 3	1603	7	0
Fifth performance, Saturday, June 5	2117	17	0
At three ſeveral rehearſals in Weſtminſter-abbey and Pantheon — —	944	17	10
His Majeſty's moſt gracious donation	525	0	0
By ſale of printed books of the words	262	15	0
Whole receipts	12,736	12	10

Diſburſement of Sums expended and appropriated to Charitable Purpoſes.

To Mr. James Wyatt, for building in the abbey and the Pantheon —	1969	12	0
Mr. Aſhley, for payment of the band, &c. — —	1976	17	0
Rent and illumination of the Pantheon — —	156	16	0
Advertiſing in town and country papers — —	236	19	0
Printing books of the words —	289	2	0
Door-keepers -	102	1	6
Uſe of the organ	100	0	0
High and petty conſtables —	100	5	0
Gratifications —	167	5	0
Engraving cheques			

and

and tickets, ſtriking medals, drawings, guards, porters, and ſundry incidents -	351	8	10
To the ſociety for decayed muſicians	6000	0	0
To the Weſtminſter hoſpital —	1000	0	0
In the hands of Redmond Simpſon, ſub-treaſurer, to anſwer ſubſequent demands —	286	6	6
Whole diſburſement, errors excepted —	12,736	12	10

REDMOND SIMPSON.

LIST of the DIRECTORS.

Earl of Exeter.
Earl of Uxbridge.
Earl of Sandwich.
Sir W. W. Wynne, bart.
Sir Richard Jebb, bart.

ASSISTANT DIRECTORS.

Dr. Benjamin Cooke.
Dr. Samuel Arnold.
Red. Simpſon, eſq.
T. S. Dupuis, eſq.
Mr. John Jones.
Mr. Theo. Aylward.
Mr. Wm. Parſons.
Mr. Edward Ayrton.
CONDUCTOR, Joah Bates, eſq.

The following is a Liſt of the principal Performers.

INSTRUMENTAL.

First violins.—Meſſ. Hay, Cramer, Richards, and 46 aſſiſtants. — — 49

Second violins.—Meſſ. Borghi, Dance, and 50 aſſiſtants. 52

Tenors.—Mr. Napier, right ſide; Mr. Hackwood, left ſide, and 30 aſſiſtants. — — 32

Oboes.—Meſſ. Vincent, Fiſcher, Eiffert, Parke, and 8 aſſiſtants. — — 12

Second oboes.—Meſſ. Arnult, Corniſh, and 12 aſſiſtants. — 14

Flutes.—Mr. Buckley, and 6 more. — — 7

Violoncellos.—Meſſ. Croſdill, Cervetto, Paxton, Mara, and 26 aſſiſtants. — — 30

Baſſoons.—Meſſ. Baumgarten, Hogg, Lyon, Parkinſon, and 21 aſſiſtants. — — 25

D. Baſſoon.—Mr. Aſhley. 1

D. Baſſes.—Meſſ. Gariboldi, Rd. Sharp, Clagget, Paſquali, and 14 aſſiſtants. — — 18

Trumpets.—Meſſ. Serjeant, Jenkins, Vinicomb, and 11 aſſiſtants. — — 14

Trombones.—Meſſ. Zinck, Miller, and Neibuker — 3

Horns.—Mr. Engliſh, and 11 more — — 12

Drums.—Mr. Nelſon, and 3 more. — — 4

D. Drums.—M. Aſhbridge 1

VOCAL PERFORMERS.

Cantos.—Madam Mara, Miſs Harwood, Cantelo, Abrams, S. Abrams, Sign. Bartolini, Pacchierotti, and 15 aſſiſtants. 22

Altos.—Reverend M. Clark, Meſſ. Dyne, Knyvett, and 48 aſſiſtants. — — 51

Tenors.—Meſſ. Harriſon, Norris-Oxford, Corſe-Saliſbury, and 63 aſſiſtants. — — 66

Baſſes.—Meſſ. Champneſs, Reinhold, Sign. Taſca, Mr. Matthews, and 65 aſſiſtants. 69

Total of the band. 482

Weſt

West India Meeting, on the Irish Resolutions, March 9.

AT a meeting of the West India planters and merchants, convened about ten days ago, for the purpose of considering the propositions respecting the final commercial settlement with Ireland, it was determined that a committee should be appointed, to take such measures as should appear to them best, for preventing any mischiefs which might arise from the importation of West India produce through the medium of Ireland. A committee was accordingly appointed *; who, at their first meeting resolved, as the most respectful way of obtaining information, that a deputation from them should wait upon Mr. Pitt, to know what regulations and restrictions he proposed making, to prevent prejudice to their body. This deputation waited upon him, and were told that he had not formed any regulations in this business; but that he wished to have such as they could prepare. Accordingly, a select committee was directed to draw up such regulations as they should think best calculated to effectuate the proposed object; which sub-committee, after considering the business for some time, came to a resolution to the following effect:

First resolution in the sub-committee of last Saturday.

Resolved, "That after the most deliberate and mature consideration, this committee cannot suggest or point out any restrictions and regulations sufficient, in their opinion, to prevent the pernicious effects which will arise from the importation of West India produce into Great Britain, through the medium of Ireland."

This resolution was reported to the standing committee, who, after considerable debate, and long consideration, agreed to it, and confirmed it on Monday last, and of consequence came to a resolution to the following effect:

Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that an humble petition from the West India planters and merchants, should be forthwith presented to the house of commons, stating their alarms and apprehensions on the subject of the commercial adjustment between Great Britain and Ireland; and praying that so much of the said commercial adjustment, as proposes to allow the importation of West India produce, raw, or manufactured, from Ireland into Great Britain, may not pass into a law; but that the privilege of supplying her own markets with the produce of her own colonies, may be preserved inviolate to this country; and that the petitioners may, if necessary, be permitted to be heard by

* The committee appointed by the general meeting of West India planters and merchants, to attend the proceedings of parliament in the Irish business, and to propose necessary regulations and restrictions from time to time, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consists of the twelve following persons: viz. Lord Penrhyn, member for Liverpool; Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, late member for Suffolk; Mr. Beckford, member for Arundel; Mr. Fuller, agent for Jamaica; Mr. Neave, governor of the Bank; Mr. B. Long, Mr. Boddington, directors of the Bank; Mr. J. Hankey; Mr. Bryan Edwards; Mr. Edward Long; Mr. Vaughan; and Mr. Spooner.

counsel,

counſel, at the bar of the houſe, in ſupport of their ſaid petition."

March 18th.

The following are the ſeveral Regulations and Reſtrictions propoſed by way of Queries, to Mr. Pitt, by the deputation from the Weſt India body, on Sunday Morning laſt, the 13th, with Mr. Pitt's Anſwers to them reſpectively.

It being the opinion of the general meeting of Weſt India planters and merchants, that the reſolutions of the Iriſh houſe of commons will open the door for the clandeſtine importation of foreign Weſt India produce into Great Britain, unleſs proper regulations and reſtrictions are eſtabliſhed to prevent it;

The committee deputed by them to confer with Mr. Pitt on the ſubject, beg leave to ſubmit to his conſideration the following queries, to which they requeſt the favour of his anſwer, that they may make a report to the general meeting for their concurrence.

I. Whether we may depend upon having ſuch regulations for the Weſt Indies, as may be neceſſary to prevent the introduction of foreign Weſt India produce into and from our iſlands?

Anſwer. Yes, *as far as depends upon Mr. Pitt.*

II. Whether we may depend upon the Navigation Laws being complied with in Ireland reſpecting ſhips coming from the Iſlands, ſo that none but ſuch as are *bona fide* Britiſh or Iriſh, or made free according to the regulations in Great Britain for that purpoſe, be admitted into Ireland?

Anſwer. The Navigation Act is already in force. Mr. Pitt *has no doubt* that what new regulations may be neceſſary will be complied with.

III. Whether we can depend on having the ſame regulations at the cuſtom-houſe in Ireland, as are in force in Great Britain, reſpecting certificates from the iſlands, and any other regulations that are adopted or may be thought neceſſary for preventing the importation of foreign Weſt India produce into both countries?

Anſwer. Mr. Pitt will take care that effectual meaſures ſhall *be propoſed* for that purpoſe.

IV. Whether we may depend on Britiſh and foreign Weſt India produce being at all times imported into Ireland upon duties reſpectively equal to thoſe paid in Great Britain; and that the laws in Ireland for theſe purpoſes ſhall be made permanent?

Anſwer. He has *no reaſon to doubt* of its being done.

V. Whether we can depend upon the ſame regulations with reſpect to the export of refined ſugars from Ireland as from Great Britain, in order to prevent the ſmuggling of ſuch into Great Britain, after the bounty is obtained? And,

VI. Whether we can depend upon Ireland adopting our regulations now in force againſt ſmuggling veſſels?

Anſwer. He *imagines* there will be no difficulty to either of the two above regulations.

VII. Whether the above regulations cannot be made upon ſuch a footing, that any infraction of them taking place on the part of Ireland, the preſent conceſſions made on the part of Great Britain, reſpecting

ing the Weſt India trade, ſhall alſo become void?

Anſwer. YES.

The following Addreſs to the different trading Towns in Ireland, was unanimouſly agreed to at a Meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Dublin, on Thurſday June the 9th.

THE council of the chamber of commerce of the city of Dublin, viewing with the moſt anxious apprehenſion twenty reſolutions, which have lately paſſed the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, relative to a commercial arrangement with this kingdom, and which appear to this council likely to affect in a very important degree the rights and intereſts of Ireland, take this public method of earneſtly recommending to their brethren in the ſeveral trading towns and ports throughout the kingdom, to loſe no time in taking the ſaid reſolutions into the moſt ſerious conſideration, to the end that they may be prepared, as ſoon as poſſible, to lay their ſentiments thereon, in the moſt reſpectful manner, before the parliament of Ireland. And the council take the liberty of ſuggeſting the propriety of immediate petitions to the houſe of commons, expreſſive of the earneſt wiſhes of the merchants and traders of Ireland, that the ſaid reſolutions may not be precipitated through that honourable aſſembly; and as every opportunity has been allowed to the merchants and manufacturers of the ſiſter kingdom to urge their opinions to their repreſentatives, humbly intreating that equal opportunities may be given to thoſe of Ireland: and therefore moſt earneſtly praying that the ſaid reſolutions be not adopted during this ſeſſion of parliament.

A GENERAL LIST

OF THE

DISEASES and CASUALTIES,

From DECEMBER 14, 1784, to DECEMBER 13, 1785.

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Still-born	660	Diabetes		Meaſles	20	BIT by a mad dog	
Abſceſs	2	Dropſy	895	Miſcarriage	5	Broken Limbs	3
Aged	1355	Evil	8	Mortification	149	Bruiſed	1
Ague	8	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2310	Palſy	79	Burnt	12
Apoplexy and Sudden	234			Pleuriſy	21	Choaked	
Aſthma and Phthiſic	336	Fiſtula	6	Quinſy	6	Drowned	101
Bed-ridden	11	Flux	11	Raſh		Exceſſive Drinking	3
Bleeding	10	French Pox	42	Rheumatiſm	5	Executed	32
Bloody Flux	4	Gout	52	Rickets	1	Found Dead	6
Burſten and Rupture	7	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	30	Riſing of the Lights	1	Frighted	1
Cancer	40	Grief	4	Scald Head		Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	53
Canker		Head-Ach	3	Scurvy	5	Killed themſelves	31
Chicken Pox		Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	22	Small Pox	1999	Murdered	1
Childbed	161	Jaundice	63	Sore Throat	10	Overlaid	
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	15	Impoſthume	1	Sores and Ulcers	4	Poiſoned	2
Cold	8	Inflammation	205	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Scalded	2
Conſumption	4569	Itch		Stoppage in the Stomach	7	Shot	1
Convulſions	4552	Leproſy	3	Surfeit		Smothered	2
Cough and Hooping-Cough	194	Lethargy	1	Swelling	1	Starved	4
		Livergrown	3	Teeth	398	Suffocated	5
		Lunatick	44	Thruſh	65		
				Tympany		Total	260
				Vomiting and Looſeneſs	1		
				Worms	10		

Chriſtened { Males 9085 / Females 8834	Buried { Males 9447 / Females 9472	Increaſed in the Burials this Year, 1091.
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Total Males and Females Chriſtened 17919.—Total Males and Females Buried 18919.

Died under Two Years	6177	—Thirty and Forty	1772	—Eighty and Ninety	454
Between Two and Five	1626	—Forty and Fifty	1966	—Ninety and a Hundred	67
—Five and Ten	716	—Fifty and Sixty	1586	A Hundred	1
—Ten and Twenty	653	—Sixty and Seventy	1399	A Hundred and One	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1481	—Seventy and Eighty	1019	A Hundred and Three	1

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January 1786.

EXPORTED.

1785.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	65,213	6,312	
Wheat Flour	59,564	116	
Rye	12,492	397	
Barley	58,427	108	
Malt	91,042	- -	22,465 17 0¼ Bo.
Oats	13,120	1,605	
Oatmeal	495	33	207 1 6 Dr.
Beans	6,323	240	
Peaſe	6,482	2,399	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	569		
Wheat Flour	911		
Rye	274		
Barley	12,192		
Bear	4,770	- - -	3,848 8 10 Bo.
Oats	4,940		
Oatmeal	5,080		
Peaſe and Beans	460		
Malt	4,678		

IMPORTED.

1785.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	85,796	
Wheat Flour	11,778	
Rye	28,738	
Barley	63,666	
Oats	281,018	6,249 15 6
Oatmeal	4,431	
Beans	9,355	
Peaſe	6,736	
Indian Corn	15	

1785. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	13,277	
Wheat Flour	12	
Rye	23	
Barley	3,546	1,119 1 8
Oats	37,681	
Oatmeal	50,958	
Peaſe and Beans	722	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1785.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	2¼	3	6	3	0	2	1¼	3	10

N.B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1785.

*N.B. The highest and lowest * Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.*

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	New 1777.	Long Ann.	Short 1778.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	3 p. c. 1751.	New Navy.	5 p. c. Navy.	3 p. c. Scrip.	Exchq. Bills.
January	116¼	57	56½	—	73½	17¼	12¼	—	52⅛	6 dis.	—	54⅞	—	16¾	89⅛	57¾	3 s.
	—	55⅞	54¼	—	70⅞	16½	11⅞	—	—	1	—	54¼	—	14¼	88¼	56⅛	2
February	117¼	57⅛	56¼	—	73½	17¼	12¼	132¼	63⅞	3	64	55⅝	—	14½	89	—	3
	—	56⅞	55⅜	—	73⅞	17	12	—	—	1	—	55⅝	—	13⅜	88½	—	2
March	116	56½	55¾	—	73¼	17⅛	12	133	—	5	64	55⅞	—	16	88⅞	—	1 par.
	—	56⅜	54⅞	—	73⅜	16¾	11¾	131	—	2	—	55⅝	—	14¼	88	—	
April	119½	57½	57⅞	73½	—	17½	12½	131¼	—	3	—	—	—	16	92	—	3 s.
	—	55⅝	54⅞	71⅞	—	16¾	11¾	—	—	1	—	—	—	12	88	—	
May	117½	58¼	59¼	74½	—	18	12⅝	133¾	—	5	—	—	—	10	93	—	
	—	56⅞	57⅜	73	—	17½	12¼	133½	—	1	—	—	—	7	91	—	
June	118¼	57⅜	58⅝	74⅛	—	17¾	12½	135½	53½	5	—	56⅞	—	7¾	92	—	6s. dif.
	—	56⅞	57¼	73⅞	—	17⅝	12⅜	133½	53	1	—	56¾	—	7¼	91	—	3
July	120¼	58⅛	58⅜	75⅛	—	17⅝	12½	136	53¾	6	—	66¼	—	7⅝	91⅞	—	6s. if.
	—	57⅞	56¾	74	—	17⅜	12¼	132	—	1	—	56⅞	—	6⅜	89¼	—	3
August	123	59⅞	58⅜	76¾	—	18	13	135¼	—	19 p.	—	57½	—	5	92⅛	—	92 pre.
	—	58⅞	57½	75⅜	—	17⅛	12⅜	135	—	6	—	57⅛	—	4½	—	—	10
September	123½	59¼	59⅞	79	—	18½	13⅛	142½	55½	22	68¼	59⅜	—	4¾	96⅞	—	12
	—	59⅜	57⅞	76¾	—	18	12⅜	136½	—	17	57¾	57¾	—	3¾	25⅛	—	4
October	129¾	65	66½	83⅞	—	20⅛	13½	147½	—	27	—	63⅛	—	4⅛	—	—	13
	—	62⅜	59⅝	80⅝	—	18¼	12¼	—	—	13	—	—	—	3	—	—	5
November	137½	69¾	70¾	88	—	23⅛	13⅞	151¼	—	42	—	64¼	—	2½	—	—	24
	—	64⅝	65⅛	82⅝	—	19⅜	13½	149½	—	32	—	—	—	2⅛	—	—	18
December	142	72	73½	90¼	—	21½	14⅛	156	66	45	—	67	68	2¼	—	—	12
	—	69	69¾	87⅛	—	20⅛	13⅞	—	—	37	—	—	61	2⅛	—	—	5

* In the bank stock only the highest price of each month is given.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1785.

FEBRUARY 3, 1785.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 18,000 ſeamen, including 3,620 marines, in the ſea-ſervice for 13 months, at the rate of 4l. per man per month — — —	936,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 17, 1785.

1. For the charge of 18,053 men, including 2,030 invalids for guards and garriſons — —	655,963	4	3
2. For maintaining forces and garriſons in the Plantations and Gibraltar — — —	222,021	4	4
3. For the difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment of 6 battalions of foot ſerving abroad	6,355	15	8
4. For pay to be advanced to troops in the Eaſt Indies — — —	6,968	9	9
5. For the charge of full pay to reduced or ſupernumerary officers — — —	25,784	8	9½
6. For the general and ſtaff-officers in Great Britain — — —	6,236	10	6
7. For allowances to the paymaſter-general, ſecretary at war, commiſſary-general of the muſters, judge advocate general, comptrollers of army accounts, their deputies, clerks, &c. and for poundage to be returned to the infantry — —	74,221	14	5
8. For pay to 5 battalions of Hanoverian infantry, from 25th June 1784, to the reſpective times of their return — — — —	8,904	6	6
9. For the charge of the in and out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, and the expences of that hoſpital	191,226	0	6¾

FEBRUARY 21, 1785.

To pay off Exchequer bills made out purſuant to an act of laſt ſeſſion — — —	1,500,000	0	0

MARCH 7, 1785.

1. For the ordinary of the navy for 1785, including half-pay to ſea and marine officers — —	675,307	17	2

	£.	s.	d.
2. For building and repairs of ſhips of war, and other extra works — — —	940,000	0	0
MARCH 11, 1785.			
For the uſe of the Turkey company —	3,000	0	0
MARCH 14, 1785.			
1. For the charge of the office of ordnance, land-ſervice — — —	350,820	1	9
2. For defraying the expences of ſervices performed by the office of ordnance for land-ſervice, and not provided for in 1784 — —	42,035	13	8
APRIL 7, 1785.			
To pay off Exchequer bills purſuant to an act of laſt ſeſſion — — —	1,000,000	0	0
APRIL 18, 1785.			
For extraordinaries of the army in 1784 —	683,116	8	3
APRIL 25, 1785.			
1. For ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the duke of Brunſwick, for 1785 — —	69,291	9	6
2 For deficiency in the ſum voted for the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, for 1784 — —	50,989	2	7
3. For penſions to be paid to the widows of commiſſioned officers, for 1785 — —	13,027	7	6
4. For completing the road from Ballantrae to Stranraer — — —	800	0	0
APRIL 28, 1785.			
1. To make good the deficiency, on 5th July 1784, of the fund for paying annuities granted by Act 31 Geo. II. towards the ſupply for 1758 —	12,087	7	8½
2. To make good ditto, granted by Act 18 Geo. III. for 1778 — — —	159,620	1	9½
3. To make good ditto, granted by Act 19 Geo. III. for 1779 — — —	122,730	4	8
4. To make good ditto, granted by Act 20 Geo. III. for 1780 — — —	158,551	4	11
5. To make good ditto, granted by Act 22 Geo. III. for 1782 — — —	114,214	4	3½
6. To make good ditto, granted by Act 23 Geo. III. for 1783 — — —	617,466	10	0
7. To make good ditto, granted by Act 24 Geo. III. for 1784 — —	24,044	0	0

MAY 5, 1785.

	£.	s.	d.
1. For pay to ſeveral battalions of foot at different periods in 1784	7,737	18	1¾
2. Upon account of reduced officers of land forces and marines, for 1785	197,703	7	10
3. For allowances to ſeveral officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe-guards reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the 4 troops of horſe-guards, for 1785	335	15	4
4. For account of the commiſſioned officers of Britiſh American forces, for 1785	57,800	1	11
5. For deficiency of the ſum granted upon account of ditto, for 1783	736	11	6
6. Ditto — Ditto — Ditto, for 1784	4,308	11	3
7. Upon account of officers late in the ſervice of the States General, for 1785	3,535	0	6

MAY 9, 1785.

For reimburſement to general Murray, late governor in chief of the iſland of Minorca, for his expences in conſequence of a verdict obtained againſt him by Mr. Sutherland, for 5,000 l.	5,489	17	0

JUNE 6, 1785.

1. For the ſalaries of civil officers of Eaſt Florida, from 24th June 1784 to 24th June 1785	2,950	0	0
2. To make good money iſſued to diſcharge bills drawn by the governor of Nova Scotia	8,395	2	5
3. For maintaining the colony in Nova Scotia, to 1ſt Jan. 1786	3,976	17	6
4. Ditto — Ditto, — iſland of St. John's, to ditto	1,900	0	0
5. Ditto — Ditto, — Cape Breton, to 24th June 1786	2,550	0	0
6. Ditto — Ditto, the Bahama Iſlands, to 1ſt Jan. 1786	2,370	0	0
7. For the ſalary of the chief juſtice of the Bahama Iſlands, one year due 24th June 1786; and arrears to the attornies-general, from 19th July 1778, to 18th April 1783	1,592	1	10
8. For the civil eſtabliſhment of New Brunſwick, to 24th June 1786	6,356	17	0
9. For the relief of American ſufferers	36,819	19	0

JUNE 13, 1785.

1. For an annuity of 9,000l. to be ſettled by his Majeſty on the duke of Glouceſter	9,000	0	0

2. To

	£.	s.	d.
2. To make good the ſums charged on the duties of 4½ per cent. that remained unſatisfied, 5th April 1785 — — — —	56,113	13	6¾
JUNE 21, 1785.			
For relief of ſuch perſons who have given ſatisfactory proof of their loſſes in America, to the commiſſioners appointed by Act 23 Geo. III. —	150,000	0	0
JUNE 23, 1785.			
1. For the commiſſioners of public accounts —	9,000	0	0
2. To make good monies iſſued purſuant to addreſſes — — — —	7,066	13	3
3. To make good monies paid to the ſecretaries of the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts — —	3,200	0	0
4. Ditto, for the maintenance, &c. of the convicts on the Thames — — —	13,578	14	4
5. For compenſation to Mr. Cunninghame, for compiling a general index to the journals —	3,000	0	0
JUNE 27, 1785.			
1. Towards carrying on the buildings of Somerſet-houſe — — — —	25,000	0	0
2. For ſupport of African forts and ſettlements	13,000	0	0
Other miſcellaneous ſervices — —	432,567	9	1⅜
Total of the aggregate ſupplies, as ſtated by Mr. Pitt — — —	9,736,868	0	0

Ways *and* Means *for raiſing the above Supplies granted to his Majeſty.*

1. Land-tax — — —	2,000,000	0	0
2. Malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
	2,750,000	0	0
APRIL 7, 1785.			
1. By loans, or exchequer bills, to be charged on the firſt aids granted next ſeſſion — —	1,500,000	0	0
2. Ditto — ditto — —	1,000,000	0	0
MAY 10, 1785.			
1. By application of the ſurplus of the ſinking fund, remaining in the exchequer 5th April 1785, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament — —	702,539	16	1½

2. By

	£.	s.	d.
2. By the ſum remaining in the hands of the paymaſter general being applied towards the extraordinaries of the army — — —	231,578	18	2
3. By loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids granted next ſeſſion — —	1,000,000	0	0
4. By overplus of the grants for 1784 remaining in the exchequer — — —	66,161	3	5¼
5. By the growing produce of the ſinking fund to be applied towards the ſupplies — — —	2,297,460	3	10½
JUNE 23, 1785.			
By a lottery, to conſiſt of 50,000 tickets —	650,000	0	0
JUNE 28, 1785.			
By application of the ſum remaining in the exchequer for the diſpoſition of parliament —	238,928	16	3
Total of ways and means — —	10,436,668	17	10½
Total of ſupplies — —	9,736,868	0	0
Exceſs of ways and means —	699,800	17	10½

TAXES *for the ſervice of the Year* 1785.

1. Additional tax on male ſervants, viz. 1, at 1 l. 5 s.;—2 to 4, 1 l. 10 s. each;—5 to 7, 1 l. 15 s. each;—8 to 10, 2 l. each;—11, &c. 3 l. each.——The whole calculated to produce, in addition to the former tax — — — —	35,000	0	0
2. Tax on female ſervants, viz. 1, 2 s. 6 d.—2, 5 s. each;—3, &c. 10 s. each——Calculated to produce annually — — —	140,000	0	0
3. Salt (a regulation) — —	12,000	0	9
4. Retail ſhops, viz. 1 s. in the pound on the rent of the houſe, from 4 l. to 10 l.—1 s. 3 d. from 10 l. to 15 l.—1 s. 6 d. from 15 l. to 20 l.—1 s. 9 d. from 20 l. to 25 l.—2 s. upon 25 l. and all above.——Calculated to produce — — —	120,000	0	0
5. Poſt horſes (all horſes travelling for hire) one halfpenny per mile, calculated to produce annually	50,000	0	0
6. Gloves, viz. 1 d. per pair from 4 d. to 10 d.—2 d. from 10 d. to 1 s. 4 d.—3 d. all above 1 s. 4 d.——Calculated to bring in — —	50,000	0	0

7. Pawn-

	£.	s.	d.
7. Pawnbrokers' licences annually.—In London, 10l. each.—In the country, 5l. each.——Calculated to bring in — — —	15,000	0	0
Total — —	422,000	0	0

The following Taxes were brought into the Houſe of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the opening of the Budget; and agreed to, without giving any particular Eſtimate of their expected annual produce.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Annual licence for every coachmaker —	1	0	0
2. Annual certificate for every unqualified, as well as qualified perſon, for keeping a gun, or dog, &c. for killing game — — —	2	2	0
3. For every new four-wheel carriage (to be paid by the maker) — — —	1	0	0
4. For every new two-wheel carriage (to be paid by the maker) — — —	0	10	0
5. For every four-wheel carriage * now kept (to be paid annually by the owner) — —	7	0	0
6. For every two-wheel carriage * now kept (to be paid annually by the owner) — —	3	10	0
7. On all bachelors keeping one female ſervant	0	2	6
Two female ſervants, each — —	0	5	0
Three ditto, or more, each — —	0	10	0
[Theſe taxes are in addition to the other tax on female ſervants.]			
8. On all bachelors for each male ſervant they keep (in addition to the former tax on male ſervants.) — — — —	1	5	0
9. Every attorney in London, to pay annually	5	0	0
10. Every attorney in the country, to pay annually — — —	3	0	0
11. Every warrant of attorney (except to receive ſtock) a ſtamp — — —	0	2	6
To theſe a lottery will be added, to raiſe 150,000l.; and it has been contracted for by Godſchall Johnſon, eſq; who is to have half, and eighteen bankers are to have the other half.			
Loan for the year 1785 —	1,000,000	0	0
Intereſt of which, at 5 per cent.	50,000	0	0
Amount of eſtimated taxes	422,000	0	0

* Theſe duties are in lieu of the former wheel-tax.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

1785.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament on their Meeting, January 26th, 1785.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" AFTER the laborious attendance of the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, it has given me peculiar pleaſure, that the ſituation of public affairs has admitted of ſo long a receſs.

" Among the objects which now require conſideration, I muſt particularly recommend to your earneſt attention the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged. The ſyſtem which will unite both kingdoms the moſt cloſely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am perſuaded, beſt enſure the general proſperity of my dominions.

" I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that notwithſtanding any appearance of differences on the continent, I continue uniformly to receive, from all foreign powers, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good diſpoſition towards this country.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered the eſtimates of the enſuing year to be laid before you. I confide in your liberality and zeal to grant the neceſſary ſupplies, with a juſt regard as well to the œconomy requiſite in every department, as to the maintenance of the national credit, and the real exigencies of the public ſervice."

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſucceſs which has attended the meaſures taken in the laſt ſeſſion towards the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, will encourage you to apply yourſelves, with continual aſſiduity, to thoſe important objects. You will, I truſt, alſo take into early conſideration the matters ſuggeſted in the reports of the commiſſioners of public accounts, and ſuch further regulations as may appear to be neceſſary in the different offices of the kingdom.

" I have the fulleſt reliance on the continuance of your faithful and diligent exertions in every part of your public duty. You may at all times depend on my hearty concurrence

rence in every meaſure which can tend to alleviate our national burthens, to ſecure the true principles of the conſtitution, and to promote the general welfare of my people."

The humble Addreſs, to the above Speech, of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled.

Die Martis, 25 *Januarii*, 1785.

" Moſt gracious ſovereign,

" We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

" Permit us to expreſs to your Majeſty our moſt grateful ſenſe of your Majeſty's regard for our private convenience, in not commanding from us an earlier attendance in Parliament.

" Your Majeſty may rely on our faithful and diligent exertions in every part of our duty; and, truly ſenſible of the importance of the object, we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that it is our determination to give our immediate attention to the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged; truſting that ſuch a ſyſtem may be formed as may beſt inſure the proſperity of both kingdoms, by cloſely uniting them upon principles of reciprocal advantage.

" We deſire to return to your Majeſty our warmeſt thanks for your gracious communication of the aſſurances which your Majeſty continues to receive of the good diſpoſition of foreign powers towards this country, notwithſtanding the differences which appear to prevail upon the continent.

" The information your Majeſty is pleaſed to give us of the ſucceſs which has attended the meaſures taken in the laſt ſeſſion for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, affords us the greateſt ſatisfaction: and your Majeſty may be aſſured, that we will apply ourſelves, with unremitted attention, to points of ſuch great concern to the proſperity of this country; and that we will take into our early conſideration the matters ſuggeſted in the ſeveral reports of the commiſſioners of public accounts, as well as ſuch farther regulations as may appear to be neceſſary in the public offices of the kingdom.

" From the experience we have had of your Majeſty's paternal regard for the intereſts of all your ſubjects, we beg leave humbly to expreſs to your Majeſty our fulleſt confidence in the gracious aſſurance of your Majeſty's hearty concurrence in every meaſure which may tend to alleviate the national burthens, to ſecure the true principles of the conſtitution, and to promote the general happineſs and welfare of your people."

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this moſt gracious Anſwer.

" My lords,

" I return you thanks for this " dutiful and affectionate addreſs.

" Nothing can give me more " ſatisfaction, than your aſſurance " that you will immediately enter " into the conſideration of the mat- " ters which I have laid before " you.

" You

"You may depend upon the "utmoſt care and attention on my "part, to ſettle every thing, "which concerns the intereſt of my "kingdoms, upon a ſolid and du-"rable foundation."

The humble Addreſs, to the above Speech, of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

"We beg your Majeſty will be aſſured that we ſhall reſume the conſideration of public buſineſs with the ſame principles of duty to your Majeſty, and regard to the intereſts of our conſtituents, which we have endeavoured to manifeſt in all our proceedings.

"That we will not fail to give our moſt earneſt attentions to the adjuſtment of ſuch points as are not yet finally arranged in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland; fully agreeing with your Majeſty, in thinking that the ſyſtem which will unite both kingdoms the moſt cloſely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will beſt enſure the general proſperity of your Majeſty's dominions.

"We beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that it affords us the trueſt pleaſure to be informed that your Majeſty continues to receive ſuch ſatisfactory aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of foreign powers towards this country.

"We beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that we ſhall at all times be ready to grant ſuch ſupplies as are neceſſary for the maintenance of the national credit, and the real exigencies of the public ſervice.

"That we are deeply ſenſible of your Majeſty's paternal goodneſs and care for your people, in recommending to us, at the ſame time, a juſt regard to the œconomy requiſite in every department; a duty which your Majeſty's faithful commons feel always incumbent upon them, and, at this time, peculiarly indiſpenſable.

"We aſſure your Majeſty, that we ſee the importance of every exertion which can tend to the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and the improvement of the revenue; and that we ſhall continue to apply ourſelves, with unwearied aſſiduity, to thoſe important objects.

"That we ſhall alſo proceed, with as much expedition as poſſible, to the conſideration of the reports of the commiſſioners of accounts, as well as of ſuch farther regulations in the different offices of this kingdom, as may appear likely to conduce to the public advantage.

"We intreat your Majeſty to be aſſured, that our utmoſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting to juſtify your Majeſty's gracious reliance on our diligent attention to every part of our public duty; and that we receive, with the warmeſt gratitude and ſatisfaction, the aſſurances of your Majeſty's concurrence in every meaſure which can tend to alleviate the national burthens, to ſecure the true principles of the conſtitution, and to promote the general welfare of the people."

"*His*

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

" Gentlemen,

" I return you my thanks for " your very loyal and affectionate " addreſs. I receive, with the ut- " moſt pleaſure, the aſſurances of " your diſpoſition to reſume the " conſideration of public buſineſs " with the ſame principles which " you have manifeſted in all your " former proceedings; and I truſt " that the reſult of your delibera- " tions will be productive of the " moſt ſalutary effects."

IRISH HOUSE OF LORDS.

His Grace the Duke of Rutland opened the ſeſſion by the following ſpeech from the Throne:

His Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, his ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament, at Dublin, on Thurſday the 20th Day of January, 1785.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I Have his Majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to deſire your advice and co-operation upon thoſe affairs of importance, which in the preſent circumſtances of the kingdom require your moſt ſerious attention.

" Whilſt I lamented the lawleſs outrages and unconſtitutional proceedings which had taken place ſince your laſt prorogation, I had the ſatisfaction to perceive that theſe exceſſes were confined to a few places, and even there condemned. And I have now the pleaſure to obſerve that, by the ſalutary interpoſition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-eſtabliſhed.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons.

" I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you. I have the fulleſt reliance on your approved loyalty to the king, and attachment to your country, that a due conſideration of the exigencies of the ſtate will lead you to make whatever proviſions ſhall appear to be neceſſary for the public expences, and for the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government."

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I am to recommend in the king's name to your earneſt inveſtigation thoſe objects of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland which have not yet received their complete adjuſtment. In framing a plan with a view to a final ſettlement, you will be ſenſible that the intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be for ever united and inſeparable. And his Majeſty relies on your liberality and wiſdom for adopting ſuch an equitable ſyſtem for the joint benefit of both countries, and the ſupport of the common intereſt, as will ſecure mutual ſatisfaction and permanency.

" The encouragement and extenſion of agriculture and manufactures, and eſpecially of your linen manufacture, will, I am perſuaded, engage your conſtant concern. Let me likewiſe direct your attention in a particular manner to the fiſheries on your coaſts, from which you may reaſonably hope for an improving ſource of induſtry and wealth to this kingdom, and of ſtrength to the empire.

" The

"The liberality which you have always ſhewn to the maintenance of your proteſtant charter-ſchools and other public inſtitutions, makes it unneceſſary for me to recommend them to your care. You cannot more beneficially exert this laudable ſpirit, than by directing your attention to improve, and to diffuſe throughout the kingdom, the advantages of good education. Senſible of its eſſential conſequence to the morals and happineſs of the people, and to the dignity of the nation, I am happy to aſſure you of his Majeſty's gracious patronage; and ſhall be earneſt to give every aſſiſtance in my power to the ſucceſs of ſuch meaſures as your wiſdom may deviſe for this important purpoſe.

"It is the province of your prudence and diſcretion to conſider what new proviſions may be neceſſary for ſecuring the ſubject againſt violence and outrage, for the regulation of the police, and the better execution of the laws, as well as for the general encouragement of peaceable ſubordination and honeſt induſtry. It will be a pleaſing taſk for me to aſſiſt and promote your exertions for the tranquillity of the kingdom, for upholding the authority of the legiſlature, and ſupporting the true principles of our happy conſtitution both in church and ſtate.

"The uniformity of laws and of religion, and a common intereſt in treaties with foreign ſtates, form a ſure bond of mutual connection and attachment between Great Britain and Ireland. It will be your care to cheriſh theſe ineſtimable bleſſings with that ſpirit and wiſdom which will render them effectual ſecurities to the ſtrength and proſperity of the empire."

A Tranſlation of a Letter from the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias to his Pruſſian Majeſty.

"MY advantageous ſentiments reſpecting the houſe of Pruſſia, ſentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the ſame on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavour by all ſorts of intrigues to ſecure the acceſſion. Your wiſdom acknowledges that the pretenſions of the Emperor are equally juſt and moderate. Nature herſelf hath granted to the Auſtrian Low Countries the uſe and advantage of the river in diſpute; Auſtria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an excluſive right to the uſe of the river in queſtion. So that the equity and diſintereſtedneſs of Joſeph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging excluſively to his ſtates. The ſentiments of Auſtria merit eſteem and attention, but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themſelves to aſſume on account of the treaty of Munſter over the Houſe of Auſtria, are notorious and blameable in every reſpect.

"Nothing can be alledged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore ſhe merits not the aſſiſtance of any foreign power. The conſequences which theſe republicans

licans are drawing upon themſelves by their obſtinacy, muſt be ſubmitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly reſolved to aſſiſt his pretenſions with all my land and ſea forces, with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my own empire was in agitation. I hope that this declaration of my ſentiments will meet with the ſucceſs which our reciprocal friendſhip deſerves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHERINE."

Authentic Copy of the official Paper tranſmitted from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Emperor, relative to the Navigation of the SCHELDT.

"THE ſincere friendſhip which attaches the king to the emperor, and the wiſhes of his majeſty for the maintenance of public tranquillity, make it his duty to come to an explanation with his imperial Majeſty on the difference between that monarch and the United Provinces.

"The king has the leſs heſitation in expreſſing his thoughts on this important ſubject, as the purity of his intentions cannot be called in queſtion. His majeſty while, in compliance with the ſolicitation of both parties, he employs his good offices to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and the United Provinces, has carefully abſtained from giving any opinion on the foundation of his imperial majeſty's firſt pretenſions. The king ſtill preſcribes to himſelf the ſame ſilence; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorizes the obſervation, that his firſt pretenſions, and the demand for the opening of the Scheldt, cannot be conſidered under the ſame point of view.

"The Dutch, while they refuſed compliance with this demand, only ſupported a right which is ſecured to them by a ſolemn treaty, and which they look upon as the baſis of their proſperity, and even exiſtence.

"It ſeems to reſult from thence, that the refuſal of the ſtates-general ought to have no other effect than to bring back the negociation begun at Bruſſels to the propoſitions in the ſummary table, and eſtabliſh a diſcuſſion, on the reſult of which the reſpective titles ought naturally to depend.

"The king would more earneſtly deſire that this meaſure was adopted, as it would prevent hoſtilities, and might lead to equitable arrangements.

"By purſuing an oppoſite conduct, it is to be feared that the emperor will excite a general uneaſineſs, and that moſt of the powers will think themſelves obliged to take ſuch precautions and meaſures as the events may require. The king himſelf muſt be under the neceſſity of aſſembling troops on his frontiers. Beſides, his majeſty cannot by any means be indifferent to the fate of the United Provinces, or ſee them attacked by open force in their rights and poſſeſſions, eſpecially at preſent, when he is on the point of concluding with the republic an alliance, the fundamental articles of which were agreed on before the late differences.

"If, by conſiderations of ſo great importance, the emperor can be induced to ſuſpend all marks of hoſtility, and liſten to the voice of moderation and humanity, the

king renews the offer of his mediation to procure an equitable and ſuitable accommodation, which he will the more zealouſly ſtrive to bring about; as, while he obeys the dictates of his perſonal ſentiments with regard to the emperor, he will have the ſatisfaction to concur in extinguiſhing, in its firſt ſeeds, a war, the conſequences of which cannot be calculated."

An authentic Copy of the Preliminary Articles of Peace between their High Mightineſſes the States General, and the Emperor of Germany, concluded under the Mediation of France.

ARTICLE I.

IT is agreed, that the ſtates-general ſhall pay 9,500,000 florins, current money of Holland, for the indemnity of Maeſtricht and its territory, the Ban of St. Servais included, as alſo the county of Vroenhoven; and 500,000 florins, ſame currency, for a compenſation of the damage cauſed by the inundations. Three months after the ratification of the treaty the ſtates general ſhall pay into the imperial cheſt of Bruſſels the ſum of 1,250,000 florins of Holland; ſix months after, a ſimilar ſum; and thus, every ſix months until the total extinction of the ſaid two ſums, making together that of ten millions of florins, current money of Holland.

II. Their high mightineſſes ſhall cede to his imperial majeſty the Ban of Aulne, ſituated in Dutch Dahlem, and its dependencies, and the Lordſhip or Chief Ban of Bligny-le-Trembleur, with St. Andre, the Ban and Lordſhip of Bombay, the city and caſtle of Dahlem with its appurtenances, except Goſt and Cadier; under a reſerve that a compenſation ſhall be made for them in the exchanges of reſpective conveniency to be made in the country of Outre-Meuſe.

III. The limits of Flanders ſhall remain on the terms of the convention of 1664, and if, through the lapſe of time, there ſhould have been, or be now any of them obſcured, commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on one ſide and the other to re-eſtabliſh them.

IV. Their high mightineſſes ſhall regulate, in the moſt convenient manner, to the ſatisfaction of the emperor, the draining of the waters from his Majeſty's country in Flanders, and on the ſide of the Meuſe, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the inundations, by conſenting, for that end, that uſe ſhall be made, on a reaſonable footing, of the land neceſſary, even under the dominion of their high mightineſſes. The ſluices that ſhall be conſtructed for that purpoſe, on the territory of the ſtates general, ſhall remain under their ſovereignty; and none ſhall be made in any place that might obſtruct the defence of their frontiers. Commiſſioners ſhall reſpectively be appointed, who ſhall be charged to determine the moſt convenient ſcite for the ſaid ſluices. They ſhall agree together about thoſe that are to be ſubjected to a common rule.

V. Their high mightineſſes having declared, by one of their reſolutions, that their intention was to indemnify thoſe of his imperial majeſty's ſubjects who have ſuffered by

by inundations, they appropriate to that object the 500,000 florins of Holland, mentioned in article I.

VI. Their high mightineſſes acknowledge the full right of abſolute and independent ſovereignty of his imperial majeſty over all the part of the Eſcaut, from Antwerp to the end of the country of Saftingen, conformably to the line of 1664, which it is agreed ſhall be cut, as the yellow line S. T. indicates, which falls back in T. on the limit of 1664, on the ſide of Brabant; as is indicated by the chart ſigned by the reſpective ambaſſadors. The ſtates general renounce in conſequence, the receiving and levying of any toll and impoſt in that part of the Eſcaut, on any title, or under any form whatſoever; as alſo the obſtructing in any manner the navigation and trade of his imperial majeſty's ſubjects; nor ſhall the latter be permitted to extend it further than is granted by the treaty of Munſter of the 30th of January 1648, which ſhall, in that reſpect, remain in full force and vigour.

VII. Their high mightineſſes ſhall evacuate and demoliſh the forts of Kruis-Schand, and of Frederick Henry, and cede the ſoil to his imperial majeſty.

VIII. Their high mightineſſes, willing to give to his majeſty the emperor a freſh proof of their deſire to re-eſtabliſh the moſt perfect harmony between the two ſtates, conſent to evacuate and give up to the diſpoſal of his imperial majeſty the forts of Lillo and of Liekenſhoek, with their fortifications, in the ſtate they are now in; the ſtates general reſerving to themſelves to withdraw from them the artillery, and the ammunition of every kind.

IX. The execution of the two articles above mentioned ſhall take place ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratification.

X. The ſtates general having yielded to the deſire which the emperor had intimated to them, of having the forts of Lillo and Liekenſhoek in their preſent ſtate, their high mightineſſes expect, from the friendſhip of his imperial majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to cede and give up to them all the rights he may have formed on the villages, called of Redemption, other than thoſe of which he may have already diſpoſed by exchanges with the principality of Liege. The count de Mercy, not being ſufficiently inſtructed, was pleaſed, at the requeſt and prayer of the mediator to take this propoſal, *ad referendum*.

XI. His majeſty renounces the pretenſions he had formed on the Ban and villages of Bladel and Reuſſel.

XII. The count de Mercy demands that the village of Poſtel, which, he ſays, is already ſubject to the dominion of the emperor, be ceded to his imperial majeſty by the ſtates general, who, to that effect, ſhall renounce all pretenſions; be it underſtood, that the effects of the Abbey of Poſtel, ſecularized by the ſtates general, ſhall not be claimed. The ambaſſadors of Holland have been pleaſed, on the prayer of the mediator, to take this article, *ad referendum*.

XIII. It is agreed, that the pecuniary pretenſions from ſovereign to ſovereign are compenſated and aboliſhed; and, as to thoſe which individuals may claim on one part and the other, commiſſioners ſhall be appointed to liquidate them.

XIV. Commiſſioners ſhall alſo

be nominated to reconnoitre the limits of Brabant, and to agree in a friendly manner about ſuch exchanges as might be of mutual conveniency.

XV. The treaty of Munſter, of the 30th of January 1648, ſhall be the baſis of the future definitive treaty, which is to be concluded in the ſpace of ſix weeks; and all the ſtipulations of the ſaid treaty of Munſter ſhall be retained, ſo far as nothing has derogated from them. The ambaſſadors of the ſtates general demand the repeal of the treaty of 1731, and namely of the article V.—the Count de Mercy has not thought proper to yield thereto.

"The above articles have been digeſted in the preſence of the Count de Vergennes, nominated by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to fill the function of mediator, and have been ſubſcribed by the ambaſſadors, under the approbation of the Emperor and of the States General."

Done at Paris, the 20th of September, 1785.

A correct Copy of the Prohibitory Act lately paſſed by the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſets in North America; which at this time is well worth the attention of all the trading intereſts of this country.

Commonwealth of Maſſachuſets:

In the year of our Lord 1785.

An Act for the Regulation of Navigation and Commerce.

WHEREAS it is become expedient and neceſſary for this commonwealth to make ſome commercial regulations for the encouragement of their own trade:

Therefore be it enacted, by the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, in general court aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the firſt day of Auguſt next, and during the continuance of this act, there ſhall not be exported, from any port, harbour, creek, bay, or inlet, river, or ſhore, or any other place within this commonwealth, any goods, wares, or merchandize, the growth, manufacture, or produce of this, or any of the United States, in any ſhip, veſſel, or craft of any kind, belonging (either in whole or in part) to, or being the property of, any of the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain.

Provided nevertheleſs, and whereas proclamations and orders have been iſſued by the governors of ſeveral parts of the Britiſh dominions, for prohibiting veſſels belonging to any of the United States from entering their ports, or trafficking there;

Be it further enacted, that in caſe the ſaid proclamations and orders ſhall be reverſed, and open trade allowed to ſuch veſſels, and the governor of this commonwealth being certified thereof, ſhall by advice of council publicly ſignify the ſame by his proclamation, then ſhall the foregoing clauſe of this act be diſcontinued, and ſhall ceaſe to operate during the time ſuch open trade ſhall be allowed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the ſaid firſt day of Auguſt next, if any ſhip, veſſel, or craft of any kind, as aforeſaid, be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, taking on board, or having taken

taken on board while in this commonwealth, any of the articles aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, every such ship, vessel, or craft, together with their lading, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized by any naval officer, collector of excise, or his deputy, or by any other citizen or citizens of the United States, and the same may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered, in any court of record within this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and after deducting the charges of prosecuting the same from the gross produce thereof, the remainder shall be given, one moiety to the person or persons who shall have made the seizure, and prosecuted the same, and the other moiety shall be paid into the treasury of the commonwealth, for the use of the same.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall not be taken out or landed from on board any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly belonging to, or the property of the citizens of the United States, any goods, wares, or merchandize in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the Ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth; and if any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly owned as aforesaid, shall be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth, aforesaid, discharging her loading, or any part thereof, or having discharged her loading, or any part thereof, otherwise than above-mentioned, the said ship, vessel, or craft, together with her loading, shall be seized and forfeited, to be recovered and appropriated as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall be paid by the master, owner, or consignee of every ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in part or in whole by any foreigner, at the time of entering the said ship, vessel, or craft, into the hands of the naval officer of the ports of Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth aforesaid, for the use and benefit of this commonwealth, a duty of five shillings per ton, for each and every ton said vessel may measure by carpenters measurement, and a farther duty of two shillings and eightpence per ton, as light money, in addition to what by law they are now subject to pay, for the use and service of the light-houses; and likewise pay unto the collector of impost or excise, for the counties of Suffolk, Cumberland, and Bristol, double the duty on the goods imported in said vessel, as is or may be paid at that time upon the like goods imported in a vessel belonging wholly to the citizens of the United States; and a further duty of sixpence shall be paid upon every bushel of salt imported in any ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in whole or in part by any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain; and previous to their breaking bulk, they shall give bond to the said collector for the payment of the same.

Provided nevertheless, that the said duty of sixpence per bushel on salt shall not be paid in case an open trade shall be permitted in the British dominions, and during the continuance of such open trade; such permission to be signified by the governor's proclamation as aforesaid.

And whereas ſome perſons, for the ſake of enjoying more extenſive privileges in commerce, have had double ſets of papers for their veſſels, in order that they might appear the property of one nation or another, as might beſt anſwer their purpoſes: for the prevention of which impoſitions,

Be it enacted, that from and after the firſt day of Auguſt next, any veſſel which may appear to have two ſets of papers, by the one of which ſhe may appear to be the property of the citizens of the United States, and by the other the property of foreigners; or if it ſhall be made to appear that any veſſel that has cleared at any naval office in this commonwealth, as the property of the citizens of theſe ſtates, ſhall afterwards enter and diſcharge her cargo taken in and cleared as aforeſaid, in any foreign port, as the property of a foreigner; ſaid veſſel, upon her return into this commonwealth, ſhall be forfeited, and may be ſeized by the naval officer of the port where ſhe may be found, or by any other perſon or perſons, who may proſecute for the ſame, to be recovered, and the money ariſing from ſuch forfeiture to be applied as aforeſaid, and the maſter of ſuch veſſel, ſo offending, ſhall forfeit and pay, for the uſe of this commonwealth, a ſum of 100l. to be recovered as aforeſaid.

And be it further enacted, that each naval officer in this commonwealth, previous to his admitting any veſſel to an entry, ſhall adminiſter the following oath or affirmation to the maſter, or one of the principal owners thereof (provided ſaid veſſel ſhall appear to be the property of the citizens of theſe ſtates) and certify it on the back of the regiſter (if not done before) in the following words:

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Then perſonally appeared before me . . one of the principal owners (or the commander, as the caſe may be) of the and made ſolemn oath (or affirmation) that the ſaid is the ſole property of the citizens of the United States, and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any part or ſhare therein.

Naval Officer.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any naval officer, or his deputy, ſhall preſume to enter or clear any veſſel, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or if any naval officer, collector of impoſt and exciſe, or their deputies, ſhall neglect any of the duties required of them by this act, he or they, ſo offending or neglecting their reſpective duties, ſhall forfeit and pay the ſum of 300l. one moiety thereof for the uſe of this commonwealth, and the other moiety thereof for the uſe of the perſon or perſons who may proſecute for the ſame, to be ſued for and recovered in any court of record in this commonwealth, proper to try the ſame; and in addition thereto ſhall be rendered incapable of any further exerciſe of his or their reſpective offices.

Provided nevertheleſs, that nothing in this act ſhall be conſtrued to prevent any ſhip or veſſel built in this commonwealth, and owned either in whole or in part by any of the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, from taking a cargo upon her firſt departure from this commonwealth,

monwealth, upon the ſame terms, and no further reſtrictions than if ſaid veſſel was owned by the citizens of theſe ſtates.

And be it further enacted, that this act ſhall continue in full force until the United States in congreſs aſſembled ſhall be veſted with competent power for the purpoſe, and ſhall have paſſed an ordinance for the regulation of the commerce of theſe ſtates; and the period may arrive when the ſaid ordinance is to take effect, and no longer.

In the houſe of repreſentatives, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had three ſeveral readings, paſſed to be enacted.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Speaker.

In ſenate, June 23, 1785. This bill having had two ſeveral readings, paſſed to be enacted.

SAMUEL PHILIPS, jun. Preſident.

By the Governor, Approved.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

True copy. Atteſt.

An authentic Copy of the Iriſh Reſolutions, with Amendments, as propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Die Jovis, 12 Maii, 1785.

1. THAT it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, that the intercourſe and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That a full participation of commercial advantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a proviſion equally permanent and ſecure ſhall be made by the parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying, in proportion to its growing proſperity, the neceſſary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

3. That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations, and at the ſame duties, if ſubject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country reſpectively, "except on arrack "and foreign brandy, and on rum, "and all ſorts of ſtrong waters, not "imported from the Britiſh colo-"nies in the Weſt Indies or Ame-"rica," ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

4. That it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, that it is eſſential towards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all laws which have been made, or ſhall be made in Great Britain, for ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhall be in force in Ireland in the ſame manner as in Great Britain; and that proper meaſures ſhould from time to time be taken, for effectually carrying the ſame into execution.

5. That it is further eſſential to this ſettlement, that all goods and

commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Britiſh or foreign colonies, in America or the Weſt Indies, and the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa, imported into Ireland, ſhould, on importation, be ſubject to the ſame duties as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be ſubject to, upon importation into Great Britain.

6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which ſhall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhould be put, by laws to be paſſed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the ſame regulations with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, to which the like goods are now ſubject, in paſſing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Iriſh linens into Great Britain.

7. That for the like purpoſe it is alſo expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhould be accompanied with ſuch original certificates of the revenue officers of the Britiſh ſugar colonies, as ſhall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly endorſed as to quantity, ſhould be ſent with the firſt parcel; and to identify the remainder, if ſhipped at any future period, new certificates ſhould be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what port.

8. That it is eſſential for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies or America, ſhould from this time be made liable to ſuch duties and drawbacks, and put under ſuch regulations, as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs incumbrance of duties or impoſitions, than the like goods ſhall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is eſſential to the general commercial intereſt of the empire, that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, ſhould be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country; and that ſo long as the parliament of this kingdom ſhall think it adviſable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhall be carried on ſolely by an excluſive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain, and that the ſhips going from Great Britain to any of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope ſhould not be reſtrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and

and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

10. That it is neceſſary, for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other ("except ſuch as either "kingdom may judge expedient, "from time to time, upon corn, "meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits,") and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to duty in either country, ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary, in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption.

11. That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to the amount payable in the other; and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as any ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of the ſame kingdom.

12. That it is alſo proper, that in all caſes where the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, except in the caſe of beer imported into Ireland; ſuch farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it ſhall be impoſed, and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture, in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of ſuch duty on the raw material is drawn back, or compenſated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, ſuch manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with a countervailing duty as may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame, ſo imported, to the ſame burdens as the manufacture compoſed of the like raw material is ſubject to, in conſequence of duties on the importation of ſuch material in the kingdom into which ſuch manufacture is ſo imported; and the ſaid manufactures, ſo imported, ſhall be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

13. That in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution.

14. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duty, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to

to the other; except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits.

15. That for the ſame purpoſe it is neceſſary that no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, beer, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compenſations for duties paid; and that no bounty ſhould be granted on the exportation of any article to any Britiſh colonies or plantations, or on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compenſation of or for duties paid, over and above any paid thereon in Britain.

16. That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from foreign ſtates ſhould be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

17. That it is expedient, that the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of Great Britain ſhould continue to be protected in the manner they are at preſent, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is juſt that meaſure ſhould be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of that kingdom.

18. That the appropriation of whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being ſecured by permanent proviſion) ſhall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds in each year, towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in ſuch manner as the parliament of Ireland ſhall direct, by an act to be paſſed for that purpoſe, will be a ſatisfactory proviſion, proportioned to the growing proſperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the neceſſary expences of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 17th reſolutions, are NEW.

The 12th and 18th reſolutions are ALTERED.

The words marked with inverted commas, in the 3d and 10th reſolutions, are NEW.

The Manchester Petition, ſigned by One hundred and Twenty thouſand Perſons, preſented to the Houſe of Lords, 17th June.

To the right honourable the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners, juſtly alarmed at the injurious tendency of the propoſitions, moved in the Iriſh houſe of commons by Mr. Orde, humbly petitioned the honourable

nourable the commons of Great Britain, upon their introduction into that honourable houſe, that they would be pleaſed to reject the ſame, as unjuſt, unwiſe, unreaſonable, and impolitic, not having either equity, equality, or reciprocity for their baſis; nor do they conceive, notwithſtanding the many and great alterations which they have undergone in that honourable houſe, that THAT reciprocity is by any means eſtabliſhed, which can alone make them permanent; becauſe, as far as your petitioners are able to comprehend, the principles upon which they are founded are by no means either equal or equitable, as not affording a ſufficient protection to the manufactures of the country, in proportion to the very heavy burdens with which they are loaded, and from which thoſe of Ireland are ſo nearly exempted; added to which, linens, the ſtaple manufacture of Ireland, are for ever to be admitted duty-free into this county, whilſt not only the ſtaple, but alſo every other manufacture of Great Britain, except that of linen, is to be charged with a duty of ten and an half per cent. upon their importation into Ireland, at the ſame time that the amount of Iriſh linens, imported into Great Britain, is nearly equal in value to the whole of the Britiſh manufactures exported to that country.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to ſtate to this right honourable houſe, the diſadvantages they labour under now, and have for ſome time ſuffered in their foreign markets, through the partial, not to ſay impolitic laws, in favour of Iriſh linens, to the excluſion of foreign linens from our market, and the depreſſion of the Britiſh linen manufacture. In Ruſſia there is now exiſting an impoſt of thirty per cent. ad valorem, upon ſome of our Engliſh manufactures; and in Germany a prohibitory edict has either already taken place, or is upon the point of ſo doing, and which in all probability the determination of the Britiſh legiſlature on the Iriſh propoſitions will tend to annul, or for ever confirm; if, therefore, inſtead of leaving an opening for a commercial regulation for thoſe ſtates who are ſo able, and have hitherto ſhewn themſelves ſo willing, upon the true principles of reciprocity, to increaſe in a very conſiderable degree the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, the legiſlature of this country ſhould preclude themſelves from the power of hearkening to fair and advantageous offers, and ſhould for ever bind themſelves from doing ſo, it may merit the moſt ſerious conſideration of this right honourable houſe, what meaſures your petitioners, as ſubjects and manufacturers of this nation, are to expect from powers ſo circumſtanced.

But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger ariſing immediately and directly from theſe propoſitions, as affecting the manufactures of the town and neighbourhood of Mancheſter only; but feel themſelves equally entitled as ſubjects of this country, to proteſt againſt all the propoſitions, taken aggregately, as a new and deſtructive ſyſtem of policy, which, by univerſally undermining the commercial intereſts of Great Britain, muſt conſequently affect every intereſt, trade, and manufacture within it, the proſperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce, and proſperity of the whole nation.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to

to obſerve to this right honourable houſe, that if the propoſitions had paſſed in the ſtate in which they were originally introduced into the Britiſh houſe of commons, it is evident, from the alterations which that honourable houſe has ſince judged it expedient to make in them, the moſt fatal conſequences muſt have enſued to the landed, funded, and commercial intereſts of Great Britain; and though ſomething has been done, much more remains to be effected, and which your petitioners hope for, from the wiſdom, integrity, and independence of your lordſhips.

Your petitioners are fully convinced that no ſyſtem but what preſcribes a participation of burthens, as well as advantages, can either be fair, equitable, or permanent, and therefore they are of opinion, that a complete union in commerce, policy, and legiſlation, is the moſt probable means of eſtabliſhing a laſting harmony and good-will between the two nations, and preventing that jealouſy and diſcord which the preſent propoſitions are ſo very likely to promote and encourage: but ſuch ſyſtem, they humbly apprehend, can only be the reſult of mature deliberation, and which your petitioners preſume there is not time to eſtabliſh at this advanced period of the ſeſſion.

Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips, that they may be heard by themſelves or counſel at the bar of this right honourable houſe, againſt the ſaid propoſitions: and that your lordſhips will grant them ſuch relief as to this right honourable houſe ſhall ſeem meet.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

This petition was ſigned by one hundred and twenty thouſand perſons.

The following is the letter written by the King of Pruſſia *to the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, relative to the Prince of* Orange.

"High and mighty lords, and particularly good friends and neighbours, &c.

"WE, Frederic, by the grace of God, king of Pruſſia, margrave of Brandenbourg, &c. &c. &c.

"After having communicated to your high mightineſſes our uneaſineſs and intentions by our ample leter of the 29th of February, of the laſt year, reſpecting the diſagreeable ſituation for ſome time before of the lord hereditary ſtadtholder prince of Orange and Naſſau; and having received on that head, on the part of your high mightineſſes, by your anſwer of the 31ſt of Auguſt of the ſame year, aſſurances ſo agreeable reſpecting that affair, we did hope that theſe circumſtances would not have taken place any more; but, on the contrary, that the ſaid lord hereditary ſtadtholder would have been left in the quiet exerciſe of the inconteſtible prerogatives appertaining to his dignity of hereditary ſtadtholder.

"But ſince we learn the contrary, and even ſome very unfavourable advices from ſome of the provinces of your high mightineſſes, this has excited us to diſpatch to the lords ſtates of the province of Holland and Weſt Friſeland, a letter of which a copy is incloſed.

"Being

"Being convinced of your high mightineſſes love of equity, and of your affection for the houſe of Orange and Naſſau, which has merited it, in all the ſtates of the United Provinces, we moſt earneſtly pray your high mightineſſes, by the preſent, as a neighbour and friend, to interpoſe in the preſent diſagreeable events, and that you will addreſs with zeal, both the lords, ſtates of Holland and Weſt Friſeland, and the ſtates of the other provinces, where neceſſary, in order that the lord hereditary ſtadtholder may peaceably enjoy the right belonging to him hereditarily, that thoſe taken from him may be reſtored, and that a perfect harmony may be re-eſtabliſhed.

"Thus we recommend by the preſent, in the moſt ſerious manner to your high mightineſſes, the welfare and intereſts of the lord hereditary ſtadtholder, of our dear niece, and of their family, which gives ſo much hopes; that your high mightineſſes therefore will vouchſafe to take into deliberation, and make the lords of the reſpective ſtates conſider, that we cannot be indifferent reſpecting the cruel and unmerited fate of perſons ſo nearly related to us; but, on the contrary, that we ſhall watch over the preſervation of the welfare due to them, and to which we ought to contribute by every poſſible means. To that effect, we effectually preſent our impartial mediation, in quality of friend and neighbour, and with the beſt intentions.

"We hope to ſee, in conſequence, that our wiſhes will be fulfilled in that reſpect; and in this expectation we remain at all times, affectionate to your high mightineſſes as a friend and a neighbour.

FREDERICK.

Berlin, Sept. 18, 1785.

and underneath

HERTSBERG.

FINCKENSTEIN.

Heads *of the principal* Acts *of* Parliament, *paſſed in the Year* 1784.

AN act for eſtabliſhing certain regulations concerning the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the poſt between Great Britain and Ireland.

An act for further continuing, for a limited time, an act made in the twenty-third year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An act for preventing certain inſtruments from being required from ſhips belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majeſty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the ſubjects of his majeſty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the ſaid United States."

An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the Eaſt India company, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; and for eſtabliſhing a court of judicature, for the more ſpeedy and effectual trial of perſons accuſed of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies.

An act to enable his majeſty to grant to the heirs of the former proprietors, upon certain terms and conditions, the forfeited eſtates in Scotland, which were put under the management of a board of truſtees, by an act paſſed in the twenty-fifth year

year of the reign of his late majeſty king George the Second; and to repeal the ſaid act.

An act for the effectual tranſportation of felons, and other offenders; and to authorize the removal of priſoners in certain caſes; and for other purpoſes therein mentioned.

An act for granting to his majeſty certain additional rates of poſtage for conveyance of letters and packets by the poſt, within the kingdom of Great Britain; for preventing frauds in the revenue carried on by the conveyance of certain goods in letters and packets; and for further preventing frauds and abuſes in relation to the ſending and receiving of letters and packets free from poſtage.

Heads *of the principal* Acts *of* Parment *paſſed in* 1785.

FOR confining, for a limited time, the trade between the ports of the United States of America, and his majeſty's ſubjects in the iſland of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, and live ſtock, to be imported in none but Britiſh-built ſhips, actually belonging to Britiſh ſubjects, and navigated according to law, clearing out from the ports of his majeſty's European dominions, and furniſhed with a licence according to a form thereunto annexed.

For appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the ſeveral public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame, and to report ſuch obſervations as ſhall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the buſineſs tranſacted in the ſaid offices.

For the better regulating the office of the treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.

For the better examining and auditing the public accounts of this kingdom.

For appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the loſſes and ſervices of all ſuch perſons who have ſuffered in their rights, properties, and profeſſions, during the late unhappy diſſenſions in America, in conſequence of their loyalty to his majeſty, and attachment to the Britiſh government.

To limit the duration of polls and ſcrutinies, and for making other regulations, touching the election of members to ſerve in parliament for places within England and Wales, and for Berwick upon Tweed; and alſo for removing difficulties which may ariſe for want of returns being made of members to ſerve in parliament.

CHA-

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Account and Character of the natives of the Friendly Islands: *From Vol.* I. *of Captain* Cook's *last voyage to the* Pacific Ocean, *in the years* 1776, 1777, 1778, 1780.

"THE natives of the Friendly Islands seldom exceed the common stature (though we have measured some, who were above six feet); but are very strong, and well made; especially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the shoulders; and though the muscular disposition of the men, which seems a consequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of strength than of beauty, there are several to be seen, who are really handsome. Their features are very various; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness, by which to characterize them, unless it be a fullness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But, on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noses, amongst them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the last neither so remarkably white, nor so well set as is often found amongst Indian nations; though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickness about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection.

The women are not so much distinguished from the men by their features as by their general form, which is, for the most part, destitute of that strong fleshy firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are so delicate, as not only to be a true index of their sex, but to lay claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, the rule is, by no means, so general as in many other countries. But, at the same time, this is frequently the most exceptionable part; for the bodies and limbs of most of the females are well proportioned; and some, absolutely, perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the most remarkable distinction in the women, is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown; but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and some of the last are even a great deal fairer; which is probably the effect of being less exposed to the sun; as a tendency to corpulence, in a few of the principal people, seems to be the consequence of a more indolent life. It is also amongst the last, that a soft clear skin is most frequently observed. Amongst the bulk of the people, the skin is, more commonly, of a dull hue,

with ſome degree of roughneſs, eſpecially the parts that are not covered; which, perhaps, may be occaſioned by ſome cutaneous diſeaſe. We ſaw a man and boy at Happaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongſt all black nations; but I apprehend that their colour is rather a diſeaſe, than a natural phænomenon.

There are, nevertheleſs, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongſt them; though we ſaw two or three with their feet bent inward; and ſome afflicted with a ſort of blindneſs, occaſioned by a diſeaſe of the *cornea*. Neither are they exempt from ſome other diſeaſes. The moſt common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that ſeems to affect almoſt one half of them, and leaves whitiſh ſerpentine marks, every where, behind it. But this is of leſs conſequence than another diſeaſe, which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers with thick white edges, diſcharging a thin, clear matter; ſome of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly thoſe on the face, which were ſhocking to look at. And yet we met with ſome who ſeemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not effected without the loſs of the noſe, or of the beſt part of it. As we know for a certainty * (and the fact is acknowledged by themſelves), that the people of theſe iſlands were ſubject to this loathſome diſeaſe before the Engliſh firſt viſited them, notwithſtanding the ſimilarity of ſymptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion; unleſs we adopt a ſuppoſition, which I could wiſh had ſufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal diſorder was not introduced here from Europe, by our ſhips in 1773. It, aſſuredly, was now found to exiſt amongſt them; for we had not been long there, before ſome of our people received the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence, that all the care I took, when I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, to prevent this dreadful diſeaſe from being communicated to their inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not ſeem to regard it much; and as we ſaw few ſigns of its deſtroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of theſe people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other diſeaſes frequent amongſt them; one of which is an indolent firm ſwelling, which affects the legs and arms, and increaſes them to an extraordinary ſize in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the ſame ſort, in the teſticles, which ſometimes exceed the ſize of the two fiſts. But, in other reſpects, they may be conſidered as uncommonly healthy; not a ſingle perſon having been ſeen, during our ſtay, confined to the houſe, by ſickneſs of any kind. On the contrary, their ſtrength and activity are, every way, anſwerable to their muſcular appearance; and they exert both, in their uſual employment, and in their diverſions, in ſuch a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being, as yet,

* See Vol. ii. p. 20. of Captain Cook's Voyage, where he gives a particular account of meeting with a perſon afflicted with this diſeaſe, at Annamooka, on his landing there in 1773.

little

little debilitated by the numerous diſeaſes that are the conſequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life.

The graceful air and firm ſtep with which theſe people walk, are not the leaſt obvious proof of their perſonal accompliſhments. They conſider this as a thing ſo natural, or ſo neceſſary to be acquired, that nothing uſed to excite their laughter ſooner, than to ſee us frequently ſtumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably expreſs the abundant mildneſs, or good-nature which they poſſeſs; and are entirely free from that ſavage keenneſs which marks nations in a barbarous ſtate. One would, indeed, be apt to fancy that they had been bred up under the ſevereſt reſtrictions, to acquire an aſpect ſo ſettled, and ſuch a command of their paſſions, as well as ſteadineſs in conduct. But they are, at the ſame time, frank, cheerful, and good-humoured; though, ſometimes, in the preſence of their Chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and ſuch a ſerious air as becomes ſtiff and aukward, and has an appearance of reſerve.

Their peaceable diſpoſition is ſufficiently evinced, from the friendly reception all ſtrangers have met with, who have viſited them. Inſtead of offering to attack them openly, or clandeſtinely, as has been the caſe with moſt of the inhabitants of theſe ſeas, they have never appeared, in the ſmalleſt degree, hoſtile; but on the contrary, like the moſt civilized people, have courted an intercourſe with their viſiters, by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a ſort of friendſhip. They underſtand barter (which they call *fukkatou*) ſo perfectly, that, at firſt, we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourſe with the neighbouring iſlands; but we were afterwards aſſured, that they had little or no traffic, except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers, and the few other articles, mentioned before. Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honeſty and leſs diſtruſt. We could always ſafely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about, one to another; and they put the ſame confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual conſent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they ſeem poſſeſſed of many of the moſt excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; ſuch as induſtry, ingenuity, perſeverance, affability, and, perhaps, other virtues which our ſhort ſtay with them might prevent our obſerving.

The only defect ſullying their character, that we know of, is a propenſity to thieving; to which, we found, thoſe of all ages, and both ſexes, addicted; and to an uncommon degree. It ſhould, however, be conſidered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct ſeemed to exiſt merely with reſpect to us; for, in their general intercourſe with one another, I had reaſon to be of opinion, that theſts do not happen more frequently (perhaps leſs ſo) than in other countries, the diſhoneſt practices of whoſe worthleſs individuals are not ſuppoſed to authorize any indiſcriminate cenſure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances ſhould be made for the foibles of theſe poor natives of the Pacific Ocean,

whoſe minds we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them, as they were captivating. Stealing, amongſt the civilized and enlightened nations of the world, may well be conſidered as denoting a character deeply ſtained with moral turpitude, with avarice unreſtrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other iſlands which we viſited, the thefts, ſo frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to leſs culpable motives. They ſeemed to ariſe, ſolely, from an intenſe curioſity or deſire to poſſeſs ſomething which they had not been accuſtomed to before, and belonging to a ſort of people ſo different from themſelves. And, perhaps, if it were poſſible, that a ſet of beings, ſeemingly as ſuperior in our judgment, as we are in theirs, ſhould appear amongſt us, it might be doubted, whether our natural regard to juſtice would be able to reſtrain many from falling into the ſame error. That I have aſſigned the true motive for their propenſity to this practice, appears from their ſtealing every thing indiſcriminately at firſt ſight, before they could have the leaſt conception of converting their prize to any one uſeful purpoſe. But, I believe, with us, no perſon would forfeit his reputation, or expoſe himſelf to puniſhment, without knowing, before hand, how to employ the ſtolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering diſpoſition of theſe iſlanders, though certainly diſagreeable and troubleſome to ſtrangers, was the means of affording us ſome information, as to the quickneſs of their intellects. For their ſmall thefts were committed with much dexterity; and thoſe of greater conſequence with a plan or ſcheme ſuited to the importance of the objects. An extraordinary inſtance of the laſt ſort, their attempts to carry away one of the Diſcovery's anchors, at mid-day, has been already related.

Their hair is, in general, ſtraight, thick, and ſtrong; though a few have it buſhy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almoſt without exception, is black; but the greateſt part of the men, and ſome of the women, have it ſtained of a brown, or purple colour; and a few of an orange caſt. The firſt colour is produced by applying a ſort of plaſter of burnt coral, mixed with water; the ſecond, by the raſpings of a reddiſh wood, which is made up with water into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of *turmeric* root.

When I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, I thought it had been an univerſal cuſtom for both men and women to wear the hair ſhort; but, during our preſent longer ſtay, we ſaw a great many exceptions. Indeed, they are ſo whimſical in their faſhions of wearing it, that it is hard to tell which is moſt in vogue. Some have it cut off from one ſide of the head, while that on the other ſide remains long; ſome have only a portion of it cut ſhort, or, perhaps, ſhaved; others have it entirely cut off, except a ſingle lock, which is left commonly on one ſide; or, it is ſuffered to grow to its full length, without any of theſe mutilations. The women, in general, wear it ſhort. The men have their beards cut ſhort; and both men and women

men ſtrip the hair from their armpits. The operation by which this is performed has been already deſcribed. The men are ſtained from about the middle of the belly, to about half way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone inſtrument, cut full of fine teeth, which, being dipped in the ſtaining mixture, prepared from the juice of the *dooe dooe*, is ſtruck into the ſkin with a bit of ſtick; and, by that means, indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which, in ſome, are very elegant, both from the variety, and from the arrangement. The women have only a few ſmall lines or ſpots, thus imprinted, on the inſide of their hands. Their kings, as a mark of diſtinction, are exempted from this cuſtom, as alſo from inflicting on themſelves any of thoſe bloody marks of mourning, which ſhall be mentioned in another place.

The men are all circumciſed, or rather ſuperciſed; as the operation conſiſts in cutting off only a ſmall piece of the foreſkin, at the upper part; which, by that means, is rendered incapable, ever after, of covering the *glans*. This is all they aim at; as they ſay, the operation is practiſed from a notion of cleanlineſs.

The dreſs of both men and women is the ſame; and conſiſts of a piece of cloth or matting (but moſtly the former), about two yards wide, and two and half long; at leaſt, ſo long as to go once and a half round the waiſt, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down, like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment, above the girdle, is plaited into ſeveral folds; ſo that, when unfolded, there is cloth ſufficient to draw up and wrap round the ſhoulders; which is very ſeldom done. This, as to form, is the general dreſs; but large pieces of cloth, and fine matting, are worn only by the ſuperior people. The inferior ſort are ſatisfied with ſmall pieces; and, very often, wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the *maro*, which is a narrow piece of cloth, or matting, like a ſaſh. This they paſs between the thighs, and wrap round the waiſt; but the uſe of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *haiwas*, or entertainments, they have various dreſſes made for the purpoſe; but the form is always the ſame; and the richeſt dreſſes are covered, more or leſs, with red feathers. On what particular occaſion their Chiefs wear their large red feather-caps, I could not learn. Both men and women ſometimes ſhade their faces from the ſun with little bonnets, made of various materials.

As the cloathing, ſo are the ornaments, worn by thoſe of both ſexes, the ſame. The moſt common of theſe are necklaces, made of the fruit of the *pandanus*, and various ſweet-ſmelling flowers, which go under the general name of *kahulla*. Others are compoſed of ſmall ſhells, the wing and leg-bones of birds, ſhark's teeth, and other things; all which hang looſe upon the breaſt. In the ſame manner, they often wear a mother-of-pearl ſhell, neatly poliſhed, or a ring of the ſame ſubſtance carved, on the upper part of the arm; rings of tortoiſe-ſhell on the fingers; and a number of theſe, joined together, as bracelets on the wriſts.

The lobes of the ears (though,

moſt frequently, only one) are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory, about three inches long, introduced at one hole, and brought out of the other; or bits of reed of the ſame ſize, filled with a yellow pigment. This ſeems to be a fine powder of *turmeric*, with which the women rub themſelves all over, in the ſame manner as our ladies uſe their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

Nothing appears to give them greater pleaſure than perſonal cleanlineſs; to produce which, they frequently bathe in the ponds, which ſeem to ſerve no other purpoſe *. Though the water in moſt of them ſtinks intolerably, they prefer them to the ſea; and they are ſo ſenſible that ſalt water hurts their ſkin, that when neceſſity obliges them to bathe in the ſea, they commonly have ſome cocoa-nut ſhells, filled with freſh water, poured over them, to waſh it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the ſame reaſon; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and ſhoulders, but rub the body all over, briſkly, with a ſmaller quantity. And none but thoſe who have ſeen this practice, can eaſily conceive how the appearance of the ſkin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one; and the inferior ſort of people, doubtleſs, appear leſs ſmooth for the want of it."

Account and Character of the Natives of Otaheite; *from Vol. II. of the ſame Work.*

"NOTHING could make a ſtronger impreſſion, at firſt ſight, on our arrival here, than the remarkable contraſt between the robuſt make and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo †, and a ſort of delicacy and whiteneſs, which diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even ſome time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheiteans; and then only, perhaps, becauſe we became accuſtomed to them, the marks which had recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, ſtruck us as ſuperior in every reſpect; and as poſſeſſing all thoſe delicate characteriſtics, which diſtinguiſh them from the other ſex in many countries. The beard which the men here wear long, and the hair which is not cut ſo ſhort, as is the faſhion at Tongataboo, made alſo a great difference; and we could not help thinking, that, on every occaſion, they ſhewed a greater degree of timidity and fickleneſs. The muſcular appearance, ſo common amongſt the Friendly Iſlanders, and which ſeems a conſequence of their being accuſtomed to much action, is loſt here, where the ſuperior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is ſupplied by a plumpneſs and ſmoothneſs of the ſkin; which,

* So at the Caroline Iſlands. "Ils ſont accoutumés à ſe baigner trois fois, le jour, le matin, à midi, et ſur le ſoir." *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 314.

† One of the Friendly Iſlands.

though,

though, perhaps, more conſonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage; as it ſeems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions, not obſervable in the others. This obſervation is fully verified, in their boxing and wreſtling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which theſe exerciſes are performed at the Friendly Iſlands.

Perſonal endowments being in great eſteem amongſt them, they have recourſe to ſeveral methods of improving them, according to their notions of beauty. In particular, it is a practice, eſpecially amongſt the *Erreoes*, or unmarried men of ſome conſequence, to undergo a kind of phyſical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the houſe; during which time they wear a great quantity of clothes, eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they aſcribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They alſo ſpeak, as if their corpulence and colour, at other times, depended upon their food; as they are obliged, from the change of ſeaſons, to uſe different ſorts at different times.

Their common diet is made up of, at leaſt, nine-tenths of vegetable food; and, I believe, more particularly, the *mahee*, or fermented bread-fruit, which enters almoſt every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a coſtive habit, and producing a very ſenſible coolneſs about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food. And it is, perhaps, owing to this temperate courſe of life that they have ſo few diſeaſes among them.

They only reckon five or ſix, which might be called chronic, or national diſorders; amongſt which are the dropſy, and the *ſefai*, or indolent ſwellings before mentioned, as frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this ſhort catalogue, a diſeaſe which abundantly ſupplies the place of all the others, and is now almoſt univerſal. For this they ſeem to have no effectual remedy. The prieſts, indeed, ſometimes give them a medley of ſimples; but they own that it never cures them. And yet, they allow that, in a few caſes, nature, without the aſſiſtance of a phyſician, exterminates the poiſon of this fatal diſeaſe, and a perfect recovery is produced. They ſay, that if a man is infected with it, he will often communicate it to others in the ſame houſe, by feeding out of the ſame utenſils, or handling them; and that, in this caſe, they frequently die, while he recovers; though we ſee no reaſon why this ſhould happen.

Their behaviour, on all occaſions, ſeems to indicate a great openneſs and generoſity of diſpoſition. Omai, indeed, who, as their countryman, ſhould be ſuppoſed rather willing to conceal any of their defects, has often ſaid, that they are ſometimes cruel in puniſhing their enemies. According to his repreſentation, they torment them very deliberately; at one time, tearing out ſmall pieces of fleſh from different parts; at another, taking out the eyes; then cutting off the noſe; and laſtly, killing them by opening the belly. But this only happens on particular occaſions. If cheerfulneſs argues a conſcious innocence, one would ſuppoſe that their life is ſeldom ſullied by crimes. This,

however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, ſeem in no caſe permanent; for I never ſaw them, in any misfortune, labour under the appearance of anxiety, after the critical moment was paſt. Neither does care ever ſeem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their uſual vivacity. I have ſeen them, when brought to the brink of the grave by diſeaſe, and when preparing to go to battle; but, in neither caſe, ever obſerved their countenances overclouded with melancholy, or ſerious reflection.

Such a diſpoſition, leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleaſure and eaſe. Their amuſements all tend to excite and continue their amorous paſſions; and their ſongs, of which they are immoderately fond, anſwer the ſame purpoſe. But as a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſenſual enjoyments muſt cloy, we found, that they frequently varied them to more refined ſubjects, and had much pleaſure in chanting their triumphs in war, and their occupations in peace; their travels to other iſlands and adventures there; and the peculiar beauties, and ſuperior advantages of their own iſland over the reſt, or of different parts of it over other leſs favourite diſtricts. This marks, that they receive great delight from muſic; and though they rather expreſſed a diſlike to our complicated compoſitions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious ſounds produced ſingly on our inſtruments, as approaching nearer to the ſimplicity of their own.

Neither are they ſtrangers to the ſoothing effects produced by particular ſorts of motion; which, in ſome caſes, ſeem to allay any perturbation of mind, with as much ſucceſs as muſic. Of this, I met with a remarkable inſtance. For on walking, one day, about Matavai Point, where our tents were erected, I ſaw a man paddling, in a ſmall canoe, ſo quickly, and looking about with ſuch eagerneſs, on each ſide, as to command all my attention. At firſt, I imagined that he had ſtolen ſomething from one of the ſhips, and was purſued; but, on waiting patiently, ſaw him repeat his amuſement. He went out from the ſhore, till he was near the place where the ſwell begins to take its riſe; and, watching its firſt motion very attentively, paddled before it, with great quickneſs, till he found that it overtook him, and had acquired ſufficient force to carry his canoe before it, without paſſing underneath. He then ſat motionleſs, and was carried along, at the ſame ſwift rate as the wave, till it landed him upon the beach. Then he ſtarted out, emptied his canoe, and went in ſearch of another ſwell. I could not help concluding, that this man felt the moſt ſupreme pleaſure, while he was driven on, ſo faſt and ſo ſmoothly, by the ſea; eſpecially as, though the tents and ſhips were ſo near, he did not ſeem, in the leaſt, to envy, or even to take any notice of, the crowds of his countrymen collected to view them as objects which were rare and curious. During my ſtay, two or three of the natives came up, who ſeemed to ſhare his felicity, and always called out, when there was an appearance of a favourable ſwell, as he ſometimes miſſed it, by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I underſtood, that this exerciſe, which is called *eboroae*, was frequent amongſt

amongſt them; and they have probably more amuſements of this ſort, which afford them at leaſt as much pleaſure as ſkaiting, which is the only one of ours, with whoſe effects I could compare it.

The language of Otaheite, though doubtleſs radically the ſame with that of New Zealand and the Friendly Iſlands, is deſtitute of that guttural pronunciation, and of ſome conſonants, with which thoſe latter dialects abound. The ſpecimens we have already given, are ſufficient to mark wherein the variation chiefly conſiſts, and to ſhew, that, like the manners of the inhabitants, it has become ſoft and ſoothing. During the former voyage, I had collected a copious vocabulary, which enabled me the better to compare this dialect with that of the other iſlands; and, during this voyage, I took every opportunity of improving my acquaintance with it, by converſing with Omai, before we arrived, and by my daily intercourſe with the natives, while we now remained there*. It abounds with beautiful and figurative expreſſions, which, were it perfectly known, would, I have no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are moſt in eſteem for their warm and bold images. For inſtance; the Otaheiteans expreſs their notions of death very emphatically, by ſaying, "That the ſoul goes into darkneſs; or rather into night." And, if you ſeem to entertain any doubt, in aſking the queſtion, "if ſuch a perſon is their mother?" they immediately reply, with ſurprize, "Yes, the mother that bore me." They have one expreſſion that correſponds exactly with the phraſeology of the ſcriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They uſe it on all occaſions, when the paſſions give them uneaſineſs; as they conſtantly refer pain from grief, anxious deſire, and other affections, to the bowels, as its ſeat; where they likewiſe ſuppoſe all operations of the mind are performed. Their language admits of that inverted arrangement of words, which ſo much diſtinguiſhes the Latin and Greek from moſt of our modern European tongues, whoſe imperfections require a more orderly conſtruction, to prevent ambiguities. It is ſo copious, that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different ſtates, they have above twenty names; as many for the *taro* root; and about ten for the cocoa-nut. Add to this, that, beſides the common dialect, they often expoſtulate, in a kind of ſtanza or recitative, which is anſwered in the ſame manner."

Character of Captain Cook: *from Vol. III of the ſame Work, written by Captain* King; *being a Continuation of the Voyage from the Death of Captain* Cook, *to the Return of the* Reſolution *and* Diſcovery *to* England.

CAPTAIN King, after relating the manner of Captain Cook's death, proceeds as follows:

* See this vocabulary, at the end of the ſecond volume of Captain Cook's ſecond voyage. Many corrections, and additions to it, were now made by this indefatigable inquirer; but the ſpecimens of the language of Otaheite, already in the hands of the Public, ſeem ſufficient for every uſeful purpoſe.

"THUS

"THUS fell our great and excellent Commander! After a life of ſo much diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful enterprize, his death, as far as regards himſelf, cannot be reckoned premature; ſince he lived to finiſh the great work for which he ſeems to have been deſigned; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquiſition, of glory. How ſincerely his loſs was felt and lamented, by thoſe who had ſo long found their general ſecurity in his ſkill and conduct, and every conſolation, under their hardſhips, in his tenderneſs and humanity, it is neither neceſſary nor poſſible for me to deſcribe; much leſs ſhall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were ſtruck, and the univerſal dejection and diſmay which followed ſo dreadful and unexpected a calamity. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to turn from ſo ſad a ſcene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, whilſt I am paying my laſt tribute to the memory of a dear and honoured friend, in a ſhort hiſtory of his life, and public ſervices.

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkſhire, on the 27th of October, 1728; and, at an early age, was put apprentice to a ſhopkeeper in a neighbouring village. His natural inclination not having been conſulted on this occaſion, he ſoon quitted the counter from diſguſt, and bound himſelf, for nine years, to the maſter of a veſſel in the coal trade. At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the king's ſervice, on board the Eagle, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer, and afterward by Sir Hugh Palliſer, who ſoon diſcovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck.

In the year 1758, we find him maſter of the Northumberland, the flag ſhip of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the ſquadron ſtationed on the coaſt of America. It was here, as I have often heard him ſay, that, during a hard winter, he firſt read Euclid, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of mathematics and aſtronomy, without any other aſſiſtance, than what a few books, and his own induſtry, afforded him. At the ſame time, that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind, and to ſupply the deficiencies of an early education, he was employed in moſt of the buſy and active ſcenes of the war in America. At the ſiege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of ſervices, of the firſt importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham; examined the paſſage, and laid buoys for the ſecurity of the large ſhips in proceeding up the river. The courage and addreſs with which he acquitted himſelf in theſe ſervices, gained him the warm friendſhip of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronize him, during the reſt of their lives, with the greateſt zeal and affection. At the concluſion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliſer, to ſurvey the Gulf of St. Laurence, and the coaſts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas, for the purpoſe of obſerving the tranſit of *Venus*, and

proſecuting

profecuting diſcoveries in that part of the globe.

From this period, as his ſervices are too well known to require a recital here, ſo his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyrick. Indeed, he appears to have been moſt eminently and peculiarly qualified for this ſpecies of enterprize. The earlieſt habits of his life, the courſe of his ſervices, and the conſtant application of his mind, all conſpired to fit him for it, and give him a degree of profeſſional knowledge, which can fall to the lot of very few.

The conſtitution of his body was robuſt, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the ſevereſt hardſhips. His ſtomach bore, without difficulty, the coarſeſt and moſt ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was ſcarcely a virtue; ſo great was the indifference with which he ſubmitted to every kind of ſelf-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the ſame hardy, vigorous kind with thoſe of his body. His underſtanding was ſtrong and perſpicuous. His judgment, in whatever related to the ſervices he was engaged in, quick and ſure. His deſigns were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable preſence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been juſtly blamed, as ſubject to haſtineſs and paſſion, had not theſe been diſarmed by a diſpoſition the moſt benevolent and humane.

Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its moſt diſtinguiſhing feature was, that unremitting perſeverence in the purſuit of his object, which was not only ſuperior to the oppoſition of dangers, and the preſſure of hardſhips, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerneſs and activity were never in the leaſt abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even thoſe intervals of recreation, which ſometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that perſons, who have experienced the fatigues of ſervice, will readily excuſe, were ſubmitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further proviſion for the more effectual proſecution of his deſigns.

It is not neceſſary, here, to enumerate the inſtances in which theſe qualities were diſplayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged. I ſhall content myſelf with ſtating the reſult of thoſe ſervices, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, thoſe of geography and navigation, placing each in a ſeparate and diſtinct point of view.

Perhaps no ſcience ever received greater additions from the labours of a ſingle man, than geography has done from thoſe of Captain Cook. In his firſt voyage to the South Seas, he diſcovered the ſtraits which ſeparate the two iſlands, and are called after his name; and made a complete ſurvey of both. He afterwards explored the Eaſtern coaſt of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-ſeven degrees

of

of latitude, or upwards of two thouſand miles.

In his ſecond expedition, he reſolved the great problem of a Southern continent; having traverſed that hemiſphere between the latitudes of 40° and 70°, in ſuch a manner, as not to leave a poſſibility of its exiſtence, unleſs near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage, he diſcovered New Caledonia, the largeſt iſland in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the iſland of Georgia; and an unknown coaſt, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the Southern hemiſphere; and having twice viſited the tropical ſeas, he ſettled the ſituations of the old, and made ſeveral new diſcoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating, is diſtinguiſhed, above all the reſt, by the extent and importance of its diſcoveries. Beſides ſeveral ſmaller iſlands in the Southern Pacific, he diſcovered, to the North of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Iſlands; which, from their ſituation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of conſequence, in the ſyſtem of European navigation, than any other diſcovery in the South Sea. He afterwards explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the Weſtern coaſt of America, from the latitude of 43° to 70° North, containing an extent of three thouſand five hundred miles; aſcertained the proximity of the two great continents of Aſia and America; paſſed the ſtraits between them, and ſurveyed the coaſt on each ſide, to ſuch a height of northern latitude, as to demonſtrate the impracticability of a paſſage, in that hemiſphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific ocean, either by an Eaſtern or a Weſtern courſe. In ſhort, if we except the ſea of Amur, and the Japaneſe Archipelago, which ſtill remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

As a navigator, his ſervices were not perhaps leſs ſplendid; certainly not leſs important and meritorious. The method which he diſcovered, and ſo ſucceſsfully purſued, of preſerving the health of ſeamen, forms a new æra in navigation, and will tranſmit his name to future ages, amongſt the friends and benefactors of mankind.

Thoſe who are converſant in naval hiſtory, need not be told, at how dear a rate the advantages which have been ſought through the medium of long voyages at ſea, have always been purchaſed. That dreadful diſorder which is peculiar to this ſervice, and whoſe ravages have marked the tracks of diſcoveries with circumſtances almoſt too ſhocking to relate, muſt, without exerciſing an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our ſeamen, have proved an inſuperable obſtacle to the proſecution of ſuch enterprizes. It was reſerved for Captain Cook, to ſhew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unuſual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminiſhing the probability of life in the ſmalleſt degree. The method he purſued has been fully explained by himſelf, in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776*; and whatever improve-

* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him, on that occaſion.

ment,

ment, the experience of the preſent voyages has ſuggeſted, are mentioned in their proper places.

With reſpect to his profeſſional abilities, I ſhall leave them to the judgment of thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the nature of the ſervices in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of ſo much danger and difficulty, of ſo unuſual a length, and in ſuch a variety of ſituation, with uniform and invariable ſucceſs, muſt have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his buſineſs, but a powerful and comprehenſive genius, fruitful in reſources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the ſervice required.

Having given the moſt faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own obſervation, and the relation of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and alſo of his character and ſervices; I ſhall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of poſterity; accepting, with a melancholy ſatisfaction, the honour, which the loſs of him hath procured me, of ſeeing my name joined with his; and of teſtifying that affection and reſpect for his memory, which, whilſt he lived, it was no leſs my inclination, than my conſtant ſtudy to ſhew him."

General Account and Character of the Natives of the Sandwich Iſlands; *from the ſame Volume.*

"THE natives of theſe iſlands are, in general, above the middle ſize, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are ſomewhat inferior, in point of ſtrength and activity, to the Friendly iſlanders, and the women leſs delicately limbed than thoſe of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether ſo handſome a people. However, many of both ſexes had fine open countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a ſweetneſs and ſenſibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a browniſh black, and neither uniformly ſtraight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongſt the African negroes, but varying, in this reſpect, like the hair of Europeans. One ſtriking peculiarity, in the feature of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have ſeen any where mentioned; which is, that, even in the handſomeſt faces, there is always a fulneſs of the noſtril, without any flatneſs or ſpreading of the noſe, that diſtinguiſhes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their uſual mode of ſalutation, which is performed by preſſing the ends of their noſes together.

Notwithſtanding the irreparable loſs * we ſuffered from the ſudden reſentment and violence of theſe people, yet, in juſtice to their general conduct, it muſt be acknowledged, that they are of the moſt mild and affectionate diſpoſition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleneſs of the Otaheiteans, and the diſtant gravity and reſerve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Iſlands. They appear to live in the utmoſt harmony and

* Viz. in the death of Captain Cook.

friendſhip

friendſhip with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and conſtant attention to them; and the men would often lend their aſſiſtance in thoſe domeſtic offices, with a willingneſs that does credit to their feelings.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that they fall very ſhort of the other iſlanders, in that beſt teſt of civilization, the reſpect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the beſt ſorts of food are *tabooed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, ſeveral kinds of fiſh, and ſome ſpecies of the plantains; and we are told that a poor girl got a terrible beating, for having eaten on board our ſhip, one of theſe interdicted articles. In their domeſtic life, they appear to live almoſt entirely by themſelves, and though we did not obſerve any inſtances of perſonal ill-treatment, yet it was evident that they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hoſpitality and kindneſs, with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and indeed they make the principal part of our tranſactions with them. Whenever we came on ſhore, there was a conſtant ſtruggle who ſhould be moſt forward in making us little preſents, bringing refreſhments, or ſhewing ſome other mark of their reſpect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; ſeemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were conſtantly making compariſons between themſelves and us, with the ſtrongeſt marks of humility. The young women were not leſs kind and engaging, and, till they found, notwithſtanding our utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, that they had reaſon to repent of our acquaintance, attached themſelves to us without the leaſt reſerve.

In juſtice, however, to the ſex, it muſt be obſerved, that theſe ladies were probably all of the lower claſs of the people; for I am ſtrongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few, whoſe names are mentioned in the courſe of our narrative, we did not ſee any woman of rank during our ſtay among them.

Their natural capacity ſeems, in no reſpect, below the common ſtandard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumſtances of their ſituation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curioſity, with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the iſlands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into ſuch forms as were beſt adapted to their purpoſes, were ſtrong proofs of docility and ingenuity."

Character of Catharine *the* Iſt. *Wife of* Peter *the Great, and after his death Empreſs of* Ruſſia; *from* "*Travels into* Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, *and* Denmark, *by* William Coxe, A. M. F. R. S." *Vol. iſt.*

"CATHARINE was in her perſon under the middle ſize, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as ſhe advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which ſhe was always accuſtomed

cuſtomed to die with a black colour*. She could neither read nor write †; her daughter Elizabeth uſually ſigned her name for her, and particularly to her laſt will and teſtament; and count Oſterman generally put her ſignature to the public decrees and diſpatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyriſts. Gordon, who had frequently ſeen her, ſeems, of all writers, to have repreſented her character with the greateſt juſtneſs, when he ſays, "She was a very pretty "well-lookt woman, of good ſenſe, "but not of that ſublimity of wit, "or rather that quickneſs of imagination, which ſome people have "believed. The great reaſon why "the tzar was ſo fond of her, was "her exceeding good temper; ſhe "never was ſeen peeviſh or out of "humour; obliging and civil to "all, and never forgetful of her "former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majeſty with an air of eaſe and grandeur united; and Peter uſed frequently to expreſs his admiration at the propriety with which ſhe ſupported her high ſtation, without forgetting that ſhe was not born to that dignity ‡.

The following anecdotes will prove that ſhe bore her elevation meekly; and was never, as Gordon aſſerts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domeſtick in that clergyman's family, preſented himſelf before her after her marriage with Peter had been publickly ſolemnized, ſhe recollected and addreſſed him with great complacency, "What, thou good man, art thou "ſtill alive! I will provide for "thee." And ſhe accordingly ſettled upon him a penſion. She alſo was no leſs attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a priſoner at Moſcow: ſhe penſioned his widow; made his ſon a page; portioned the two eldeſt daughters; and advanced the youngeſt to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, ſhe frequently enquired after her firſt huſband, and, when ſhe lived with prince Menzikof, uſed ſecretly to ſend him ſmall ſums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the enemy.

* Buſching ſays, "Ihr ſchwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich ſondern gefaerbt," &c. Hiſt. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190.

"Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her firſt riſe the coarſeneſs "of her hands proved that ſhe had been uſed to hard labour, but they gradually "grew whiter and whiter." Theſe circumſtances we may readily believe, becauſe the lady from whom Buſching received the information could eaſily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarſe, although ſhe might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Baſſevits ſays, "Elle n'apprit jamais à écrire. La princeſſe Elizabeth ſignatout pour elle, quand elle fût ſur le trône, même ſon teſtament." p. 295.

The Auſtrian miniſter ſays, count Oſterman uſed to ſign her name to all the diſpatches. Buſ. xi. p. 481.

‡ "Son épouſe était avec lui étalant, conformément à la volonté du monarque, "la pompe impériale, qui le genait, et la ſoutenant avec un air ſurprenant de "grandeur et d'aiſance. Le czar ne pouvait ſe laſſer d'admirer les talens qu'elle "poſſedait, ſelon ſon expreſſion, de ſe créer imperatrice, ſans oublier qu'elle ne "le nâquit point." Baſſevitz in Buſ. p. 338.

§ Life of Peter, vol. iii. p. 258.

enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who, in 1702, commanded the Swediſh army, when ſhe was taken captive by the Ruſſians, ſhe aſked him, "whether her "ſpouſe John was not a brave ſoldier?" Schlippenback returning, "am not I one alſo?" her majeſty anſwered in the affirmative: but, repeating the queſtion, he replied, "yes, pleaſe your majeſty; and I "may boaſt to have had the honour "of having him under my command *."

But the moſt noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compaſſion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handſome tribute to this excellence. "She had in ſome ſort the government of all his (Peter's) paſſions; and even ſaved the lives "of a great many more perſons "than Le Fort was able to do: ſhe "inſpired him with that humanity, "which, in the opinion of his ſubjects, nature ſeemed to have denied him. A word from her "mouth in favour of a wretch, juſt "going to be ſacrificed to his anger, would diſarm him; but if "he was fully reſolved to ſatisfy "that paſſion, he would give orders for the execution when ſhe "was abſent, for fear ſhe ſhould "plead for the victim †." In a word, to uſe the expreſſion of the celebrated Munich, "*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ſes ſujets* ‡."

Character of Dr. Johnſon; *from the Journal of a Tour to the* Hebrides, *by* James Boſwell, *Eſq.*

"DR. Samuel Johnſon's character, religious, moral, political, and literary, nay, his figure and manner, are, I believe, more generally known than thoſe of almoſt any man; yet it may not be ſuperfluous here to attempt a ſketch of him. Let my readers then remember that he was a ſincere and zealous chriſtian, of the high-church of England and monarchial principles, which he would not tamely ſuffer to be queſtioned; ſteady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of piety and virtue, both from a regard to the order of ſociety, and from a veneration for the Great Source of all order; correct, nay ſtern in his taſte; hard to pleaſe, and eaſily offended; impetuous and irritable in his temper, but of a moſt humane and benevolent heart; having a mind ſtored with a vaſt and various collection of learning and knowledge, which he communicated with peculiar perſpicuity and force, in rich and choice expreſſion. He united a moſt logical head with a moſt fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reaſon cloſe or wide, as he ſaw beſt for the moment. He could, when he choſe it, be the greateſt ſophiſt that ever wielded a weapon in the ſchools of declamation; but he indulged this only in converſation;

* Buſching had the above anecdote from a lady who was preſent at this conference. Hiſt. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. iii. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and "his ſubjects."

for

for he owned he ſometimes talked for victory: he was too conſcientious to make errour permanent and pernicious by deliberately writing it. He was conſcious of his ſuperiority. He loved praiſe when it was brought to him; but was too proud to ſeek for it. He was ſomewhat ſuſceptible of flattery. His mind was ſo full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet. It has been often remarked, that in his poetical pieces, which it is to be regretted are ſo few, becauſe ſo excellent, his ſtyle is eaſier than in his proſe. There is deception in this: it is not eaſier, but better ſuited to the dignity of verſe; as one may dance with grace, whoſe motions, in ordinary walking,—in the common ſtep, are awkward. He had a conſtitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightneſs of his fancy, and gave a gloomy caſt to his whole courſe of thinking: yet, though grave and awful in his deportment, when he thought it neceſſary or proper,—he frequently indulged himſelf in pleaſantry and ſportive ſallies. He was prone to ſuperſtition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvellous, and the myſterious, his vigorous reaſon examined the evidence with jealouſy. He had a loud voice, and a ſlow deliberate utterance, which no doubt gave ſome additional weight to the ſterling metal of his converſation. Lord Pembroke ſaid once to me at Wilton, with a happy pleaſantry and ſome truth, that, "Dr. Johnſon's ſayings "would not appear ſo extraordi-"nary, were it not for his *bow-"wow way*:" but I admit the truth of this only on ſome occaſions; the *Meſſiah*, played upon the *Canterbury organ*, is more ſublime than when played upon an inferior inſtrument: but very ſlight muſic will ſeem grand, when conveyed to the ear through that majeſtic medium. *While therefore Doctor Johnſon's ſayings are read, let his manner be taken along with them.* Let it however be obſerved, that the ſayings are generally great; that, though he might be an ordinary compoſer at times, he was for the moſt part a Handel.—His perſon was large, robuſt, I may ſay approaching to the gigantick, and grown unwieldy from corpulency. His countenance was naturally of the caſt of an ancient ſtatue, but ſomewhat diſfigured by the ſcars of that *evil*, which it was formerly imagined the *royal touch* could cure. He was now in his ſixty-fourth year, and was become a little dull of hearing. His ſight had always been ſomewhat weak; yet, ſo much does mind govern and even ſupply the deficiency of organs, that his perceptions were uncommonly quick and accurate. His head, and ſometimes alſo his body, ſhook with a kind of motion like the effect of a palſy: he appeared to be frequently diſturbed by cramps, or convulſive contractions *, of the nature of that diſtemper called *St. Vitus's* dance.

* Such they appeared to me; but ſince the former edition, Sir Joſhua Reynolds has obſerved to me, "that Dr. Johnſon's extraordinary geſtures were only habits, in which he indulged himſelf at certain times. When in company where he was not free, or when engaged earneſtly in converſation, he never gave way to ſuch habits, which proves that they were not involuntary." I ſtill however think that theſe geſtures were involuntary; for ſurely had not that been the caſe, he would have reſtrained them in the public ſtreets.

He wore a full suit of plain brown cloaths, with twisted hair buttons of the same colour, a large bushy greyish wig, a plain shirt, black worsted stockings, and silver buckles. Upon this tour, when journeying, he wore boots, and a very wide brown cloth great coat, with pockets which might have almost held the two volumes of his folio dictionary; and he carried in his hand a large English oak stick. Let me not be censured for mentioning such minute particulars. Every thing relative to so great a man is worth observing. I remember Dr. Adam Smith, in his rhetorical lectures at Glasgow, told us he was glad to know that Milton wore latchets in his shoes, instead of buckles.

Particulars relative to the Person, Habits, and Manners of Ayder Ali Khan: *From the History of* Ayder Ali Khan, *Nabob-Bahader, by* M. Le Maitre de la Tour, *General of Ten thousand Men in the Army of the Mogol Empire, and formerly Commander in Chief of the Artillery of* Ayder Ali, *and of a Body of European Troops in the service of that Nabob.*

AYDER Ali Khan, whose precise age is not known, ought to be about fifty-four or fifty-six years of age, if we may depend on those who have known him from his infancy. He is about five feet six inches high, and very lusty, though active, and capable of bearing fatigue as well on foot as on horseback. His complexion is very brown, as is that of all Indians who expose themselves to the air and the sun. His features are coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick; and he wears neither beard nor whiskers, contrary to the custom of the Orientals, especially the Mahometans. His habits, like those of all the natives of India, are of white muslin, with a turban of the same. His robe is fashioned nearly the same as those of the European ladies, which are called *à l'Angloise*. The body and sleeves fit neatly, and are drawn close by strings; the rest of the robe being ample, and in folds: so that when the Indian great men walk, a page supports their train, from their first stepping off the carpet to their entering into their carriages.

In the army, Ayder Ali wears a military habit invented by himself for his generals. It is an uniform composed of a vest of white sattin, with gold flowers, faced with yellow, and attached by cords or strings of the same colour: the drawers are of the same materials; and the boots of yellow velvet. He wears a scarf of white silk about his waist; and, with the military habit, his turban is of a red or aurora colour. When he is on foot, he commonly uses a gold-headed cane; and sometimes on horseback he wears a sabre, hanging by a belt of velvet embroidered with gold, and fastened over his shoulder by a clasp of gold, enriched with some precious stones.

He never wears jewelry either on his turban or his cloaths; and never uses either neck-lace, ear-pendants, or bracelets. His turban is very long, and flat at top. In this particular he follows the ancient mode; as well as in his slippers, which are very large, and have a long point turned back, resembling the roofs of the buildings in some countries up the Levant; or those slippers anciently worn in France, and called *Souliers à la poulaine*. The petits maîtres of

of his and other Indian courts affect to wear little bonnets which ſcarcely cover the tops of their heads, and ſlippers ſo ſmall as ſcarce to admit the points of their feet: but though in theſe and other reſpects their taſte is ſo different from that of Ayder and his ſon, yet to imitate him as much as poſſible in the article of beard and whiſkers, without infringing the precepts of the Alcoran, they reduce their beards and mouſtaches to a mouſtache ſcarcely diſcernible.

The countenance of Ayder, though not handſome, is open, and calculated to inſpire confidence. He has not acquired the habit of diſguiſing his aſpect, which is either gay or overſpread with chagrin, according to the occaſions that preſent themſelves. He poſſeſſes a facility of converſing on any ſubject; and has none of that ſtatelineſs and taciturnity, which almoſt all the other princes of the Eaſt affect to preſerve. When he receives a ſtranger, he is reſerved, and appears to ſpeak with gravity; but ſoon recovers his uſual eaſe, and converſes with all the world, repeating himſelf the news and common converſation of the day, with the greateſt affability. It is moſt aſtoniſhing, that this ſovereign aſks queſtions, gives anſwers, hears a letter read, and dictates an anſwer to another, beholds a theatrical exhibition, and even ſeems to attend to the performance,—at the ſame inſtant that he decides concerning things of the utmoſt importance.

There is no ſovereign more eaſy of acceſs to every one that has buſineſs with him, whether ſtrangers or ſubjects; and the former, whatever may be their quality are always ſure to be introduced into his preſence, by demanding an audience, by a Souquedar, or macebearer, of which there is always a ſufficient number at the gate of his palace. The Fakirs, a ſpecies of begging monks, are alone excluded from this indulgence; but when one of theſe appears, he is conducted to the Pirjada, or grand almoner, who ſupplies his wants. The court of Ayder is, in this point, abſolutely different from thoſe of all the other princes of India; who hold theſe Fakirs in ſuch high veneration, that they ſuffer them to enter their palaces at any hour, and even admit them to their table. They have the aſſurance to take the firſt place at table, neareſt the prince; though they are moſt commonly diſguſting, filthy, and covered with vermin.

When buſineſs or parties of pleaſure do not prevent Ayder Ali from going to reſt at his uſual time, which is after midnight, he riſes with the ſun, that is to ſay, about ſix o'clock. As ſoon as he is riſen, the majors of the army *, who have been on duty the preceding day and night, and likewiſe thoſe who relieve them, enter, make their reports, and receive orders to be tranſmitted to the miniſters and generals, who themſelves have the privilege of entering his dreſſing-room, if they have any thing extraordinary or preſſing to communicate. The couriers that have arrived during the night, or in the morning, alſo come and lay their diſpatches at his feet. It may be eſteemed a weakneſs in a prince ſo occupied, that his toilet takes up

* Theſe majors of the army are like adjutants-general. They are not perſons of diſtinction, but men of approved diligence and fidelity, choſen out of the ſubaltern officers of cavalry and infantry.

a conſiderable part of his time. It laſts commonly two or three hours; and is chiefly taken up by his barbers, who pluck the hairs from his beard.

But juſtice requires us likewiſe to obſerve, that when any military operation requires his attention, the toilet is no more thought of.

Between eight and nine in the morning he quits his apartment, and repairs to a ſaloon, where a number of ſecretaries wait for his appearance. Into their hands, according to their reſpective departments, he puts the letters received; giving them at the ſame time inſtructions for the anſwers. His ſons, his relations, and thoſe lords who are honoured with his intimacy, enter; and if it be nine o'clock, they take the uſual refreſhment. If he has leiſure, he appears at a balcony, and receives the ſalute of his elephants *, that are led before him, as well as his horſes. His tygers of chace likewiſe pay him a viſit. They are led by hand, and are covered with a mantle of green and gold hanging to the ground, and a bonnet on their head, of cloth embroidered with gold, with which their eyes can be immediately covered, if they ſhould chance to prove miſchievous. Ayder himſelf gives each of them a ball of ſweetmeats, which they take very adroitly with their paws, being exceedingly tame. Theſe are the ſpotted tygers, and their keepers lead them every day into thoſe places where the greateſt crouds are: but the grand tyger, or tyger royal, has never been tamed by any attempts yet made.

After the repaſt, which ends about half after ten, Ayder enters into the hall of audience; or the grand tent, if at the army. He is ſeated on a ſopha beneath a canopy, and very often in ſome balcony that fronts an open place or court of the palace; and ſome of his relations ſit on each ſide of him. All perſons who have permiſſion or acceſs, of which the number is very great, may come to this audience; and thoſe who have affairs to tranſact, may either requeſt admittance by means of the Souquedars, or put their requeſt into the hands of thoſe officers, by whom it is carried to their chief, who is always preſent, and who places it at the feet of the prince, where it is immediately read and anſwered. It is not cuſtomary here to ſtop the prince by the offer of petitions, when he goes out, unleſs the affair be very urgent and extraordinary, or the petitioner has been prevented from forwarding his requeſt at the uſual hours of audience: a circumſtance that very rarely happens.

At this audience thirty or forty ſecretaries are ſeated along the wall to his left, who write continually. Couriers arrive almoſt every inſtant, and are conducted with great noiſe and buſtle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their diſpatches. A ſecretary kneeling takes the packet; and ſitting on his hams before the prince, opens it and reads the letter. Ayder immediately dictates the particulars of the anſwer, and the letter is carried to the office of a miniſter. Contrary to the cuſtoms of the princes of the Eaſt, who affix their names

* When the prince appears at the balcony, his officers cry out. "Your elephants ſalute your Majeſty:" And at the ſame time thoſe animals, who are ranged in a ſemicircle round the palace, make three genuflections.

by

by means of a ſeal, Ayder ſigns the diſpatches in order as they are compleated, as well as a number of private orders. Many writers report the contrary to this; which only proves that they have never ſeen Ayder half an hour at a time. The orders that iſſue from the offices of the miniſters, have no other ſignature than that of the great ſeal, of which they are the depoſitories; and the diſpatch is cloſed with the private ſeal of the miniſter. The letters ſigned by Ayder are cloſed by the ſeal of the ſovereign, of which the principal ſecretary is guardian. When this Nabob writes any intereſting letter, or gives an order of importance, he affixes a particular or private ſeal, which he always wears on his finger; and in that caſe he himſelf carries the packet to one of his couriers, who conveys it as far as the firſt ſtation. To the packet is joined a paper, denoting the hour it was ſent off; and at every ſtation the time of its arrival is marked. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak of theſe poſts, which have been ſince imitated by the Engliſh.

If Ayder purchaſes horſes or elephants, or if new pieces of cannon have been founded or brought from any port or arſenal, he inſpects them during this audience; the animals or pieces of cannon being brought into the court or ſquare of the palace.

Miniſters, generals, ambaſſadors, and other great men, rarely appear at this audience, unleſs commanded, or unleſs urged by extraordinary affairs. It is peculiar to their dignity to ſee the prince only in the evening, when none but men of conſequence are admitted; and nothing elſe is thought of but to make their court to the ſovereign, or to ſhare his pleaſures. The great have agents, who are uſually Bramins, who ſolicit their affairs either with the prince or his miniſters; and theſe agents, who have the title of Ouaquils, or envoys, have their leave of admiſſion to the preſence when they have been preſented by their maſters, and are honourably received. The miniſters ſend one of the principal ſecretaries of their department to the prince; who, ſitting before him in the ſame poſture as the other ſecretaries, communicate their buſineſs, and converſe with him.

A great ambaſſador, or other perſon of conſequence, is announced in a loud voice by the chief of the uſhers, in theſe terms, "Your ma-"jeſty, the lord of ——— ſalutes "you." Miniſters, ſecretaries, Ouaquils, or other men of buſineſs, are not announced, but go in and out without particular obſervation, except that they are careful to ſalute the Nabob. When a great man is announced, the prince returns the ſalute, and begs him to be ſeated: the friends and other great men, who ſurround the ſovereign, ſalute him alſo; and, in proportion to the eſteem or favour he is in with the Nabob, they give place, that he may approach him. A perſon of ordinary rank, who has requeſted an audience, makes three reverences in entering, by moving his hand from his forehead almoſt to the ground; and afterwards places himſelf on one ſide of the chief uſher, continuing ſilent, with his hands joined before him. The Nabob returns the ſalute by ſimply touching his turban with his hand, and affects to continue the diſcourſe with thoſe about him: after which he makes a ſign for the perſon to advance, and de-

mands, in an engaging and affectionate manner, the subject of his visit: and upon the exposition of the affair by the supplicant, he receives a decisive answer. If he be a stranger of a genteel rank or employment, as a trader or merchant of consequence, he receives orders to sit; and his place is usually on the right, fronting the secretaries. The Nabob asks him some questions respecting his state of life, his country, or his voyage, and appoints a time when he will see his merchandizes. Betel is then presented to the stranger, and is understood as equivalent to a permission to retire; which is done with the same ceremony as at the entrance.

This audience continues till after three o'clock, which is the hour he returns to his apartment to sleep, or make the siesto, as it is called in Italy.

About half past five, the prince returns into the hall of audience, or some other large apartment, where he places himself in a balcony to see his troops exercise, and his cavalry defile before him. He is, as in the morning, surrounded by some of his friends or relations; and the secretaries are busied in reading letters, or writing.

About half after six, when the day closes in, a great number of Manelalgis, or bearers of flambeaux, appear in the court of the palace, and salute the prince as they pass on the side of the apartment where he is. They illuminate all the apartments in a moment; especially that in which the Nabob is, with tapers in chandeliers of exquisite workmanship, ornamented with festoons of flowers of the utmost lightness and delicacy. These chandeliers, on account of the wind, are covered with large shades of English glass. There are likewise in some parts of the palace, large glass lanthorns, painted with flowers of all colours. The great men, ministers, and ambassadors, visit the Nabob only at night. They are usually perfumed with the most costly perfumes. Besides the men in power and employment, the apartments are filled with young nobility; and every body assumes the most polite and engaging manners. After having saluted the prince, the salute is paid to his sons and relations, his ministers, and others, in an easy, unaffected manner. Among the young nobility, there are a certain number who have the title of Arabsbequi; which answers nearly to that of chamberlain, in Germany. There are ordinarily four in waiting each day: they are distinguished by their sabre, which they carry in their hand in the sheath, using it nearly as a walking stick. All the other company leave their arms in the hands of their pages and other attendants, who are very numerous, and fill the avenues of the palace. The pages alone are permitted to enter: they follow their master, bearing his train into the apartments, till they quit their slippers at their stepping on the carpet: the pages then let fall the train, and put the slippers in a bag. Ayder, who sets no great value on these ceremonies, permits the Europeans to come in with their shoes on; though his apartments are commonly covered with white muslin, spread upon the most superb Persia carpets. He has such a predilection for white, that he causes wainscoting, that is painted, gilt, and varnished, to be covered with white muslin; and even chairs and sophas of embroidered velvet or gold

stuff,

ſuff. The Europeans deceive themſelves exceedingly in ſuppoſing, that it is by way of diſtinction or pre-eminence that they are permitted to enter the apartments in ſhoes. This permiſſion, given them in ſome of the Indian courts, is occaſioned by a notion the Indian princes have, that the Europeans are obſtinate, and bigotted to their own cuſtoms, however repugnant to decency and propriety. M. de Buſſi, to conciliate the Indian cuſtoms with thoſe of the French, carried velvet ſlippers to the court of the Suba of Decan, which he put on; and made uſe of a kind of pantouſle in paſſing from his carriage to the border of the carpet, where he threw them off. We may often avoid offending ſtrangers by little attentions that coſt nothing, and tend exceedingly to conciliate their affections.

There is, for the moſt part, a comedy every night, that commences about eight in the evening, and laſts till eleven; it is intermixed with dances and ſongs. During this comedy, the Arabſbequi continue near the ſtrangers, and politely inform them of every thing they may deſire to know; as the ſubject of the comedy, the news of the day, &c. They are careful to aſk, if he chooſes to drink or eat; in which caſe, they cauſe ſherbet, warm milk, fruits, or confectionary to be preſented to him; but they ſeldom eat. If the ſtranger chooſes to play cheſs, they play with him, or propoſe a party. Ayder, to whom the entertainments of the ſtage are very indifferent, diſcourſes with his miniſters or ambaſſadors, ſometimes paſſing into a cabinet to ſpeak with more ſecrecy; and continues, as in the morning, to diſpatch buſineſs, without ſeeming to be buſy. Almoſt always, before the end of the performance, flowers are brought to him in a baſket of filigram, out of which he himſelf gives a few to the lords who are about him; and afterwards the baſket is carried into the apartments of the theatre, every one taking a ſmall flower from them, and returning a profound reverence to the prince. This takes place even to the loweſt ſecretary. When Ayder wiſhes to give a particular mark of his eſteem, he himſelf makes a collar of jaſmine flowers, knotting them with ſilk as he converſes, which he himſelf adjuſts round the neck of the happy mortal to whom he gives this glorious mark of his eſteem and favour. He has ſeveral times conferred this honour on the chiefs of his Europeans, knowing well that the French, above all nations, eſteem themſelves well paid by this ſort of money. He who has received this honour, is viſited the following day by the firſt people of the court to compliment him.

If a battle has been gained, or any other glorious event has happened in favour of the prince, the poet of the court arrives, announcing himſelf, at his firſt entering the apartments, by the pompous and extravagant titles he beſtows on the prince: as, "Health to the greateſt "king on earth, whoſe name alone "cauſes his enemies to tremble," &c. All the world, at the voice of the poet, becomes ſilent and attentive. The comedy or dance is interrupted; the poet enters, ſeats himſelf in the place immediately oppoſite the prince, and recites a poem, which every body affects to hear with the utmoſt attention, except the prince, who ſeems at that time to be more particularly buſied

in converſing with his miniſters. The poet uſually, after ſpeaking of the prince, proceeds to his relations, and the generals or principal officers; not forgetting the miniſters and favourites. The young courtiers, or *baras à demi*, who are uſually included altogether in the praiſes beſtowed by the poet, often turn it into ridicule; and their deriſion extends even to thoſe who are the higheſt ſpoken of. They and the ſecretaries, or other inferior courtiers, often parody the words of the poem very pleaſantly, ſparing no body but the prince and his ſon: but as they have no printing, both the poem and the criticiſm are of ſhort duration. We cannot ſpeak of their public entertainments, without mentioning the Bayaderes, of whom the Abbé Raynal has drawn ſo advantageous a portrait in his Hiſtoire Philoſophique.

At the preſent time, the court of Ayder is the moſt brilliant in India; and his company of performers is without contradiction the firſt, as well on account of its riches, as becauſe the Bayaderes are the women to whom he gives the preference. Being ſovereign of part of Viſapour, he has every facility of procuring among this claſs of women, thoſe who are moſt remarkable for their beauty and talents.

The comedians of the court are all women. A directreſs, who is likewiſe manager, purchaſes young girls at the age of four or five years, who are choſen on account of their beauty. She cauſes them to be inoculated, and then provides them with maſters both for dancing and muſic. They are taught every accompliſhment that can inſpire the prince and his court with the love of pleaſure; and their ſucceſs is ſuch, that they delight and ſeduce the moſt inſenſible of men. They begin to appear in public at the age of about ten or eleven years. They have generally the moſt delicate features, large dark eyes, beautiful eye-brows, ſmall mouth, and the fineſt teeth; their cheeks are dimpled, and their black hair hangs in flowing treſſes to the ground; their complexion is a clear brown, not ſuch as that of the mulatto women, who are incapable of bluſhing; but like that of a country girl in the flow of health, who has preſerved the roſes, after ſuffering the lilies to fade. Theſe are the yellow women, that the Orientals prefer to all others: they give themſelves that tinge by painting their cheeks of a jonquil colour, in the ſame manner as the French women uſe rouge; and it is remarkable that in a very ſhort time one becomes habituated to this colour, and finds it agreeable. Their habit is always a fine gauze, very richly embroidered with gold; and they are covered with jewels: their head, their neck, their ears, their breaſts, their arms, fingers, legs, and toes, have their jewels; and even their noſe is ornamented with a ſmall diamond, that gives them an arch look, which is far from being unpleaſing.

The comedies are all pieces of intrigue. They perſonate either women who league together to deceive a jealous huſband, or young girls that conſpire to deceive their mother. It is impoſſible to play with more art or with more natural eaſe. Their ſongs are gay and agreeable. The words that are ſung by a ſingle voice are almoſt always the complaint of a lover. Thoſe which are ſung

ſung in chorus are much gayer; but they have no ſecond parts, and are always repeated.

The dancers are ſuperior in their performance to the comedians and ſingers: it may even be affirmed that they would afford pleaſure on the theatre of the opera at Paris. Every part is employed when theſe girls dance; their heads, their eyes, their arms, their feet, and all their body ſeem to move only to enchant and ſurpriſe. They are very light, and very ſtrong in the legs; turning round on one foot, and ſpringing up immediately after with a ſurpriſing force. They have ſo much accuracy in their movements, that they accompany the inſtruments with bells that are on their feet; and as they are of the moſt elegant figures, all their motions are graceful. No Bayadere of the prince's company is more than ſeventeen years old. At this age they are diſmiſſed; and either travel over the province, or attach themſelves to the Pagods *.

The directreſs of this company is paid by the prince; but her emoluments are not known. She has always a number of pieces ready in rehearſal to be played at a moment's notice. Though there is every reaſon to think ſhe is well paid by Ayder for the pleaſures ſhe procures him, the emoluments ſhe receives from private individuals of fortune, are ſtill more advantageous to her. When a great man gives a ſet ſupper, he has uſually a comedy ornamented with ſongs and dances. The directreſs of the prince's company is paid one hundred rupees for every actreſs that plays, ſings, or dances. The number of theſe actreſſes is often more than twenty, the inſtrumental muſic not being charged.

If a ſupper is given to a few private friends, the ſingers and dancers are likewiſe employed at the ſame price of one hundred rupees. Beſides which, they muſt be furniſhed with ſupper, and abundance of fruits, ſweetmeats, and warm milk. If the friends are retained to ſleep (as is often done, where their ſuppers are more friendly than ceremonious) they chuſe each a companion for the night among the performers, for which the directreſs is likewiſe paid one hundred rupees each; and the maſter of the houſe muſt preſent his friend with ſome trinket, or piece of ſtuff, to be given to the damſel when ſhe is ſent away in the morning.

Beſides the prince's company, there are ſeveral others in the town where the court is kept, and in the armies. There are even ſome that are compoſed of men only: but the people of the court never have recourſe to any but the prince's company.

At eleven o'clock, or about midnight, every one retires but thoſe that ſup with the Nabob; who, except on grand feſtivals, are always his friends and relations.

This mode of life purſued by Ayder, is, as may be eaſily imagined, interrupted in the army. It is likewiſe occaſionally interrupted by hunting parties, by excurſions on foot or horſeback, or by his attending to aſſiſt at the exerciſes and evolutions made by conſiderable bodies of his troops.

When he is obliged to remain a

* Every Pagod maintains a number of Bayaderes, whoſe charms produce one of the moſt certain revenues of the Bramins.

month

month in camp, or in any town, he uſually goes to the chace twice a week. He hunts the ſtag, the roe-buck, the antelope, and ſometimes the tyger. When notice arrives that this laſt animal has been obſerved to quit the foreſts, and appear in the plain, he mounts his horſe, followed by all his Abyſſinians, his ſpear-men on foot, and almoſt all the nobility armed with ſpears and bucklers. The traces of the beaſt being found, the hunters ſurround his hiding-place, and contract the circle by degrees. As ſoon as the creature, who is uſually hid in ſome nice ground, perceives his enemies, he roars, and looks every where to find a place of eſcape; and when he prepares to ſpring on ſome one to force a paſſage, he is attacked by Ayder himſelf, to whom the honour of giving the firſt ſtroke is yielded, and in which he ſeldom fails. Thus the pleaſures of the ſovereign are varied to infinity.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

On a new Method of preparing a Teſt Liquor to ſhew the Preſence of Acids *and* Alkalies *in Chemical Mixtures. By Mr.* James Watt, *Engineer; communicated by Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. F. R. S. From Vol.* lxxiv. *of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

THE ſyrop of violets was formerly the teſt of the point of ſaturation of mixtures of acids and alkalies, which was principally uſed; but ſince the late improvements in chemiſtry, it has been found not to be ſufficiently accurate, and the infuſion of tournefol, or of an artificial preparation called litmus, have been ſubſtituted in the place of it.

The infuſion of litmus is blue, and becomes red with acids. It is ſenſible to the preſence of one grain of common oil of vitriol, though it be mixed with 100,000 grains of water; but as this infuſion does not change its colour on being mixed with alkaline liquors, in order to diſcover whether a liquor be neutral or alkaline, it is neceſſary to add ſome vinegar to the litmus, ſo as juſt to turn the infuſion red, which will then be reſtored to its blue colour, by being mixed with any alkaline liquor. The blue infuſion of litmus is alſo a teſt of the preſence of fixed air in water, with which it turns red, as it does with other acids.

The great degree of ſenſibility of this teſt would leave very little reaſon to ſearch for any other, were there reaſon to believe that it is always a teſt of the exact point of ſaturation of acids and alkalies, which the following fact ſeems to call in queſtion.

I have obſerved, that a mixture of phlogiſticated nitrous acid with an alkali will appear to be acid, by the teſt of litmus, when other teſts, ſuch as the infuſion of the petals of the ſcarlet roſe, of the blue iris, of violets, and of other flowers, will ſhew the ſame liquor to be alkaline, by turning green ſo very evidently as to leave no doubt.

At the time I made this diſcovery, the ſcarlet roſes and ſeveral other flowers, whoſe petals change their colour by acids and alkalies, were in flower. I ſtained paper with their juices, and found that it was not affected by the phlogiſticated nitrous acid, except in ſo far as it acted the part of a neutralizing acid; but I found alſo, that paper, ſtained in this manner, was by no means ſo eaſily affected by acids of any kind as litmus was, and that in a ſhort time it loſt much of that degree o ſenſibility it poſſeſſed. Having occaſion in winter to repeat ſome experiments, in which the phlogiſticated nitrous acid was concerned, I found my ſtained paper almoſt uſeleſs. I was, therefore, obliged to

ſearch

ſearch for ſome ſubſtitute among the few vegetables which then exiſted in a growing ſtate; of theſe I found the red cabbage *(braſſica rubra)* to furniſh the beſt teſt, and in its freſh ſtate to have more ſenſibility both to acids and alkalies than litmus, and to afford a more deciſive teſt, from its being naturally blue, turning green with alkalies, and red with acids; to which is joined the advantage of its not being affected by phlogiſticated nitrous acid any farther than as it acts as a real acid.

To extract the colouring matter, take thoſe leaves of the cabbage which are freſheſt, and have moſt colour; cut out the larger ſtems, and mince the thin parts of the leaves very ſmall; then digeſt them in water, about the heat of 120 degrees for a few hours, and they will yield a blue liquor, which, if uſed immediately as a teſt, will be found to poſſeſs great ſenſibility. But as this liquor is very ſubject to turn acid and putrid, and to loſe its ſenſibility, when it is wanted to be preſerved for future uſe the following proceſſes ſucceed the beſt.

1. After having minced the leaves, ſpread them on paper, and dry them in a gentle heat; when perfectly dry, put them up in glaſs bottles well corked; and when you want to uſe them, acidulate ſome water with vitriolic acid, and digeſt, or infuſe, the dry leaves in it until they give out their colour; then ſtrain the liquor through a cloth, and add to it a quantity of fine whiting or chalk, ſtirring it frequently until it becomes of a true blue colour, neither inclining to green or purple; as ſoon as you perceive that it has acquired this colour, filter it immediately, otherwiſe it will become greeniſh by longer ſtanding on the whiting.

This liquor will depoſite a ſmall quantity of gypſum, and by the addition of a little ſpirit of wine will keep good for ſome days, after which it will become a little putrid and reddiſh. If too much ſpirit is added, it deſtroys the colour. If the liquor is wanted to be kept longer, it may be neutralized by means of a fixed alkali inſtead of chalk.

2. But as none of theſe means will preſerve the liquor long without requiring to be neutralized afreſh, juſt before it is uſed; and as the putrid and acid fermentation which it undergoes, and perhaps the alkalies or ſpirit of wine mixed with it, ſeem to leſſen its ſenſibility; in order to preſerve its virtues while it is kept in a liquid ſtate, ſome freſh leaves of the cabbage, minced as has been directed, may be infuſed in a mixture of vitriolic acid and water, of about the degree of acidity of vinegar; and it may be neutralized, as it is wanted, either by means of chalk, or of the fixed or volatile alkali. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that if the liquor has an exceſs of alkali, it will ſoon loſe its colour, and become yellow, from which ſtate it cannot be reſtored; therefore care ſhould be taken to bring it very exactly to a blue, and not to let it verge towards a green *.

3. By the ſame proceſs I have

* Since writing the above, I have found, that the infuſions of red cabbages and of various flowers in water acidulated by means of vitriolic acid, are apt to turn mouldy in the ſummer ſeaſon, and alſo that the moulding is prevented by the addition of ſpirits of wine. The quantity of ſpirit which is neceſſary for this purpoſe I have not been able to aſcertain; but I add it by little at a time, until the progreſs of the moulding is prevented.

made

made a red infusion of violets, which, on being neutralized, forms at present a very sensible test; but how long it will preserve its properties I have not yet determined. Probably the coloured infusions of other flowers may be preserved in the same manner by the antiseptic power of the vitriolic acid, so as to lose little of their original sensibility. Paper, fresh stained with these tests in their neutral state, has sufficient sensibility for many experiments; but the allum and glue which enter into the preparation of writing-paper seem in some degree to fix the colour; and paper which is not sized becomes somewhat transparent, when wetted, which renders small changes of colour imperceptible; so that where accuracy is required, the test should be used in a liquid state *.

An extraordinary Case of a Dropsy of the Ovarium, *with some Remarks. By Mr.* Philip Meadows Martineau, *Surgeon to the* Norfolk *and* Norwich *Hospital; communicated by* John Hunter, *Esq. F. R. S. From the same Work.*

SARAH KIPPUS, a pauper in the city of Norwich, was, for many years, a patient of my father's, and, at his decease, was under the care of Mr. Scott, as city surgeon, who obliged me many times by taking me to the poor woman, from whom I received the account of the early part of her disease.

Her complaints came on first after a miscarriage at the age of 27. She had never been pregnant before; and her discharges at that time were so great as to bring her into a very weak condition. She soon perceived some uneasiness, attended with a swelling, on one side, which, after a few months, became too large to distinguish whether it was greater on one side or the other. As the swelling was found to arise from water, it was drawn off, which was in the year 1757. She was never afterwards pregnant; but the catamenia continued regularly till the usual period of their cessation. When I first saw her, which was in the year 1780, she had been many times tapped, and she was then full of water. Her appearance was truly deplorable, not to say shocking. She was rather a low woman, and her body so large as almost wholly to obscure her face, as well as every other part of her: with all she was tolerably chearful, and seldom regarded the operation. I saw her just before we took away 106 pints of water, and I begged leave to take a measure of her. She was sixty-seven inches and a half in circumference, and from the cartilago ensiformis to the os pubis thirty-four inches. Her legs were now greatly swelled; but this, and every other symptom of which she complained, evidently arose from the quantity and weight of water. She neither ate nor drank much, and made but a small quantity of urine.

The operation of drawing off the water was generally performed on a Sunday, as the most convenient day for her neighbours to assist her, and before the latter end of the week she was able to walk very well. She was first tapped in the year 1757, and died in August 1783.

* I have found that the petals of the scarlet rose, and those of the pink-coloured lychnis, treated in this manner, afford very sensible tests.

Thus

Thus she lived full twenty-five years, with some intervals of ease, having eighty times undergone the operation, and in all had taken from her 6631 pints of water, or upwards of thirteen hogsheads.

I will subjoin the account of the dates, and the quantity drawn off at each time, as given me by Mr. Scott, observing that till 1769 no exact memorandum was kept, except of the *number* of times, although the quantity of water drawn off was always measured. By my father she was tapped twenty-six times, averaged at 70 pints each time: by Mr. Donne once, 73 pints, which makes 1683 pints from some parts of the year 1757 to 1769. By Mr. Scott as follows:

1769	Pints.	
Mar. 16.	70	
July 17.	72	
Nov. 20.	78	
Dec. 31.	70	
		290
1770.		
April 15.	70	
Aug. 11.	73	
Dec. 4.	76	
		219
1771.		
Mar. 22.	74	
July 14.	78	
Nov. 3.	79	
		231
1772.		
Feb. 22.	79	
June 6.	73	
Sept. 12.	74	
Dec. 12.	82	
		308
1773.		
Mar. 7.	78	
May 29.	71	
Aug. 29.	79	
Dec. 5.	81	
		309
1774.	Pints.	
Mar. 13.	77	
June 26.	89	
Oct. 23.	92	
		258
1775.		
Jan. 24.	94	
May 28.	91	
Sept. 13.	72	
Dec. 26.	80	
		337
1776.		
April 9.	84	
July 28.	82	
Nov. 27.	85	
		251
1777.		
Mar. 16.	89	
July 27.	90	
Nov. 9.	98	
		277
1778.		
Mar. 8.	96	
July 5.	99	
Nov. 5.	105	
		300
1779.		
Feb. 28.	106	
June 13.	108	
Aug. 17.	92	
Oct. 24.	99	
Dec. 10.	90	
		495
1780.		
Feb. 6.	73	
April 23.	102	
July 24.	106	
Sept. 10.	95	
Nov. 12.	98	
		474
1781.		
Jan. 1.	100	
Mar. 11.	94	
June 25.	100	
Oct. 14.	100	
		394

1782.			Pints.
Jan. 13.	—	—	99
Mar. 18.	—	—	64
June 2.	—	—	74
Aug. 25.	—	—	98
Nov. 17.	—	—	90
			425
1783.			
Feb. 14.	—	—	104
May 11.	—	—	100
July 20.	—	—	98
Aug. 11. on opening			78
			380
Total — Pints			6631

In looking over this account it appears, that 108 pints was the greatest quantity ever taken away at any one time; that she was never tapped more than five times in any one year; and the largest quantity in a year was 495 pints. The most collected in the shortest space of time was 95 pints in seven weeks, from July 24th to September 10th in 1780, which is very nearly two pints a day. It appears also, that in the last 14 years of her life, when a regular account was kept, she increased faster in the winter than in the summer months. If the six summer months from April to September inclusive are reckoned, she lost in the 14 years in 23 operations 1972 pints, and in the winter months from October to March inclusive, by 30 tappings, 2596 pints; and it will be found that 30 is to 2596 rather more than 23 to 1972, so that seven more tappings were at least necessary in the winter than in the summer. In the months of March and November she oftener underwent the operation than in any other. In these calculations the three months in 1783 are not included, as the year was not finished.

If we compare the famous case of Lady Page, related by Dr. Mead, the quantity of water taken from her ladyship appears small when opposed to the number of pints drawn from Sarah Kippus. The one lost 1920, the other 6631. It must be confessed, however, that Lady Page collected faster than the poor woman whose case I have related.

I come now to speak of the dissection, and to make some observations on the whole. On the 10th of August 1783 the poor woman died; and the following day Dr. Dack, an eminent physician of this place, accompanied me to open the body. I first drew off 78 pints of clear water: supposing, therefore, all the water to have been taken away at the last operation, then in three weeks she had collected 78 pints, which is more than three pints and a half in each day: a quantity far exceeding what she had taken. I then opened into the cavity from which the water came, and separated the sac from the peritoneum, and found the sac had arisen in the ovarium of the left side. After this, I dissected out the uterus, with the right ovarium in a natural state, and thus obtained every part necessary to show the disease, *viz.* the uterus, the right ovarium sound, and the left enlarged into an immense pouch. The cyst itself was not very thick, but lined in almost every part of it, but more especially in the fore part, with small ossifications. The peritoneum was, *prodigiously* thickened, and thus, by its additional strength, became the chief support of the water. There was something singular in the sac itself; for it was rather two than one, from there being an opening in the side of what appeared at first the only cavity, which led to another cavity, almost equally

equally large with the firſt, ſo that if all the water in any operation had not been evacuated, it muſt probably have been owing to a difficulty in its paſſage from the ſecond into the firſt or more external cyſt. From the ſize, however, of the poor woman after each operation, it is evident, that in her there being two ſacs did not prevent the total drawing off of the water. The other viſcera appeared all in a natural ſtate. The inteſtines were quite empty, and puſhed up under the ribs, ſo as to have left but very little room for the expanſion of the lungs within the thorax. The bladder was contracted, or rather I ſhould ſay appeared leſſened. The kidneys were healthy, and both ureters in a natural ſtate. The ſac is in the collection of John Hunter, eſq.

In reflecting upon this caſe, an obvious queſtion ariſes; from whence proceeded this immenſe collection of water? At different periods of this poor woman's life the quantity drawn off, without conſidering the urine ſhe made, was much greater than the fluids ſhe drank, which appeared from meaſuring whatever ſhe took. It appears then pretty certain, that this ſuperabundant quantity muſt have been taken into the body by abſorption; and if we allow the bodies of animals to have this power of abſorbing, which we very well know vegetables are poſſeſſed of, it will account for many appearances in the animal œconomy. This poor woman collected faſter in the wet moiſt months of winter, than in ſummer.

From all this a happy concluſion may be drawn, that although human art is at preſent inſufficient to the perfect cure of diſeaſes ſimilar to the poor woman's caſe I have related, yet nature is continually defending herſelf from ſudden death; and ſuch relief *may* be granted as to protract life a long time without much pain, and often with intervals of great eaſe and comfort.

An Account of the ſenſitive Quality of the Tree Averrhoa Carambola. *In a Letter from* Robert Bruce, *M. D. to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. F. R. S. From Vol.* lxxv. *of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

THE Averrhoa Carambola of Linnæus, a tree called in Bengal the Camruc or Camrunga, is poſſeſſed of a power ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe ſpecies of Mimoſa which are termed ſenſitive plants; its leaves, on being touched, move very perceptibly.

In the Mimoſa the moving faculty extends to the branches; but, from the hardneſs of the wood, this cannot be expected in the Camrunga. The leaves are alternately pinnated, with an odd one; and in their moſt common poſition in the day time are horizontal, or on the ſame plane with the branch from which they come out. On being touched, they move themſelves downwards, frequently in ſo great a degree that the two oppoſite almoſt touch one another by their under ſides, and the young ones ſometimes either come into contact or even paſs each other.

The whole of the leaves of one pinna move by ſtriking the branch with the nail of the finger, or other hard ſubſtance; or each leaf can be moved ſingly, by making an impreſſion that ſhall not extend beyond that leaf. In this way, the leaves of one ſide of the pinna may be

made to move, one after another, whilſt the oppoſite continue as they were; or you may make them move alternately, or, in ſhort, in any order you pleaſe, by touching in a proper manner the leaf you wiſh to put in motion. But if the impreſſion, although made on a ſingle leaf, be ſtrong, all the leaves on that pinna, and ſometimes on the neighbouring ones, will be affected by it.

What at firſt ſeemed ſurpriſing was, that notwithſtanding this apparent ſenſibility of the leaf, I could with a pair of ſharp ſciſſars make large inciſions in it, without occaſioning the ſmalleſt motion; nay, even cut it almoſt entirely off, and the remaining part ſtill continue unmoved; and that then, by touching the wounded leaf with the finger or point of the ſciſſars, motion would take place as if no injury had been offered. But, on further examination, I found, that although the leaf was the oſtenſible part which moved, it was in fact entirely paſſive, and that the petiolus was the ſeat both of ſenſe and action: for although the leaf might be cut in pieces, or ſqueezed with great force, provided its direction was not changed, without any motion being occaſioned; yet, if the impreſſion on the leaf was made in ſuch a way as to affect the petiolus, the motion took place. When, therefore, I wanted to confine the motion to a ſingle leaf, I either touched it ſo as only to affect its own petiolus, or, without meddling with the leaf, touched the petiolus with any ſmall-pointed body, as a pin or knife.

By compreſſing the univerſal petiolus near the place where a partial one comes out, the leaf moves in a few ſeconds, in the ſame manner as if you had touched the partial petiolus.

Whether the impreſſion be made by puncture, percuſſion, or compreſſion, the motion does not inſtantly follow; generally ſeveral ſeconds intervene, and then it is not by a jirk, but regular and gradual. Afterwards, when the leaves return to their former ſituation, which is commonly in a quarter of an hour or leſs, it is in ſo ſlow a manner as to be almoſt imperceptible.

On ſticking a pin into the univerſal petiolus at its origin, the leaf next it, which is always on the outer ſide, moves firſt; then the firſt leaf on the oppoſite ſide, next the ſecond leaf on the outer, and ſo on. But this regular progreſſion ſeldom continues throughout; for the leaves on the outer ſide of the pinna ſeem to be affected both more quickly, and with more energy, than thoſe of the inner, ſo that the fourth leaf on the outer ſide frequently moves as ſoon as the third on the inner; and ſometimes a leaf, eſpecially on the inner ſide, does not move at all, whilſt thoſe above and below it are affected in their proper time. Sometimes the leaves at the extremity of the petiolus move ſooner than ſeveral others which were nearer the place where the pin was put in.

On making a compreſſion with a pair of pincers on the univerſal petiolus, between any two pair of leaves, thoſe above the compreſſed part, or nearer the extremity of the petiolus, move ſooner than thoſe under it, or nearer the origin; and frequently the motion will extend upwards to the extreme leaf, whilſt below it perhaps does not go farther than the neareſt pair.

If the leaves happen to be blown by the wind againſt one another, or againſt the branches, they are frequently put in motion; but when a branch is moved gently, either by the hand or the wind, without ſtriking againſt any thing, no motion of the leaves takes place.

When left to themſelves in the day-time, ſhaded from the ſun, wind, rain, or any diſturbing cauſe, the appearance of the leaves is different from that of other pinnated plants. In the laſt a great uniformity ſubſiſts in the reſpective poſition of the leaves on the pinna; but here ſome will be ſeen on the horizontal plane, ſome raiſed above it, and others fallen under it; and in an hour or ſo, without any order or regularity, which I could obſerve, all theſe will have changed their reſpective poſitions. I have ſeen a leaf, which was high up, fall down; this it did as quickly as if a ſtrong impreſſion had been made on it, but there was no cauſe to be perceived.

Cutting the bark of the branch down to the wood, and even ſeparating it about the ſpace of half an inch all round, ſo as to ſtop all communication by the veſſels of the bark, does not for the firſt day affect the leaves, either in their poſition or their aptitude for motion.

In a branch, which I cut through in ſuch a manner as to leave it ſuſpended only by a little of the bark no thicker than a thread, the leaves next day did not riſe ſo high as the others; but they were green and freſh, and, on being touched, moved, but in a much leſs degree than formerly.

After ſun-ſet the leaves go to ſleep, firſt moving down ſo as to touch one another by their under ſides; they therefore perform rather more extenſive motion at night of themſelves than they can be made to do in the day-time by external impreſſions. With a convex lens I have collected the rays of the ſun on a leaf, ſo as to burn a hole in it, without occaſioning any motion. But when the experiment is tried on the petiolus, the motion is as quick as if from ſtrong percuſſion, although the rays were not ſo much concentrated as to cauſe pain when applied in the ſame degree on the back of the hand, nor had the texture of the petiolus been any ways changed by this; for next day it could not be diſtinguiſhed, either by its appearance or moving power, from thoſe on which no experiment had been made.

The leaves move very faſt from the electrical ſhock, even although a very gentle one; but the ſtate of the atmoſphere was ſo unfavourable for experiments of this kind, that I could not purſue them ſo far as I wiſhed.

There are two other plants mentioned as ſpecies of this genus by Linnæus. The firſt, the Averrhoa Bilimbi, I have not had an opportunity of ſeeing. The other, or Averrhoa Acida, does not ſeem to belong to the ſame claſs; nor do its leaves poſſeſs any of the moving properties of the Carambola. Linnæus's generic deſcription of the Averrhoa, as of many other plants in this country which he had not an opportunity of ſeeing freſh, is not altogether accurate. The petals are connected by the lower part of the lamina, and in this way they fall off whilſt the ungues are quit diſtinct. The ſtamina are in five pairs, placed in the angles of the germen. Of each pair only one ſtamen is fertile, or furniſhed with an anthera. The filaments are curved, adapted to the

ſhape

ſhape of the germen. They may be preſſed down gently, ſo as to remain; and then, when moved a little upwards, riſe with a ſpring. The fertile are twice the length of thoſe deſtitute of antheræ.

Calcutta, Nov. 23, 1783.

Account of the celebrated Salt Mines *of* Wielitſka *in* Poland; *from Travels into* Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, *and* Denmark, *by* W. Coxe, A.M. F. R. S.

"BEFORE we quitted this part of Poland, we viſited the celebrated ſalt-mines of Wielitſka, which are ſituated within eight miles of Cracow. Theſe mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the Northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the ſmall village of Wielitſka; but are ſometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

Upon our arrival at Wielitſka, we repaired to the mouth of the mine*. Having faſtened three ſeparate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the ſalt, we ſeated ourſelves in a commodious manner, and were let down gently without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, about 160 yards below the firſt layer of ſalt. Quitting our hammocks, we paſſed a long and gradual deſcent, ſometimes through broad paſſages or galleries capable of admitting ſeveral carriages abreaſt; ſometimes down ſteps cut in the ſolid ſalt, which had the grandeur and commodiouſneſs of the ſtair-caſe in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and ſeveral guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of theſe lights upon the glittering ſides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not caſt that luminous ſplendour, which ſome writers have compared to the luſtre of precious ſtones.

The ſalt dug from this mine is called *Zielna* or Green Salt, for what reaſon I cannot determine; for its colour is an iron grey; when pounded it has a dirty aſh colour like what we call brown ſalt. The quality improves in proportion to the depth of the mine: towards the ſides and ſurface it is mixed with earthy or ſtony particles; lower down it is ſaid to be perfectly pure, and requires no other proceſs before it is uſed than to be pounded. The fineſt of this grey ſalt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common ſea-ſalt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means perfectly pure, but is blended with extraneous mixtures, though it ſerves very well for common purpoſes. Being almoſt as hard as ſtone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into large blocks, many of which weigh ſix or ſeven hundred pounds. Theſe large maſſes are raiſed by a windlas, but the ſmaller pieces are carried up by horſes along a winding gallery, which reaches to the ſurface of the earth.

Beſide grey ſalt, the miners ſometimes diſcover ſmall cubes of white ſalt, as tranſparent as chryſtal, but not in any conſiderable quantity; they find likewiſe occaſionally pieces

* There are two other openings, down one of which the miners deſcend by ſtairs, down the other by ladders.

of coal and petrified wood buried in the ſalt.

The mine appears to be inexhauſtible, as will eaſily be conceived from the following account of its dimenſions. Its known breadth is 1115 feet; its length 6691 feet; and depth 743; and the beſt judges on the ſpot ſuppoſe, with the greateſt appearance of probability, this ſolid body of ſalt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can aſcertain how much farther it may deſcend?

Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he conſidered as one of the moſt remarkable curioſities of the place, ſeveral ſmall chapels excavated in the ſalt, in which maſs is ſaid on certain days of the year; one of theſe chapels is above 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the ſtatues of ſeveral ſaints, are all carved out of the ſalt.

Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the ſalt has been dug, are of an immenſe ſize; ſome are ſupported with timber, others by vaſt pillars of ſalt, which are left ſtanding for that purpoſe: ſeveral of vaſt dimenſions are without any ſupport in the middle. I remarked one of this latter ſort in particular, which was certainly 80 feet in height, and ſo extremely long and broad, as almoſt to appear amid the ſubterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of theſe vaults are not arched, but flat. The immenſe ſize of theſe chambers, with the ſpacious paſſages or galleries, together with the chapels above-mentioned, and a few ſheds built for the horſes which are foddered below, probably gave riſe to the exaggerated accounts of ſome travellers, that theſe mines contain ſeveral villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never ſee the light. It is certain that there is room ſufficient for ſuch purpoſes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above. In truth, theſe mines are of a moſt ſtupendous extent and depth, and are ſufficiently wonderful without the leaſt exaggeration. We found them as dry as a room, without the leaſt damp or moiſture; obſerving only in our whole progreſs one ſmall ſpring of water, which is impregnated with ſalt, as it runs through the mine.

Such an enormous maſs of ſalt exhibits a wonderful phænomenon in the natural hiſtory of this globe. Monſieur Guetard, who viſited theſe mines with great attention, and who has publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſubject, informs us, that the uppermoſt bed of earth at the ſurface immediately over the mines is ſand, the ſecond clay occaſionally mixed with ſand and gravel, and containing petrefactions of marine bodies, the third calcarious ſtone. From all theſe circumſtances he conjectures that this ſpot was formerly covered by the ſea, and that the ſalt is a gradual depoſit formed by the evaporation of its waters *."

* See Memoire ſur les Mines de Sel de Wieliczka, in Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences for 1762.

Account

Account of the Plica Polonica; *from the ſame Work.*

"ACcording to the obſervations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiſs phyſician long reſident in Poland, and who has publiſhed a ſatisfactory treatiſe * upon this ſubject; the *Plica Polonica* is ſuppoſed to proceed from an acrid viſcous humour penetrating into the hair, which is tubular †: it then exudes either from its ſides or extremities, and clots the whole together, either in ſeparate ſolds, or in one undiſtinguiſhed maſs. Its ſymptoms, more or leſs violent, according to the conſtitution of the patient, or malignity of the diſeaſe, are itchings, ſwellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, languor, lowneſs of ſpirits, rheumatiſm, gout, and ſometimes even convulſions, palſy, and madneſs. Theſe ſymptoms gradually decreaſe as the hair becomes affected. If the patient is ſhaved in the head, he relapſes into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and he continues to labour under them, until a freſh growth of hair abſorbs the acrid humour. This diſorder is thought hereditary; and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent ſtate.

Many phyſical cauſes have been ſuppoſed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in theſe regions than in other parts: it would be an endleſs work to enumerate the various conjectures with which each perſon has ſupported his favourite hypotheſis: the moſt probable are thoſe aſſigned by Dr. Vicat. The firſt cauſe is the nature of the Poliſh air, which is rendered inſalubrious by numerous woods and moraſſes; and occaſionally derives an uncommon keenneſs even in the midſt of ſummer from the poſition of the Carpathian mountains; for the ſouthern and ſouth-eaſterly winds, which uſually convey warmth in other regions, are in this chilled in their paſſage over their ſnowy ſummits. The ſecond is unwholeſome water; for although Poland is not deficient in good ſprings, yet the common people uſually drink that which is neareſt at hand, taken indiſcriminately from rivers, lakes, and even ſtagnant pools. The third cauſe is the groſs inattention of the natives to cleanlineſs; for experience ſhews, that thoſe who are not negligent in their perſons and habitations, are leſs liable to be afflicted with the plica, than others who are deficient in that particular. Thus perſons of higher rank are leſs ſubject to this diſorder than thoſe of inferior ſtations: the inhabitants of large towns than thoſe of ſmall villages; the free peaſants than thoſe in an abſolute ſtate of vaſſalage; the natives of Poland Proper than thoſe of Lithuania. Whatever we may determine as to the poſſibility that all, or any of theſe cauſes, by themſelves, or in conjunction with others, originally produced the diſorder; we may venture to aſſert, that they all, and particularly the laſt, aſſiſt its

* Memoire ſur la Plique Polonoiſe.

† The dilatation of the hair is ſometimes ſo conſiderable as to admit ſmall globules of blood; this circumſtance, which however very rarely happens, has probably given riſe to the notion, that the patient, if his hair is cut off, bleeds to death.

propagation, inflame its ſymptoms, and protract its cure.

In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears to be a contagious diſtemper; which, like the leproſy, ſtill prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progreſs; but is rarely known in thoſe countries, where proper precautions are taken to prevent its ſpreading."

Deſcription of, and Obſervations upon, the Cock-Chaffer, *both in its Grub and Beetle State: From Letters and Papers on Agriculture, &c. addreſſed to the Bath Society; by the Secretary of the Society.*

AS there are few inſects more prejudicial to the farmer than that generally known by the name of the *Cock-Chaffer*, I beg leave to make a few obſervations thereon.

In different parts of this kingdom theſe inſects are called by different names, ſuch as, the *Chaffer*, the *Cock-Chaffer*, the *Jeffry-Cock*, the *May-bug*, and (in Norfolk) the *Dor*.

In what claſs Linnæus ranks them, I do not remember; but they ſeem to be the *Scarabæus arboreus vulgaris major*, of Ray.

When full grown in their grub-ſtate, they are near an inch and a half long, and as big as a child's little finger. Their heads are red, their bodies ſoft, white, and ſhining, with a few hairs on the back. They have three hairy legs on each ſide, all placed near the head, in which are two forceps or jaws, like the hornet; with theſe they cut aſunder the roots of graſs, corn, &c. and frequently deſtroy whole fields in a ſhort time. In this *eruca* or grub-ſtate, they continue three and ſometimes four years.

†

In their beetle-ſtate they have two pair of wings; the one filmy, and the other ſcaly. The *interior* pair are folded up in a curious manner, and remain hid, unleſs when expanded for flight. The *elytra*, or caſe-wings, are of a reddiſh brown colour, and ſprinkled over with a fine white powder, like the auricula. The legs and tail (which is pointed) are whitiſh. The body is brown, except at each joint on the ſides of the belly, which is indented with white. The circles round the eyes are yellowiſh; the antena ſhort, and terminated by fine lamellated ſpreading tufts, which the creature expands more or leſs as it is briſk and lively or otherwiſe.

The firſt account I find of theſe deſtructive inſects, is given by *Mouffett*, who tells us, that in the year 1574, ſuch a multitude of them fell into the Severn, that they clogged, and even ſtopped, the wheels of the water-mills.

There is alſo an account in the Tranſactions of the Dublin Society, that the country people ſuffered ſo much in one county, by the devaſtation theſe inſects made, that they ſet fire to a wood ſeveral miles in length, to prevent their further progreſs.

In the day-time they ſeldom fly about, but conceal themſelves beneath the leaves of oak, ſycamore, maple, hazel, lime, and ſome other trees, which they ſoon eat to a ſkeleton; but about ſun-ſet they are all on the wing, and fly about the trees and hedges as thick as a ſwarm of bees.

While in their grub-ſtate, they entirely deſtroy all the graſs, corn, or turneps, where they harbour.

I have ſeen fine meadows, which in May and June have been all withered, and as brown as thatch.

Theſe

These grubs generally lie near two inches below the surface, and eat the roots of the grass so regularly, that I have rolled up many yards of the withered turf as easy as tho' it had been cut for a garden.

When they attack turneps, they eat only the middle of the small root; but by that means, kill all they bite without remedy.

Neither the severest frosts in our climate, nor even keeping them in water, will kill them. I have kept some in water near a week; they appeared motionless; but on exposing them to the sun and air a few hours, they recovered, and were as lively as ever: Hence, it is evident, they can live without air. On examining them with a microscope, I could never discover any organs for respiration, or perceive any pulsation.

Hogs will root up the land for them, and at first eat them greedily; but seldom meddle with them a second time. To rooks and crows they seem to be a high regale. When numerous, they are not destroyed without great difficulty; the best method is, to plow up the land in thin furrows, and employ children to pick them up in baskets; and then strew salt and quick-lime, and harrow in.

About thirty years since, I remember many farmer's crops in Norfolk were almost ruined by them in their grub-state; and in the next season when they took wing, the trees and hedge-rows in many parishes were stript bare of their leaves as in winter. At first the people used to brush them down with poles, and then sweep them up and burn them. One farmer made oath, that he gathered eighty bushels; but their number seemed not much lessened, except just in his own fields.

Their mode of *coupling* is singular; and the time of their continuance in that act, sometimes two or three days. I have seen one of them fly in that state, with the other hanging pendant from its tail; and am in some doubt whether (like snails) they are not *hermaphrodites*, as there seems to be mutual insertion.

They deposit their eggs in the earth. The first year the grubs are very small, and do little mischief; the second year they are increased to the size of a goose quill, and are very injurious to the herbage; the third year they attain full size, and fly.

I am, &c.
E. RACK.

Bath, March 26, 1780.

List of the Animals found in Kamtschatka, communicated by Mr. Pennant †: *From Vol. III. of Captain* Cook's *last Voyage.*

**	ARGALI, wild sheep, Arct. Zool. Vol. I. p. 12.	*Capra ammon*, Lin. Syst.	97.
	Ibex, *or* wild goat	*Capra ibex*	90.
**	Rein	*Cervus tarandus*	93.
**	Wolf	*Canis lupus*	58.

† The quadrupeds and birds mentioned in this part of the voyage are marked in this list with a double asterisk.

** Dog

**	Dog	40.		
**	Arctic fox	42.	*Canis lagopus*	59.
**	European fox	45.	*Canis vulpes*	59.
	a. black	46.		
	b. croſs	ib.		
**	Polar bear, in the Frozen ſea only	55.	*Urſus arctos*	69.
**	Bear	57.	*Urſus arctos.*	
**	Wolverene	66.	*Urſus luſcus*	71.
**	Common weaſel	75.	*Muſtela nivalis*	69.
**	Stoat, *or* ermine	ibid.	*Muſtela erminea*	68.
**	Sable	79.	*Muſtela zibellina*	68.
	Common otter	86.	*Muſtela lutra*	66.
**	Sea otter	88.	*Muſtela lutris*	66.
**	Varying hare	94.	*Lepus timidus*	
	Alpine hare	97.		
**	Earleſs marmot	113.	*Mus citellus*	113
	Bobak marmot	115.		
	Water rat	130.	*Mus amphibius*	82.
	Common mouſe	131.	*Mus muſculus*	83.
	Oeconomic mouſe	134.		
	Red mouſe	136.		
	Ichelag mouſe	138.		
	Fœtid ſhrew	139.	*Sorex araneus*	74.
**	Walrus. Icy ſea	144.	*Trichechus roſmarus*	49.
**	Common ſeal	151.	*Phoca vitulina*	56.
	Great ſeal	159.		
	Leporine ſeal	161.		
	Harp ſeal	163.		
	Rubbon ſeal. Kurile iſles	165.		
	Urſine ſeal	ibid.	*Phoca urſina*	58.
	Leonine ſeal	172.		
**	Whale-tailed manati	177.		

There were no domeſtic animals in Kamtſchatka, till they were introduced by the Ruſſians. The dogs, which ſeem to be of wolfiſh deſcent, are aboriginal.

BIRDS.

Land Birds.

I.	Sea eagle. Vol. II. p.	194.	*Falco oſſifragus*	124.
**	Cinereous eagle	214.	*Vultur albiulla*	123.
**	White-headed eagle	196.	*Falco leucocephalus*	ibid.
	Crying eagle	215.		
	Oſprey	199.	*Falco haliætus*	129.

Peregrine

	Peregrine falcon -	202.	(Latham, I. 73†.)	
	Goſhawk -	204.	*Falco palumbarius* -	130.
II.	Eagle owl - -	228.	*Strix bubo* - -	131.
	Snowy owl -	233.	*Strix nyctea* - -	132.
III.	Raven -	246.	*Corvus corax* - -	155.
	Magpye -	147.	*Corvus pica* - -	157.
	Nutcracker -	252.	*Corvus caryocatactes* -	157.
IV.	Cuckoo -	266.	*Cuculus canorus* -	168.
V.	Wryneck -	267.	*Jynx torquilla* -	172.
VI.	Nuthatch -	281.	*Sitta Europea* -	177.
VII.	White grous -	308.	*Tetrao lagopus* -	274.
	Wood grous -	312.	*Tetrao urogallas* -	273.
VIII.	Water ouzel -	332.	*Sturnus cinclus*	
IX.	Fieldfare -	340.	*Turdus pilarus* -	291.
	Redwing thruſh -	341.	*Turdus iliacus* -	292.
	Kamtſchatkan -	343.	(Latham, III. 28.)	
X.	Greenfinch -	353.	*Loxia chloris* -	304.
XI.	Golden bunting -	367.	(Latham, II. 201.)	
XII.	Leſſer red-headed linnet - -	379	(Latham, II. 305.) (Latham, II. 351.)	
XIII.	Dun fly-catcher -	390.		
XIV.	Sky lark -	394.A.	*Alauda arvenſis* -	287.
	Wood lark -	395.B.	*Alauda arborea* -	287.
XV.	White wagtail -	396.E.	*Motacilla alba* -	331.
	Yellow wagtail -	396.F.	*Motacilla flava* -	331.
	Tſchutſki wagtail	397.H.	(Latham, IV. 407.)	
XVI.	Yellow wren -	413.	*Motacilla trochilus* -	338.
	Redſtart -	416.	*Motacilla phœnicurus* -	335.
	Longbilled -	420.		
	Stapazina -	421.	*Motacilla ſtapazina* -	331.
	Awatſka -	422.		
XVII.	Marſh titmouſe -	427.	*Parus paluſtris* -	341.
XVIII.	Chimney ſwallow	429.	*Hirundo ruſtica* -	343.
	Martin -	430.	*Hirundo urbica* -	344.
	Sand martin -	430.	*Hirundo riparia* -	344.
XIX.	European goatſucker	437.	*Caprimulgus Europeus* -	346.

Water Fowl.

Cloven-footed Water Fowl.

Great tern -	No. 448.	*Sterna hirundo*	
Kamtſchatkan -	P. 525.A.		
Black-headed gull	No. 455.	*Larus ridibundus* -	225.
Kittiwake gull	No. 456.	*Larus riſſa* -	224.

† The birds which are not deſcribed by Linnæus, are referred to the Hiſtory of Birds, now publiſhing by Mr. Latham, Surgeon, in Dartford, Kent.

Ivory

Ivory gull	No. 457.		
Arctic gull	No. 459.		
Tarrock	P. 533.D.	*Larus tridactylus*	224.
Red-legged	P. 533.E.		
Fulmar petrel	No. 464.	*Procellaria glacialis*	213.
Stormy petrel	No. 464.	*Procellaria pelagica*	212.
Kurile petrel	P. 536.A.		
Blue petrel †.	Preface		
Gooſander merganſer	No. 465.	*Mergus merganſer*	208.
Smew	No. 468.	*Mergus albellus*	209.
Whiſtling Swan	No. 469.	*Anas Cygnus ferus*	194.A.
Great gooſe	P. 570.		
Chineſe gooſe	P. 571.	*Anas cygnoides*	194.B.
Snow gooſe	No. 477.		
Brent gooſe	No. 478.	*Anas bernicla*	198.
Eider duck	No. 480.	*Anas molliſſima*	198.
Black duck	No. 483.	*Anas ſpectabilis*	195.
Velvet duck	No. 481.	*Anas fuſca*	196.
Shoveler	No. 485.	*Anas clypeata*	200.
Golden eye	No. 486.	*Anas clangula*	201.
Harlequin	No. 490.	*Anas hiſtrionica*	204.
Mallard	No. 494.	*Anas boſchas*	205.
** Weſtern	No. 497.		
Pintail	No. 500.	*Anas acuta*	202.
** Long-tailed	No. 501.	*Anas glaciclis*	203.
Morillon	P. 573.F.	*Anas glaucion*	201.
Shieldrake	P. 572.D.	*Anas tadorna*	195.
Tufted	P. 573.G.	*Anas fuligula*	207.
Falcated	P. 574.I.		
Garganey	P. 576.O.	*Anas querquedula*	263.
Teal	P. 577.P.	*Anas crecia*	204.
Corvorant	No. 509.	*Pelecanus carvo*	216.
Violet Corvorant	P. 584.B.		
Red-faced corvorant	P. 584.C.		
Crane	P. 453.A.	*Ardea grus*	334.
Curlew	P. 462.A.	*Scolopax arquata*	242.
Whimbrel	P. 462.B.	*Scolopax phæopus*	243.
Common ſandpiper	No. 388.	*Tringa hypoleucos*	250.
Gambet	No. 394.	*Tringa gambetta*	248.
Golden plover	No. 399.	*Charadrius pluvialis*	254.
Pied oyſter-catcher.	No.	*Hæmatopus oſtralegus*	257.

With pinnated Feet.

Plain phalarope

† I never ſaw this, but it is mentioned by Mr. Ellis. I had omitted it in my zoologic part.

With

With webbed Feet.

Wandering albatroſs	No. 423.	*Diomedea exulans*	214.
Razor-bill auk	No. 425.	*Alca torda*	210.
Puffin	No. 427.	*Alca arctica*	211.
Antient	No. 430.		
Pygmy	No. 431.		
Tufted	No. 432.		
Parroquet	No. 433.		
Creſted	No. 434.		
Duſky	No. 345.		
Fooliſh guillemot	No. 436.	*Colymbus troille*	220.
Black guillemot	No. 437.	*Colymbus grylle*	220.
Marbled guillemot	No. 438.		
Imber diver	No. 440.	*Colymbus immer*	222.
Speckled diver	No. 441.		
Red-throated diver	No. 443.	*Colymbus ſeptentrionalis*	220.

A particular Account of Peter *the* Wild Boy; *extracted from the Pariſh Regiſter of* North Church, *in the County of* Hertford.

"PETER * commonly known by the name of *Peter the Wild Boy*, lies buried in this church-yard †, oppoſite to the porch.—In the year 1725 he was found in the woods near Hamelen, a fortified town in the electorate of Hanover, when his Majeſty George I. with his attendants, was hunting in the foreſt of Hertſwold. He was ſuppoſed to be then about 12 years of age, and had ſubſiſted in thoſe woods upon the bark of trees, leaves, berries, &c. for ſome conſiderable length of time. How long he had continued in that wild ſtate is altogether uncertain; but that he had formerly been under the care of ſome perſon was evident from the remains of a ſhirt collar about his neck at the time when he was found. As Hamelen was a town where criminals were confined to work upon the fortifications, it was then conjectured at Hanover, that Peter might be the iſſue of one of thoſe criminals, who had either wandered into the woods, and could not find his way back again, or, being diſcovered to be an ideot, was inhumanly turned out by his parents, and left to periſh, or ſhift for himſelf. In the following year, 1726, he was brought over to England, by the order of Queen Carolina, then Princeſs of Wales, and put under the care of Dr. Arbuthnot, with proper maſters to attend him. But, notwithſtanding there appeared to be no natural defect in his organs of ſpeech, after all the pains that had been taken with him he could never be brought diſtinctly to articulate a ſingle ſyllable, and proved totally incapable of receiving any inſtruction. He was afterwards intruſted to the care of Mrs. Titch-

* A very ſhort account of this remarkable perſon is given in the Annual Regiſter for the year 1767; but the one here inſerted we are happy to lay before our readers, as both equally full and authentic.

† Viz. the church-yard of North Church.

bourn,

bourn, one of the Queen's bed-chamber women, with a handſome penſion annexed to the charge. Mrs. Titchbourn uſually ſpending a few weeks every ſummer at the houſe of Mr. James Fenn, a yeoman farmer, at Axter's End, in this pariſh, Peter was left to the care of the ſaid Mr. Fenn, who was allowed 35l. a year for his ſupport and maintenance. After the death of James Fenn he was transferred to the care of his brother, Thomas Fenn, at another farm-houſe in this pariſh, called Broadway, where he lived with the ſeveral ſucceſſive tenants of that farm, and with the ſame proviſion allowed by government, to the time of his death, Feb. 22, 1785, when he was ſuppoſed to be about 72 years of age.

"Peter was well made, and of the middle ſize. His countenance had not the appearance of an ideot, nor was there any thing particular in his form, except that two of the fingers of his left hand were united by a web up to the middle joint. He had a natural ear for muſic, and was ſo delighted with it, that, if he heard any muſical inſtrument played upon, he would immediately dance and caper about till he was almoſt quite exhauſted with fatigue; and though he could never be taught the diſtinct utterance of any word, yet he could eaſily learn to hum a tune.—All thoſe idle tales which have been publiſhed to the world about his climbing up trees like a ſquirrel, running upon all fours like a wild beaſt, &c. are entirely without foundation; for he was ſo exceedingly timid and gentle in his nature, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be governed by a child. There have been alſo many falſe ſtories propagated of his incontinence; but, from the minuteſt inquiries among thoſe who conſtantly lived with him, it does not appear that he ever diſcovered any natural paſſion for women, though he was ſubject to the other paſſions of human nature, ſuch as anger, joy, &c. Upon the approach of bad weather he always appeared ſullen and uneaſy. At particular ſeaſons of the year, he ſhewed a ſtrange fondneſs for ſtealing away into the woods, where he would feed eagerly upon leaves, beech-maſt, acorns, and the green bark of trees; which proves evidently that he had ſubſiſted in that manner for a conſiderable length of time before he was firſt taken. His keeper therefore at ſuch ſeaſons generally kept a ſtrict eye over him, and ſometimes even confined him, becauſe, if he ever rambled to any diſtance from his home, he could not find his way back again; and once in particular, having gone beyond his knowledge, he wandered as far as Norfolk, where he was taken up, and, being carried before a magiſtrate, was committed to the houſe of correction in Norwich, and puniſhed as a ſturdy and obſtinate vagrant, who would not (for indeed he could not) give any account of himſelf: but Mr. Fenn having adverti ſed him in the public papers, he was releaſed from his confinement, and brought back to his uſual place of abode.

"Notwithſtanding the extraordinary and ſavage ſtate in which Peter was firſt found greatly excited the attention and curioſity of the public; yet, after all that has been ſaid of him, he was certainly nothing more than a common ideot without the appearance of one. But as men of ſome eminence in the literary world have in their works

publiſhed

published strange opinions and ill-founded conjectures about him, which may seem to stamp a credit upon what they have advanced; that posterity may not, through their authority, be hereafter misled upon the subject, this short and true account of Peter is recorded in the parish register by one who constantly resided above 30 years in his neighbourhood, and had daily opportunities of seeing and observing him."

A brass plate is fixed up in the parish church of North-Church, on the top of which is a sketch of the head of Peter, drawn from a very good engraving of Bartolozzi, and underneath it is the following inscription:

"To the memory of PETER, known by the name of the *Wild Boy*, having been found wild in the forest of Hertswold, near Hanover, in the year 1725. He then appeared to be about 12 years old. In the following year he was brought to England by the order of the late Queen Carolina, and the ablest masters were provided for him. But, proving incapable of speaking, or of receiving any instruction, a comfortable provision was made for him at a farm-house in this parish, where he continued to the end of his inoffensive life. He died on the 22d day of February, 1785, supposed to be aged 72.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

An Account of an Artificial Spring *of* Water, *made by* Erasmus Darwin, *M. D. F. R. S. From Vol.* lxxv. *of the* Philosophical Transactions.

To the President and Fellows of the Royal Society.

Derby, July 16, 1784.

Gentlemen,

CONfident that every atom which may contribute to increase the treasure of useful knowledge, which you are so successfully endeavouring to accumulate, will be agreeable and interesting to the Society, I send you an account of an Artificial Spring of Water, which I produced last summer near the side of the river Derwent in Derby.

Near my house was an old well, about one hundred yards from the river, and about four yards deep, which had been many years disused on account of the badness of the water, which I found to contain much vitriolic acid, with, at the same time, a slight sulphureous smell and taste; but did not carefully analyse it. The mouth of this well was about four feet above the surface of the river; and the ground, through which it was sunk, consisted of a black, loose, moist earth, which appeared to have been very lately a morass, and is now covered with houses built upon piles. At the bottom was found a bed of red marl, and the spring, which was so strong as to give up many hogsheads in a day, oozed from between the morass and the marl; it lay about eight feet beneath the surface of the river, and the water rose within two feet of the top of the well.

Having observed that a very copious spring, called Saint Alkmund's well, rose out of the ground about half a mile higher on the same side of the Derwent, the level of which I knew by the height of the intervening wier to be about four or five feet above the ground about my well; and having observed, that the higher lands, at the distance of a mile or two behind these wells, consisted of red marl like that in the well; I concluded, that, if I should bore through this stratum of marl, I might probably gain a water similar to that of St. Alkmund's well, and hoped that at the same time it might rise above the surface of my old well to the level of St. Alkmund's.

With this intent a pump was first put down for the purpose of more easily keeping dry the bottom of the old well, and a hole about two and an half inches diameter was then bored about thirteen yards below the bottom of the well, till some sand was brought by the augur. A wooden pipe, which was previously cut in a conical form at one end, and armed with an iron ring at the other, was driven into the top of this hole, and stood up about two yards from the bottom of the well, and being surrounded

rounded with well-rammed clay, the new water aſcended in a ſmall ſtream through the wooden pipe.

Our next operation was to build a wall of clay againſt the moraſſy ſides of the well, with a wall of well-bricks internally, up to the top of it. This completely ſtopped out every drop of the old water; and, on taking out the plug which had been put in the wooden pipe, the new water in two or three days roſe up to the top, and flowed over the edges of the well.

Afterwards, to gratify my curioſity in ſeeing how high the new ſpring would riſe, and for the agreeable purpoſe of procuring the water at all times quite cold and freſh, I directed a pipe of lead, about eight yards long, and three-quarters of an inch diameter, to be introduced through the wooden pipe deſcribed above, into the ſtratum of marl at the bottom of the well, ſo as to ſtand about three feet above the ſurface of the ground. Near the bottom of this leaden pipe was ſewed, between two leaden rings or flances, an inverted cone of ſtiff leather, into which ſome wool was ſtuffed to ſtretch it out, ſo that, after having paſſed through the wooden pipe, it might completely fill up the perforation of the clay. Another leaden ring or flanch was ſoldered round the leaden pipe, about two yards below the ſurface of the ground, which, with ſome doubles of flannel placed under it, was nailed on the top of the wooden pipe, by which means the water was perfectly precluded from riſing between the wooden and the leaden pipes.

This being accompliſhed, the bottom of the well remained quite dry, and the new water quickly roſe about a foot above the top of the well in the leaden pipe; and, on bending the mouth of this pipe to the level of the ſurface of the ground, about two hogſheads of water flowed from it in twenty-four hours, which had ſimilar properties with the water of St. Alkmund's well, as on compariſon both theſe waters curdled a ſolution of ſoap in ſpirit of wine, and abounded with calcareous earth, which was copiouſly precipitated by a ſolution of fixed alkali; but the new water was found to poſſeſs a greater abundance of it, together with numerous ſmall bubbles of aerial acid or calcareous gas.

The new water has now flowed about twelve months, and, as far as I can judge, is already increaſed to almoſt double the quantity in a given time; and from the rude experiments I made, I think it is now leſs replete with calcareous earth, approaching gradually to an exact correſpondence with St. Alkmund's well, as it probably has its origin between the ſame ſtrata of earth.

As many mountains bear inconteſtable marks of their having been forcibly raiſed up by ſome power beneath them; and other mountains, and even iſlands, have been lifted up by ſubterraneous fires in our own times, we may ſafely reaſon on the ſame ſuppoſition in reſpect to all other great elevations of ground. Proofs of theſe circumſtances are to be ſeen on both ſides of this part of the country; whoever will inſpect, with the eye of a philoſopher, the lime-mountain at Breedon, on the edge of Leiceſterſhire, will not heſitate a moment in pronouncing, that it has been forcibly elevated by ſome power beneath it; for it is of a conical form, with the apex cut off, and the ſtrata, which compoſe the central

central parts of it, and which are found nearly horizontal in the plain, are raiſed almoſt perpendicularly, and placed upon their edges, while thoſe on each ſide decline like the ſurface of the hill; ſo that this mountain may well be repreſented by a bur made by forcing a bodkin through ſeveral parallel ſheets of paper. At Router, or Eagle-ſtone, in the Peak, ſeveral large maſſes of gritſtone are ſeen on the ſides and bottom of the mountain, which by their form evince from what parts of the ſummit they were broken off at the time it was elevated; and the numerous looſe ſtones ſcattered about the plains in its vicinity, and half buried in the earth, muſt have been thrown out by exploſions, and prove the volcanic origin of the mountain. Add to this the vaſt beds of toad-ſtone or lava in many parts of this county, ſo accurately deſcribed, and ſo well explained by Mr. Whitehurſt, in his Theory of the Formation of the Earth.

Now as all great elevations of ground have been thus raiſed by ſubterraneous fires, and in a long courſe of time their ſummits have been worn away, it happens, that ſome of the more interior ſtrata of the earth are expoſed naked on the tops of mountains; and that, in general, thoſe ſtrata, which lie uppermoſt or neareſt to the ſummit of the mountain, are the loweſt in the contiguous plains. This will be readily conceived if the bur, made by thruſting a bodkin through ſeveral parallel ſheets of paper, had a part of its apex cut off by a pen-knife, and is ſo well explained by Mr. Michell, in an ingenious paper on the Phænomena of Earthquakes, publiſhed a few years ago in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

And as the more elevated parts of a country are ſo much colder than the vallies, owing, perhaps, to a concurrence of two or three cauſes, but particularly to the leſs condenſed ſtate of the air upon hills, which thence becomes a better conductor of heat, as well as of electricity, and permits it to eſcape the faſter; it is from the water condenſed on theſe cold ſurfaces of mountains, that our common cold ſprings have their origin; and which, ſliding between two of the ſtrata above deſcribed, deſcend till they find or make themſelves an outlet, and will in conſequence riſe to a level with the part of the mountain where they originated. And hence, if by piercing the earth you gain a ſpring between the ſecond and third, or third and fourth ſtratum, it muſt generally happen, that the water from the loweſt ſtratum will riſe the higheſt, if confined in pipes, becauſe it comes originally from a higher part of the country in its vicinity.

The increaſing quantity of this new ſpring, and its increaſing purity, I ſuppoſe to be owing to its continually diſſolving a part of the earth it paſſes through, and hence making itſelf a wider channel, and that through materials of leſs ſolubility. Hence it is probable, that the older and ſtronger ſprings are generally the purer; and that all ſprings were originally loaded with the ſoluble impurities of the ſtrata, through which they tranſuded.

Since the above-related experiment was made, I have read with pleaſure the ingenious account of the King's wells at Sheerneſs, in the laſt volume of the Tranſactions, by Sir Thomas Hyde Page, in which the water roſe three hundred feet above its ſource in the well; and

have

have alſo been informed, that in the town of Richmond in Surrey, and at Inſhip near Preſton in Lancaſhire, it is uſual to bore for water through a lower ſtratum of earth to a certain depth; and that when it is found, at both thoſe places, it riſes ſo high as to overflow the ſurface of the well. All theſe facts contribute to eſtabliſh the theory above mentioned: and there is reaſon to conclude, that, if ſimilar experiments were made, artificial ſprings, riſing above ground, might in many places be thus produced at ſmall expence, both for the common purpoſes of life, and for the great improvement of lands, by occaſionally watering them.

On Dibbling Wheat. *From Vol. III. of* Tranſactions *of the Society inſtituted at London for Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Norwich, Oct. 27, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

I TAKE the liberty to addreſs you on a ſubject I conceive will be worthy your patronage, viz. the dibbling or dropping of Wheat, which, though prevailing in this part of the nation, ſeems little underſtood, or ſcarcely apprehended, in the Southern, North-weſt, and Midland counties.

Your encouragement hath been handed forth, during ſome years, for the beſt ſet of experiments to aſcertain whether it is moſt advantageous to cultivate Wheat by ſowing it in the common broadcaſt way, or by drilling it in equidiſtant rows. Whether you have had this comparative difference aſcertained, is not neceſſary for me to enquire; my purpoſe is, a wiſh that, in handing forth a future encouragement, you might ſee it eligible to connect this late mode of propagation with the two former: I have been long perſuaded it is ſuperior to either, and that, purſued on lands of a certain deſcription, it will be productive of much national advantage, and with no hazard of a comparative loſs, applied to any lands experimentally known to be ſuitable to this grain.

I ſhall therefore beg leave to mention, having, with you, the good of the public in object, that being connected by neighbourhood, or buſineſs, with divers farmers, ſetters of Wheat—and having tried it myſelf upon a ſmall ſcale, yet the largeſt I was capable of, and been a cloſe obſerver, from its beginning, through its ſucceſſive adoptions in the part of the country where it began—I therefore hold myſelf ready to communicate any intelligence to you, that may tend to your forming a ſuitable judgment thereon, and as a ground for your future encouragement.

I may likewiſe add, though perhaps prematurely, that as the practice is novel, and in ſpeculation unpromiſing, and has been conſidered as a refinement by genius at a diſtance, I conceive it would be in my power, upon your compenſation for time and travelling, at a future ſeed-time, to excite a dibbler, with one or two of his droppers, to go to any place within fifty miles of London.

This, I preſume, would impreſs an adequate idea of its mode, make the practice eaſy to their imitators, and in due time give an evidence, which ſpeculation is ſcarce capable of attaining, that the œconomy of ſeed tends to an increaſe ſomewhat

proportionable to the hoeing up nine-tenths of a turnep crop, which experience has evinced augments their real produce: yet in the ſetting of Wheat, as in the thinning of turneps, it muſt be under a regulation, and preciſion of judgment; which nevertheleſs practice can render eaſy, and an intelligent obſerver ſoon acquire.

I am, with great attention,
Your reſpectful Friend,
JOHN WAGSTAFFE.

P. S. I can ſcarce refrain obſerving that this preſent ſeed-time more Wheat hath been ſet, and land reſerved for its continuance, within the diſtance of ten miles from Norwich, than in any preceding year, and peculiarly ſo in the hundred where it originated; while it is diffuſing (though ſlowly) in every direction, and is now extended into a neighbouring county.

On the Culture, Produce, and Application of the Howard *or* Cluſtered Potatoe, *and the Compariſon of them with other Sorts. Extracted from the Account of* Arthur Young, *Eſq. in the ſame Volume.*

EXPERIMENT I.

Productive Quality. April 4, 1770. Having a ſmall Howard Potatoe, cut it into four ſets, planted them on a hillock of ſandy loam, ſcattered with two pecks of poultry dung; when they came up, earthed them with one peck of chalk, and ſoon after with two pecks of rotten yard dung; again with one peck of poultry dung and a layer of loam. I was abſent a conſiderable part of the ſummer, and therefore could not mark the progreſs of the vegetation, whether checked or accelerated by theſe earthings. Dug them up November 16; the produce ninety Potatoes, meaſuring two pecks, ſome of them remarkably fine, weight thirty-one pounds; the quantity of land occupied, four ſquare feet; the acreable produce one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-one buſhels.

EXPERIMENT II.

Compariſon with other Sorts. March 20, 1771. Manured three furrows of ridges, four feet and a half broad, and ſeventy yards long, with ſix loads of farm-yard dung; the ſoil a wet hungry gravel, naturally poor. In 1770, it was manured ſeventy loads an acre, of earth and dung, drilled with lucerne; but failing, it was ſummer fallowed for turneps, but not ſown, through a ſervant's miſtake, the dung for the Potatoes was laid in the furrows, and the ſets upon it in a double row, twelve inches apart, and as much from ſet to ſet; one buſhel of ſeed. Covered them by reverſing the ridges with a plough. Alſo five ridges contiguous, dunged in the ſame manner, with two buſhels and half a peck of Red Noſe Kidney, ſuppoſed at London to be the moſt prolific ſort; alſo two other ridges dunged in the ſame manner, with five pecks, a mixture of Golden Tags, and Golden Ruſſets from Lancaſhire.

The firſt week in June hand-hoed the rows; the middle of the ſame month horſe-hoed the intervals with a Berkſhire ſhim, which cuts the ſurface but turns no furrow; followed this with a large double mould-board plough, which earthed up the

rows,

rows, clearing the furrows, and leaving the land in beautiful order.

July 12 hand-weeded the rows; the middle of Auguſt repeated the ſhimming and double mould-board plough; the firſt week in September hand-weeded; the latter end of October ploughed them up.

Produce.	*Buſhels.*
Three ridges of Howards	24
Five ditto Red N. Kidney	16
Two ditto Tags and Ruſſets	9

which per acre makes	*Buſhels.*
Howards	360
Kidnies	144
Tags and Ruſſets	207

Account of the Howards per acre.

Expences.	£.	s.	d.
1770. Four ploughings at 6s.	1	4	0
Three harrowings at 9d.	0	2	3
Seventy loads of compoſt at 2s.	7	0	0
Rent 0 8 0			
Rates 0 1 2			
Repairs* 0 1 0			
Fences* 0 1 6			
	0	11	8
	8	17	11
1771. One ploughing	0	6	0
Eighty-nine loads of compoſt at 2s.	8	18	0
Eighteen buſhels of ſets at 2s.	1	16	0
Planting	0	6	0
Harrowing	0	0	9
Carried over	20	4	8

Brought over	£.	s.	d.
	20	4	8
Hand-hoeing	0	2	6
Shimming	0	0	9
Moulding Plough	0	5	0
Weeding	0	1	6
Horſe-hoeing repeated	0	5	9
Weeding	0	3	0
Ploughing and picking	1	6	0
Annual charges as before	0	11	8
	23	0	10

Produce.

	£.	s.	d.
Three hundred and ſixty buſhels, two ſhillings the ſelling price; but ſuppoſe 1s. 6d. the price of common Potatoes	27	0	0
Expences	23	0	10
Profit	3	19	2

Account of the Kidnies.

Produce.

One hundred and forty-four buſhels, at 1s. 6d.	10	16	0
Expences the ſame, the ſmall variation in the ſeed not worth noting	23	0	10
Loſs	12	4	10

Account of the Tags and Ruſſets.

Produce.

Two hundred and ſeven buſhels at 1s. 6d.	15	10	6
Expences	23	0	10
Loſs	7	10	4

* This upon an average per annum over the whole farm.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſoil above deſcribed is perhaps the moſt unfit of all others for common Potatoes; but being informed that the Howard would thrive where other ſorts would not, I purpoſely choſe it. The event is remarkable, and proves clearly that on theſe wet tenacious gravels great crops of that ſort may be gained; the unſatisfactory circumſtance is the value of the crop, a circumſtance general with Potatoes, for their price varies exceedingly; and, what is worſe, have ſometimes no price at all for large quantities; conſequently, if they cannot be conſumed at home by cattle profitably, the object is not an important one: two manurings being charged to one crop, render the expence very high. It muſt however ſtrike every perſon, that, had the Potatoes no more than paid the expence, the return would have been prodigiouſly advantageous, as the land is left in uncommon order for ſucceeding crops.

It is neceſſary here to remark, that the value of two ſhillings a load for the manure, is for a one-horſe three-wheel carriage or cart, which holds about eighteen buſhels, and is the average expence of my farm-yard compoſt for ſeveral years paſt. In the ſummer I cart a layer of marle, turf, or mould over all my yard, and in the following winter fodder my cattle on it, cleaning the ſtables, cow-houſe, and hog-ſties on to it, bones, night ſoil, coal aſhes, ſullage of ſtreets, or whatever manure I buy; in the ſpring I turn the whole over, mixing well together, and cart it for Potatoes; the two ſhillings includes filling, ſpreading, carting, and in a word all expence whatever.

EXPERIMENT III.

In ploughing up the preceding crop, two lands were thrown into one, and early in the ſpring ſplit again; after which one of them, where the Howards had been, coming up tolerably thick, from the ſmall Potatoes left, I deſiſted from ploughing it up, in order to ſee what the reſult would be. It was hand-hoed once, and weeded twice; and being taken up in November, 1772, the produce was ſix buſhels, or per acre two hundred and ſeventy-ſix; which, at one ſhilling and ſixpence, is twenty pounds fourteen ſhillings.

EXPERIMENT IV.

Culture, Expences, Produce, and Application of one hundred and twenty perch. 1772. The ſoil, a deep ſandy loam; it was under carrots in 1771, and ploughed flat in autumn; the extreme wetneſs of the ſpring prevented my carting on the dung till the ſixth of April, and then only thirty loads. Rain coming the eighth, prevented going on with it. Spread the compoſt, and on the thirteenth ploughed it into four feet ridges, ſtriking the furrows immediately with the double mould-board plough; at the ſame time drew furrows at four feet diſtance, as paths for that large plough to open trenches to lay the dung in, that I might ſee which method anſwered beſt, ſpreading the manure all over the land, or laying it in furrows under the crop; but heavy rains impeded the work; the fourteenth it rained from five in the morning till ten at night, a cruel ſeaſon for Potatoe planting; the piece ploughed the thirteenth did not work ſo well as it ought; indeed the ſeaſon had been

been ſo wet, that no land except lays ploughed tolerably. April twenty-ſecond and twenty-third went on with the manuring, and the twenty-ninth planted part, laying the ſets in double rows, at one foot, on the dung, and covered them immediately with the plough, reverſing the ridges; the part ploughed, with deſign to dibble, baked too hard for it; ploughed it therefore again, planting it in ſingle rows: the plough firſt turned a furrow from one ſide of each ridge, and upon the back of this furrow the ſets were laid ſix inches apart; the plough then returning, and taking a ſimilar furrow from the oppoſite ridge, covered the ſets, which muſt of courſe come up in the middle of the new ridge. The dung which was ſpread over the land fell on to the ſets in ploughing, as I could wiſh. May firſt, finiſhed, and the fourth planted it; during the ſummer hand-hoed once, hand-weeded once, and horſe-hoed twice, once with ſhim, and once with double mould-board; nothing made a more beautiful appearance than theſe Potatoes throughout the ſeaſon; the verdure and luxuriance of the herbage, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the drought which followed that wet ſpring, was a moſt pleaſing ſight, nor was there to be ſeen a weed throughout. November fourteenth, began taking them up; eighteen rows and a half planted on the dung, one hundred and ten yards long by four feet broad, produced two hundred and thirteen buſhels, dirty; that ſpace makes ninety ſquare perch; the proportion per acre is three hundred and fourteen buſhels, deducting one-ſixth for dirt; ſix rows, where the dung was ſpread, produced ſixty-four buſhels and a half, dirty; clean fifty-three, one-ſixth deducted; proportion per acre two hundred and ninety-two. Total produce, dirty, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven buſhels. For ſecuring them during the winter, I ſpread the floor of a ſmall barn with truſſes of ſtraw, cloſe to each other, and the ſame around the ſides of the barn; the Potatoes were laid in with all the dirt that ſtuck to them; ſome were very wet. I did not open the heap till the end of January, when the whole was one hard dry maſs, and the Potatoes very ſound and good; upon meaſuring them clean, the produce was two hundred and forty-ſix buſhels, the dirt therefore did not amount quite to one-ſixth; one hundred and twenty perch producing two hundred and forty-ſix, is at the rate of three hundred and twenty-eight per acre.

Expences per acre.	£.	s.	d.
1771. Ploughing	0	6	0
1772. Compoſt, one hundred loads at 2s.	10	0	0
Ploughing	0	6	0
Twelve buſhels of ſetts at 1s. 6d.	0	18	0
Slicing and planting	0	6	0
Harrowing	0	0	9
Hand-hoeing	0	10	0
Hand-weeding	0	3	0
Horſe-hoing ſhim	0	0	9
Double mould-board	0	5	0
Ploughing up	0	6	0
Picking up, 1½d. per buſhel	1	14	2
Carting home, drawover and cleaning	1	0	0
Annual charges	0	11	8
Value aſcertained	16	7	4

February the eighth, &c. In a copper, that held ſix buſhels, boiled

at ſeveral times ſeventy-five buſhels, with ninety buſh-faggots, turning them out of the copper into a tub, wherein they were maſhed: from this tub put the maſh, without any liquor, into a ciſtern; adding, as it was done, nine buſhels of barley in meal: a boy in the ciſtern mixed them well together with a ſpade. Bought five hogs of the Chineſe breed, and weighed them alive.

No. 1	- -	121 *lb.*
2	- -	117
3	- -	102
4	- -	95
5	- -	98
		533

They coſt ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and three-pence, which is three-pence per pound alive. Upon finiſhing the Potatoes, they were weighed alive, killed, and ſold, which was rather a diſadvantage, as none of them were quite fat; I did it, however, for the ſake of gaining the knowledge I made the trial in ſearch of. They weighed ſeven hundred and eighty-four pounds alive, and five hundred and ten pounds dead, which ſold at ſixpence per pound, or twelve pounds fifteen ſhillings; this proportion is nearly twenty pounds alive, giving thirteen dead. Numbers one and two were weighed at different times, and gained the firſt three weeks of fatting two pounds and a quarter each per diem, which is very conſiderable: the expences were

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Coſt of the Hogs -	6	13	3
Labour, waſhing Potatoes and boiling - -	0	6	9
Ninety buſh-faggots, value	0	5	0
Nine buſhels barley -	1	16	0
	9	0	3

Produce.	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
Sold at - -	12	15	0
Deduct - -	9	0	3
Remains, which is the value paid for the Potatoes - -	3	15	9

Or per buſhel one ſhilling.

When I found the hogs thriving ſo well, I expected the Potatoes to pay a higher value than this; not but a ſhilling a buſhel, in an application that goes to any quantity, is a great object.

But as the prices of pork and barley may vary, I ſhall give the product of pork yielded by this quantity of food.

	lb.
The hogs, when killed fat, weighed - -	510
At putting up, they weighed alive 533lb. This would have been dead at 13 or 20 -	346
The gain of pork was therefore	164

Thus ſeventy-five buſhels of Potatoes, and nine of barley, yielded one hundred and ſixty-four pounds of Pork. This is a fact which may be uſeful, whatever the price of barley is, and for whatever pork may ſell.

The mere increaſe of dead weight is not the whole profit, or it would not pay the expence; there is, beſides, the profit on converting lean to fat, if bought at three-pence alive weight. But three hundred and forty-ſix dead, at ſix pence, would be eight pounds thirteen ſhillings, whereas they coſt but ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings.

The Society will obſerve, that this value of one ſhilling per buſhel

is

is found only from one experiment, which, though it anſwers for fixing the amount of this crop, yet repeated ones muſt be made, to diſcover what may be reckoned a ſtandard value.

Produce.	£.	s.	d.
Three hundred and twenty-eight buſhels at 1 s.	16	8	0
Expences - -	16	7	4

Hence therefore the crop paid the expences; which, conſidering the ample manuring and the great order the land is left in, muſt be eſteemed a very conſiderable profit. The great object of tillage is to find a fallow crop which will pay its expences, manuring included. Every farmer knows that turneps, under the laſt perfection of culture, will never do this; but if Potatoes uſed at home can be made to do it, every beneficial purpoſe is anſwered: for the conſumption, by fattening hogs, raiſes a large quantity of valuable dung.

Deſcription of a Contrivance for increaſing the Effect of Engines *for extinguiſhing Fires; from the ſame Volume.*

THE Silver Medal and Twenty Guineas were voted to Mr. Furſt, *in conſideration of the utility of a contrivance produced by him, and of which trial was made, for increaſing the effect of Engines for extinguiſhing Fires. A complete model remains in the Repoſitory of the Society, of which the following is a ſhort deſcription.*

FROM a platform riſes an upright pole or maſt, of ſuch height as may be judged neceſſary; up this pole or maſt ſlides a gaft, and along the upright pole and gaft the leather hoſe from the Engine is conveyed; at the extremity of the gaft the branch of the Engine projects; towards this extremity is fixed an iron frame, whence hang two chains, and from them ropes, ſerving to give a horizontal direction to the branch; whilſt other ropes, running through proper pullies, and being thus conveyed down the maſt, ſerve alſo to communicate a vertical motion to it. By theſe means the branch or noſe-pipe of the Engine is conveyed into the window of any room where the fire more immediately rages, and the effect of the water diſcharged therefrom applied in the moſt efficacious manner to the extinguiſhing it.

The following Account of a Diſſolvent for the human calculi, found out by Mr. B. Colburne, *of* Bath, *ſeems ſo well corroborated, by the moſt reſpectable Inſtances, for its ſalutary Effect, that we think it our Duty to lay it before our Readers. Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for July* 1785.

MR. Colburne informs us, that from ſeveral very accurate experiments on the human *calculus*, ſteeped in alkaline ſalts, they were reduced in weight, and diſpoſed to diſſolve: this led him to try what effect it would produce, by the internal uſe, on the urine of thoſe who ſuffer from the gravel or ſtone; and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find that

his own urine (for he was a ſufferer himſelf) from being turbid, and diſpoſed to precipitation, became clear, and of a natural colour. But the alkaline ſalts proving diſagreeable and nauſeating, he conceived that ſome more agreeable mode might be contrived to anſwer the ſame good purpoſes. Fixed air ſeemed to Mr. Colburne the beſt means of ſucceſs, and experience ſoon confirmed his hopes. The alkaline ſolution is thus prepared:

Put two ounces, troy weight, of dry ſalt of tartar into an open earthen veſſel, and pour upon it two quarts of the ſofteſt water to be had, and ſtir them well together. Let the ſolution ſtand for 24 hours, when the clear part muſt be poured off, with care to avoid any of the reſiduum, and put into the middle part of one of the glaſs machines for impregnating water with fixible air, and expoſed to a ſtream of that fluid: after the water has been 24 hours in this ſituation, it will be fit for uſe, and ſhould be bottled off. Well cork the bottles, and ſet them upon their corks, bottom upwards; and with ſuch care it will keep ſeveral weeks. Eight ounces may be taken three times in 24 hours, without any inconvenience; but it may be beſt to begin with a ſmaller quantity.

On the Nature of different kinds of Soil, and the Grain, Pulſe, or Graſſes proper to each. From Vol. II. of Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c. ſelected from the Correſpondence-Book of the Society inſtituted at Bath, *for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, within the Counties of* Somerſet, Wilts, Glouceſter, *and* Dorſet, *and the City and County of* Briſtol.

[By an Experienced Correſpondent.]

GENTLEMEN,

AS the publication of your firſt volume of ſelect papers did you honour as a Society, and furniſhed the public with a variety of uſeful information, it gave me pleaſure to ſee, in the advertiſement of your annual meeting, that a ſecond volume was nearly ready for the preſs. And as you ſeem deſirous to obtain the correſpondence of thoſe who have had ſome experience, and poſſeſs ſome knowledge, in the arts of cultivation, I am willing to contribute my mite in this way.

Agriculture, Planting, &c. have been my employment, ſtudy, and amuſement, near forty years; and, as I have kept regular minutes of the experiments I made, they have ſupplied me with conſiderable inſtruction.

I therefore beg leave to trouble you with a few brief remarks on the nature of different ſoils, and the crops moſt likely to ſucceed on each reſpectively.

Firſt, Clay, which is in general the ſtiffeſt of all ſoils, and contains an unctuous quality. But under the term clays, earths of different ſorts and colours are included. One kind is ſo obſtinate, that ſcarcely any thing will ſubdue it; another ſo hungry and poor, that it abſorbs whatever is applied, and turns it into its own quality. Some clays are fatter than others, and the fatteſt are the beſt; ſome are more ſoft and ſlippery. But all of them retain

tain water poured on their ſurfaces, where it ſtagnates and chills the plants, without ſinking into the ſoil. The cloſeneſs of clay prevents the roots and fibres of plants from ſpreading in ſearch of nouriſhment. The blue, the red, and the white clay, if ſtrong, are unfavourable to vegetation. The ſtony and looſer ſort are leſs ſo; but none of them are worth any thing till their texture is ſo looſened by a mixture of other ſubſtances, and opened, as to admit the influence of the ſun, the air, and froſts. Among the manures recommended for clay, ſand is of all others to be preferred; and ſea-ſand the beſt of all where it can be obtained: this moſt effectually breaks the coheſion.

The reaſon for preferring ſea-ſand is, that it is not formed wholly (as moſt other ſands are) of ſmall ſtones; but contains a great deal of calcarious matter in it, ſuch as ſhells grated and broken to pieces by the tide; and alſo of ſalts. The ſmaller the ſand is, the more eaſily it penetrates the clay; but it abides leſs time in it than the larger.

The next beſt ſand is that waſhed down by rains on gravelly ſoils. Thoſe which are dry and light are the worſt. Small gritty gravel has alſo been recommended by the beſt writers on Agriculture for theſe ſoils; and in many inſtances I have found them to anſwer the purpoſe.

Shell marle, aſhes, and all animal and vegetable ſubſtances, are very good manures for clay; but they have been found moſt beneficial when ſand is mixed with them. Lime has been often uſed, but I would not recommend it, for I never found any advantage from it ſingly, when applied to clays.

The crops moſt ſuitable for ſuch lands are, wheat, beans, cabbages, and rye-graſs. Clover ſeldom ſucceeds, nor indeed any plants whoſe roots require depth, and a wide ſpread in the earth.

2dly, Chalk.—Chalky ſoils are generally dry and warm, and, if there be a tolerable depth of mould, fruitful; producing great crops of barley, rye, peaſe, vetches, clover, trefoil, burnet, and particularly ſaintfoin. The latter plant flouriſhes in a chalky ſoil better than any other. But if the ſurface of mould be very thin, this ſoil requires good manuring with clay, marle, loam, or dung. As theſe lands are dry, they may be ſown earlier than others.

When your barley is three inches high, throw in 10lb. of clover, or 15lb. of trefoil, and roll it well. The next ſummer mow the crop for hay; feed off the aftermath with ſheep; and in winter give it a top-dreſſing of dung. This will produce a crop the ſecond ſpring, which ſhould be cut for hay. As ſoon as this crop is carried off, plough up the land, and in the beginning of September ſow three buſhels of rye per acre, either to feed off, with ſheep in the ſpring, or to ſtand for harveſt. If you feed it off, ſow winter vetches in Auguſt or September, and make them into hay the following ſummer. Then get the land into as fine tilth as poſſible, and ſow it with ſaintfoin, which, with a little manure once in two or three years, will remain and produce good crops for twenty years together.

3dly, Light poor land, which ſeldom produces good crops of any thing till well manured. After it is well ploughed, ſow three buſhels of buck-wheat per acre, in April or May.

May. When in bloom, let your cattle in, a few days, to eat off the beſt and tread the other down; this done, plough in what remains immediately. This will ſoon ferment and rot in the ground; then lay it fine, and ſow three buſhels of rye per acre. If this can be got off early enough, ſow turnips; if not, winter vetches to cut for hay. Then get it in good tilth, and ſow turnip-rooted cabbages in rows three feet apart. This plant ſeldom fails, if it has ſufficient room, and the intervals be well horſe-hoed; and you will find it the beſt ſpring-feed for ſheep when turnips are over.

The horſe-hoeing will clean and prepare the land for ſaintfoin; for the ſowing of which I reckon April the beſt ſeaſon. The uſual way is to ſow it broad-caſt, four buſhels to an acre; but I prefer ſowing it in drills two feet aſunder; for then it may be horſe-hoed, and half the ſeed will be ſufficient.

The horſe-hoeing will not only clean the crop, but earth up the plants, and render them more luxuriant and laſting.

If you ſow it broad-caſt, give it a top-dreſſing in December or January, of rotten dung, or aſhes; or, which I think ſtill better, of both, mixed up in compoſt.

From various trials, I find that taking only one crop in a year, and feeding the after-growth, is better than to mow it twice. Cut it as ſoon as it is in full bloom, if the weather will permit. The hay will be the ſweeter, and the ſtrength of the plants leſs impaired, than if it ſtands till the ſeed is formed.

4thly, Light rich land, being the moſt eaſy to cultivate to advantage, and capable of bearing moſt kinds of grain, pulſe, and herbage.—I ſhall ſay little upon it. One thing however is very proper to be obſerved, that ſuch lands are the beſt adapted to the drill-huſbandry, eſpecially where machines are uſed, which require ſhallow furrows to be made for the reception of the ſeed. This, if not prone to couch-graſs, is the beſt of all ſoils for lucerne; which, if ſown in two feet drills, and kept clean, will yield an aſtoniſhing quantity of the moſt excellent herbage. But I am convinced lucerne will never be cultivated to advantage, where couch-graſs and weeds are very plentiful; nor in the broad-caſt method, even where they are not ſo; becauſe horſe-hoeing is eſſential to the vigorous growth of this plant.

5thly, Coarſe rough land.—Plough deep in autumn; when it has lain two weeks, croſs-plough it, and let it lie rough through the winter. In March give it another good ploughing; drag, rake, and harrow it well, to get out the rubbiſh, and ſow four buſhels of black oats per acre if the ſoil be wet, and white oats if dry. When about four inches high, roll them well after a ſhower; this will break the clods; and the fine mould falling among the roots of the plants will promote their growth greatly.

Some ſow clover and ray-graſs among the oats, but I think it is bad huſbandry. If you deſign it for clover, ſow it ſingle, and let a coat of dung be laid on in December. The ſnow and rain will then dilute its ſalts and oil, and carry them down among the roots of the plants. This is far better than mixing the crops on ſuch land; for the oats will exhauſt the ſoil ſo much, that the clover will be impoveriſhed. The following ſummer you will have a

good crop of clover, which cut once, and feed the after-growth. In the winter plough it in, and let it lie till February; then plough and harrow it well; and in March, if the ſoil be moiſt, plant beans in drills of three feet, to admit the horſe-hoe freely. When you horſe-hoe them a ſecond time, ſow a row of turnips in each interval, and they will ſucceed very well. But if the land be ſtrong enough for ſowing wheat as ſoon as the beans are off, the turnips may be omitted.

I am yours, &c.

B—— S——d, Herts, B. K.
May 14, 1782.

Some of the ſuperior Advantages of the Drill to the Broadcaſt Huſbandry, pointed out. From the ſame.

[By a Gentleman Farmer in Kent.]

GENTLEMEN,

SEEING by your advertiſements in the St. James's Chronicle, that the publiſhing a ſecond volume of ſelect papers was one of your reſolutions, I am induced to offer a few remarks on the Drill-Huſbandry; the ſubſtance at leaſt of which I ſhould be happy to ſee inſerted therein, if you think them worthy your attention.

Notwithſtanding the decided ſuperiority of the Drill-Huſbandry in many kinds of grain, pulſe, and graſſes, many farmers are ſtill enemies to it; and a ſtill greater number are too indolent to go one ſtep out of the old beaten path, though the advantages they might reap are obvious.

This was the caſe many years in this county, with reſpect to hoeing of turnips: but thoſe prejudices are now generally overcome; and we have very few, if any, farmers ſtupid or obſtinate enough to ſow turnips without having them twice well hoed.

Some reaſons indeed may be urged in favour of a few perſons not adopting the Drill-Huſbandry; becauſe the warmeſt advocates for it muſt allow, that there are ſoils and ſituations wherein the broad-caſt method is preferable, at leaſt in many caſes. But theſe inſtances are but few, and ought not by any means to check it in the general.

Drill-Huſbandry is, as a good writer has juſtly defined it; "*the "practice of a garden brought into "the field.*" Every man of the leaſt reflection muſt be ſenſible, that the practice of the garden is much *better* than that of the field, only a little more expenſive; but if (as is the caſe) this extra expence be generally much more than repaid by the ſuperior goodneſs and value of drilled crops, it ought to have no weight in comparing the two modes of huſbandry.

In the broadcaſt method the land is often ſown in bad tilth, and always ſcattered at random, ſometimes by very unſkilful hands. In drilling, the land muſt be in fine order; the ſeed is ſet in trenches drawn regularly, all of nearly an equal depth, and that depth ſuited to the nature of each kind of ſeed. Theſe ſeeds are alſo diſtributed at proper diſtances, and, by being equally and ſpeedily covered, are protected from vermin and other injuries; ſo that the practice of the garden is here exactly introduced into the field.

In

In the broadcaſt method, the ſeed falls in ſome places too thick, in others too thin; and, being imperfectly covered, a part of it is devoured by vermin which follow the ſower; another part is left expoſed to rain or froſts, or to heats, which greatly injure it. When harrowed in, a great part of it (ſmall ſeeds eſpecially) is buried ſo deep, that, if the ſoil be wet, it periſhes before it can vegetate.

Again; When thus ſown, there is no meddling with the crop afterwards, becauſe its growth is irregular. The ſoil cannot be broken to give it more nouriſhment, nor can even the weeds be deſtroyed without much inconvenience and injury.

But in the Drill-Huſbandry the intervals between the rows, whether double or ſingle, may be horſehoed; and thereby nouriſhment may repeatedly be given to the plants, and they weeds almoſt totally deſtroyed.

The very ſame effects which digging has upon young ſhrubs and trees in a garden, will reſult from horſe-hoeing in a field, whether the crop be corn or pulſe: for the reaſon of the thing is the ſame in both caſes, and, being founded in nature and fact, cannot ever fail. In drilling, no more plants are raiſed on the ſoil than it can well ſupport; and by dividing and breaking the ground they have the full advantage of all its fertility.

The plough prepares the land for a crop, but goes no further; for in the broadcaſt huſbandry it cannot be uſed: but the crop receives greater benefit from the tillage of the land by the horſe-hoe, while it is growing, than it could in the preparation. No care in tilling the land previous to ſowing can prevent weeds riſing with the crop; and if theſe weeds be not deſtroyed while the crop is growing, they will greatly injure it. In the broadcaſt huſbandry this cannot be done; but in drilling the horſe-hoe will effect it eaſily.

And what adds to the farmer's misfortune is, that the moſt pernicious weeds have ſeeds winged with down, which are carried by the wind to great diſtances; ſuch are thiſtles, ſowthiſtles, coltsfoot, and ſome others.

If the expence of horſe-hoeing be objected, there are two anſwers which may very properly be made: The firſt is, that this expence is much leſs than that of hand-hoeing, were it practicable, or of hand-weeding. The ſecond is, that it is more than repaid by the quantity of ſeed ſaved by drilling; to ſay nothing of the extra quantity and goodneſs of the crops, which are generally ſelf-evident.

From theſe conſiderations, founded on, and juſtly drawn from, eſtabliſhed facts, the comparative advantage is ſo great in favour of the drill-huſbandry, that it muſt be ſtrikingly viſible to every unprejudiced perſon.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.

H. L.

R——r, Feb. 16, 1783.

Obſervations on the beſt Method of reſtoring worn-out Soils without Manure. From the ſame.

[From a Gentleman Farmer in Dorſetſhire.]

GENTLEMEN,

THE firſt thing neceſſary on ſuch lands is, immediately after harveſt, to turn them up with the

the plough as deep as poſſible. In order to do this effectually, it will ſometimes be needful for a ſecond plough to follow the firſt in the ſame furrow; which will throw the mould over, and bury the ſtubble and weeds. In this caſe there will be a new ſoil uppermoſt, which, being freſh to the air, will receive much greater and more laſting benefit from the ſun, the rain, and the froſts, than it otherwiſe could do, as thereby it will attract a greater quantity of the nutrition which theſe afford. The ſtubble and weeds being by this method of ploughing buried deep, will much ſooner rot than when juſt covered. In this ſtate the ridges will lie high, and, if the land be wet or of the brick-earth kind, will be full of clots or large lumps.

No time ſhould now be loſt by delaying to render this newly turned upſoil as fine as harrowing can make it. I know in this particular my judgment will be called in queſtion by numbers. Common farmers will ſay, "To what purpoſe is all this "expence and labour, when, if the "land be ſuffered to lie in its rough "ſtate through the winter, the froſt "and the rains will do the work for "you?" But this is the language of the ſluggard and the inexperienced huſbandman only.

I am convinced, by repeated experiments, cloſe obſervations, and plain reaſoning on known facts, that lands which are made fine before the ſharp froſt and winter rains come on, will receive a much greater ſhare of their influence than any other.

If the land be left in a rough ſtate, there is ſeldom time for the rains and froſt to affect more than the outſide of the large clods or lumps; the outſide will indeed be pulverized, but the *middle* of the lumps, wherever they are large, will be found nearly in the ſame hard ſtiff ſtate as when turned up by the plough. Hence it muſt appear to every one, that in this caſe the benefit of air, winter rains, and froſts, on lands thus left, is partial; and the conſequence is, that harrowing it in the ſpring, when theſe are over, is too late for its receiving the benefit which would have accrued from them; and the power of vegetation is not ſo vigorous.

But to make winter fallows as fine as they can be in autumn, and then ridge them up in that pulverized ſtate, is acting moſt agreeable to nature. The greateſt poſſible quantity of ſurface is by this means expoſed to the atmoſphere; and the ſand is left in a ſtate wherein the rains and the froſt are moſt eaſily admiſſible. They will then penetrate and enrich the whole maſs to a greater depth.

If the froſt penetrates a quantity of earth, formed into a large hard clod, *partially*, on account of its bulk and hardneſs (which is always found to be the caſe) it is evident that the ſame clod, broken into four parts, would be thereby penetrated four times as much; or, in other words, four times the quantity of earth would be affected by it, and on a thaw be pulverized. For we find that, after the breaking up of a ſevere froſt, all the ſmall clods crumble eaſily into powder; while the large ones are only made ſmaller by the crumbling off of their ſurfaces to a certain depth.

By this deep ploughing which I have recommended, the worn-out ſoil being turned in, the ſecond ſtratum or freſh earth is now uppermoſt; and having, by being made as fine as it can be in autumn, been expoſed

expoſed to the air, the rain, and the froſt during winter, is thereby ſweetened and cleanſed of its impurities; and thus become a new freſh fertilized earth, in the beſt poſſible ſtate for vigorous vegetation.

Many farmers will probably object to this method, on account of its being attended with a little extra expence. But I wiſh them to conſider, *firſt*, that this expence is more in appearance than reality, for leſs labour is requiſite in the ſpring; and *ſecondly*, that it will be amply repaid by the goodneſs of ſucceeding crops.

About ſeven years ſince, I made a comparative experiment of this kind on a field of ten acres, the ſoil of which was equal as poſſible in goodneſs. The one half of this field I left after ploughing in its rough ſtate, the ſurface being covered with large hard clods. The other half I made as fine as poſſible by harrowing with ox-harrows, and beating in pieces the hardeſt and largeſt clods which the harrow would not break.

In the ſpring, the part I had harrowed was much finer, without any additional labour, than I could render the other (which was left in its rough ſtate) by repeated harrowings; for the rain and the froſt having not penetrated the middle of the large clods, they had received no benefit therefrom, and were as hard as bricks, being only leſſened in ſize.

I ſowed the whole field with barley the laſt week in April, and threw nine pounds of broad clover in with it. On harveſting it, I kept the crops ſeparate: the part left rough produced twenty-four buſhels per acre; the other thirty-one; the latter by much the fineſt ſample. The crop of clover next year was equally in favour of the method I am recommending, being heavier by near half a ton per acre.

The extra expence on this part was only about eight ſhillings per acre; the extra produce yielded an extra profit of more than twenty ſhillings per acre.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.
A LANDHOLDER.

To preſerve Turnips from Froſt. From the ſame.

[By a Gentleman Farmer.]

Mr. RACK,

IN anſwer to your enquiry, whether we have adopted any method of preſerving Turnips from the froſt; or for feeding cattle late in the ſpring; and, if ſo, what thoſe methods were? I beg leave to obſerve, that nothing of this kind is yet come into general practice in this county. With reſpect to preſerving turnips from ſuch ſevere froſts as we had this laſt winter, eſpecially when there has not been ſnow enough to cover them, I believe it would be utterly impracticable, unleſs the turnips were drawn previous to ſuch froſts.

This would on the whole never anſwer the farmer's purpoſe; as the certain trouble and expence of houſing or ſtacking them would far exceed the advantage, even in a hard ſeaſon; and, in mild winters, would be entirely loſt.

To preſerve them for late ſpring-feed, is not ſo difficult an undertaking. Divers methods have been tried, and among the reſt that of drawing and burying them in ſand; but this has not anſwered, for the following, among other, reaſons:

Turnips are a very juicy root; and although

although ſand be perfectly dry when thrown among them, yet, when packed together in large heaps, they naturally ſweat, and communicate a moiſture, which, with the hot quality of the ſand, raiſes a ſtill greater heat; and as warmth and moiſture are two qualities which greatly promote vegetation, the vegetation of theſe roots is the firſt thing that renders them uſeleſs. They will grow till the growing quality is exhauſted; and then, by putrifying, become quite unfit for food.

The beſt method of preſerving them that I have heard of, and which has been tried with ſucceſs by ſome of our beſt farmers, is, to ſtack them up in dry ſtraw; a load of which is ſufficient to preſerve forty tons of turnips. The method is eaſy, and as follows:

After drawing your turnips in February, cut off the tops and tap roots (which may be given to ſheep) and let them lie a few days in the field, as no weather will then hurt them.

Then, on a layer of ſtraw next the ground, place a layer of turnips two feet thick; and then another layer of ſtraw, and ſo on alternately, till you have brought the heap to a point. Care muſt be taken to turn up the edges of the layers of ſtraw, to prevent the turnips from rolling out; cover the top well with long ſtraw, and it will ſerve as a thatch for the whole.

In this method, as the ſtraw imbibes the moiſture exhaled from the roots, all vegetation will be prevented, and the turnips will be nearly as good in May as when firſt drawn from the field. If ſtraw be ſcarce, old haulm or ſtubble will anſwer the ſame purpoſe.

But, to prevent this trouble and expence, perhaps farmers in all counties would find it moſt to their intereſt to adopt the method uſed by our neighbours the Norfolk farmers, which is, to continue ſowing turnips to the latter end of Auguſt; by which means their late crops remain good in the field till the latter end of April, and often till the middle of May.

The advantages of having turnips good till the ſpring-feed is generally ready, are ſo obvious and ſo great, that many of our farmers (although at firſt prejudiced againſt the practice) are now come into it, and find their account in ſo doing.

I wiſh theſe few hints may prove in any degree uſeful; and am, wiſhing all poſſible ſucceſs to the Bath Society,

Your very humble ſervant,

Suffolk, W. P.

March 1, 1780.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Extracts from Obſervations on the Practice of Archery in England. *In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Secretary. By the Honourable* Daines Barrington. *From Vol. VII. of the Archaelogia, or Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities: publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

Dear Sir,

As ſome of our moſt ſignal victories in former centuries were chiefly attributed to the Engliſh Archers, it may not be unintereſting to the Society if I lay before them what I have been able to glean with regard to the more flouriſhing ſtate of our bowmen, till their preſent almoſt annihilation.

This fraternity is to this day called the Artillery company, which is a French term ſignifying archery, as the king's bowyer is in that language ſtyled *artillier du roy*; and we ſeem to have learnt this method of annoying the enemy from that nation*, at leaſt with a croſs-bow†.

We therefore find that William the Conqueror had a conſiderable number of bowmen in his army at the battle of Haſtings, when no mention is made of ſuch troops on the ſide of Harold. I have upon this occaſion made uſe of the term *bowman*, though I rather conceive that theſe Norman archers ſhot with the Arbaleſt (or croſs-bow) in which formerly the arrow was placed in a groove; being termed in French a quadrel, and in Engliſh a bolt‡.

Though I have taken ſome pains to find out when the ſhooting with the long bow firſt began with us, at which exerciſe we afterwards became ſo expert; I profeſs that I cannot meet with any poſitive proofs, and muſt therefore ſtate ſuch grounds for conjecture as have occurred.

Our chroniclers do not mention

* The term of butt, or mound of earth on which the marks are fixed, is likewiſe French.

† By the late publication of Domeſday, it appears that *Baliſtarius* was a moſt common addition to Engliſh names, but I have not happened to meet with that of *Arciteneus*. See in Suffolk, Warwickſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and ſome more counties. In the Bayeux tapeſtry indeed the Normans are repreſented as drawing the *long* bow; but it is conceived that this *arras* was woven many centuries after the Norman invaſion, and when that weapon was uſed in France.

‡ Hence the term, *I have ſhot my bolt*. This ſort of arrow is now chiefly uſed in Norfolk, where it is uſeful in ſhooting rabbits, which do not take a general alarm, as upon firing a gun.

Fitz-Stevens, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, ſays, that the London ſkaters moved faſter than *telum baliſtæ*; which ſeems to prove that the croſs-bow was moſt commonly uſed at that time.

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the uſe of archery, as expreſsly applied to the croſs or long-bow, till the death of Richard the Firſt, who was killed by an arrow at the ſiege of Limoges in Guienne, which Hemmingford mentions to have iſſued from a croſs-bow *. Joinville likewiſe (in his life of St. Lewis) always ſpeaks of the chriſtian *baliſtarii*.

After this death of Richard the Firſt in 1199, I have not happened to ſtumble upon any paſſages alluding to archery for nearly one hundred and fifty years; when an order was iſſued by Edward the Third, in the fifteenth year of his reign †, to the ſherives of moſt of the Engliſh counties for providing five hundred *white* bows, and five hundred bundles ‡ of arrows, for the then intended war againſt France.

Similar orders are repeated in the following years; with this difference only, that the ſheriff of Glouceſterſhire is directed to furniſh five hundred painted bows, as well as the ſame number of white §.

The famous battle of Creſſey was fought four years afterwards, in which our chroniclers ſtate that we had two thouſand archers, who were oppoſed to about the ſame number of the French; together with a circumſtance, which ſeems to prove that by this time we uſed the long-bow, whilſt the French archers ſhot with the arbaleſt.

Previous to this engagement fell a very heavy rain, which is ſaid to have much damaged the bows of the French, or perhaps rather the ſtrings of them. Now our long-bow (when unſtrung) may be moſt conveniently covered, ſo as to prevent the rain's injuring it, nor is there ſcarcely any addition to the weight from ſuch a caſe; whereas the arbaleſt is of a moſt inconvenient form to be ſheltered from the weather.

As therefore, in the year 1342, orders iſſued to the ſherives of each county to provide five hundred bows, with a proper proportion of arrows, I cannot but infer that theſe were long-bows, and not the arbaleſt.

* Du Cange cites Guiaſt, an ancient French poet, for the ſame fact; and Vineſauf mentions that this king killed many Turks with his own croſs-bow, l. 3. c. 11. It is not from theſe facts preſumed that neither Engliſh or French ever uſed any ſort of long-bow at this period, but only that it did not prevail ſo much as to train the archers in companies, in the manner that the Arbaleſters were diſciplined. It is not ſtated from what bow the arrow iſſued which killed William Rufus.—In Shakeſpear's time deer were killed by the croſs-bow. See Hen. VI.

† A. D. 1341. See Rymer.—Before this, Froiſſart mentions four thouſand Engliſh archers in 1327, and two thouſand at the battle of Cayent in 1337.

‡ *Garbas*, which Du Cange ſhews to have conſiſted, at a medium, of twenty-four arrows. By another order (in Rymer) it appears that the *white* bows were ſix-pence cheaper than the painted ones.

§ The painted bows were conſidered, probably, as ſmarter by this military corps, and poſſibly this covering might contribute to duration alſo. As for the white bows, it ſhould ſeem that they were not made of yew; which is rather of a reddiſh brown, nor could the ſheriff well have found a ſufficient quantity of this material in his county. We find indeed, by ſubſequent ſtatutes, that yew was imported for this purpoſe at a very high price. For theſe orders to the ſherives ſee Rymer, A. D. 1342 and 1343.

We are ſtill in the dark indeed when the former weapon was firſt introduced by our anceſtors; but I will venture to ſhoot my bolt in this obſcurity, whether it may be well directed or not, as poſſibly it may produce a better conjecture from others.

Edward the Firſt is known to have ſerved in the holy wars, where he muſt have ſeen the effect of archery from a long-bow * to be much ſuperior to that of the arbaleſt; in the uſe of which the Italian ſtates, and particularly the Genoeſe, had always been diſtinguiſhed †.

This circumſtance would appear to me very deciſive, that we owe the introduction of the long-bow to this king ‡, was it not to be obſerved, that the bows of the Aſiatics (though differing totally from the arbaleſt) were yet rather unlike to our long-bows in point of form §.

This objection therefore muſt be admitted; but ſtill poſſibly, as the Aſiatic bows were more powerful than the arbaleſt, ſome of our Engliſh cruſaders might have ſubſtituted our long-bows in the room of the Aſiatic ones, in the ſame manner that improvements are frequently made in our preſent artillery. We might conſequently, before the battle of Creſſey, have had ſuch a ſufficient number of troops trained to the long-bow as to be deciſive in our favour, as they were afterwards at Poictiers and Agincourt ||.

The battle of Poictiers was fought A. D. 1356, four years after which a peace took place between England and France.

When treaties are concluded, it generally happens that both nations are heartily tired of the war, and they commonly are apt to ſuppoſe that no freſh rupture will happen for a conſiderable time; whence follows the diſuſe of military exerciſes, eſpecially in troops which were immediately diſbanded upon the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the officers of which had no half-pay.

We find, accordingly, that in the year 1363 Edward the Third was obliged to iſſue an order forbidding many rural ſports ¶, and enjoining the uſe of archery; which, even in the ſpace of four years, had begun to be neglected: this order was again repeated in 1365.

The Black Prince died in 1373, and Edward ſurvived him but four years; we cannot therefore expect

* It appears by Procopius that the Perſians uſed a bow which was drawn in the ſame manner that is uſed by our archers: "ελκεται δε αυτοις παρα το μετωπον η νευρα, παρ' αυτο μαλιστα των ωτων, το δεξιον. L. 1.

† In 1373 a French ordonance makes mention of Genoeſe arbaleſtiers, as being in their ſervice.

‡ I hope to have proved, in the firſt volume of the Archæologia, that the magnificent caſtles built by Edward the Firſt were ſimilar to thoſe of the Holy Land.

§ Our long-bow alſo differs materially from Diana's or Cupid's bow, as well as from thoſe of the Daci on the Trajan and Antonine columns. It is likewiſe called, in ſeveral ancient ſtatutes, the *Engliſh bow*.

|| In both theſe battles the archers of England deſtroyed the French cavalry, and in the latter are ſaid to have drawn arrows a yard long.

¶ As "jactus lapidum, lignorum, ferri, pilam manualem, pedivam, et baculatem, canibucam, et gallorum pugnam."—See Rymer, A. D. 1363.

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any further regulations for promoting archery, after the laſt order which I have ſtated, and which iſſued in 1363. During the ſix firſt years of this interval, the Prince of Wales was in foreign parts, and the whole ten were the dregs of Edward's life.

Richard the Second, who ſucceeded, is well known to have little attended to the cares of government; in the fifteenth year, however, of his reign (A. D. 1392), he iſſued an order, directing all the ſervants of his houſehold never to travel without bows and arrows, and to take every opportunity of uſing this exerciſe *; which injunction ſeems to prove, that it had, during the greater part of his reign, been much neglected.

Henry the Fourth, though of a more warlike diſpoſition, ſeems to have done little more for the encouragement of archery than his predeceſſor; as the only ſtatute of his reign which relates to this head, goes no further than obliging the arrowſmiths to point their arrows better than they had hitherto done.

The wars during his reign were indeed confined to this country; but the uſe of archers ſeems to have been well known, as the duke of Exeter, at the beginning of his rebellion, entertained a conſiderable band of them †. Fourſcore archers are ſaid alſo to have contributed greatly to a victory of this ſame king over a large body of rebels at Cirenceſter, ſome of which ſeem to have been of an Amazonian diſpoſition; as his majeſty attributes this ſucceſs to the good women, as well as men, of this town; and for theſe their ſervices grants them annually ſix bucks and a hogſhead of wine ‡.

I do not find any act of parliament of Henry the Fifth in relation to this exerciſe; and all the orders in Rymer, till the battle of Agincourt, relate to great guns, from which he ſeems at firſt to have expected more conſiderable advantage than from the training of bowmen ‖.

It ſhould ſeem, however, that this ſort of artillery, from its unwieldineſs, bad and narrow roads, together with other defects, was as yet but of little uſe in military operations. In the year 1417 this king therefore aſcribes his victory at Agincourt to the archers; and directs the ſherives of many counties to pluck from every gooſe § ſix wing feathers, for the purpoſe of improv-

* See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1392.—In the twelfth year indeed of this king's reign, an act paſſed to oblige ſervants to ſhoot with bows and arrows on holidays and Sundays.—See Raſtell's Statutes.

By the 6 Hen. VIII. c. 2. all male ſervants muſt provide themſelves with one bow, and four arrows; which their maſter is to pay for, by ſtopping it out of their wages.

† See Grafton, who informs us alſo that the Prince of Wales was wounded in the face by an arrow at the battle of Shrewſbury.

‡ See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1400.

‖ See an order, "De equis pro cariagio gunnorum regis capiendis" "Pro operationibus ingeniorum," et "De non tranſmittendo gunpoudre verſus partes exteras," A. D. 1413.

§ "Præter aucas brodoges," which poſſibly means geeſe that were ſitting, or taking care of their goſlings; we now ſay brooding.

ing arrows *; which are to be paid for by the king †.

A similar order again issues to the sherives in the following year, viz. 1418.

In 1421, though the French had been defeated both at Cressey, Poictiers, and Agincourt by the English archers, yet they still continued the use of the cross-bow; for which reason Henry the Fifth, as duke of Normandy, confirms the charters and privileges of the baliftarii, which had been long established as a fraternity in his city of Rouen ‡.

During the long reign of Henry the Sixth, I do not meet with any statute or proclamation concerning archery; which may be well accounted for whilst this king was under age, or the weakness of mind which ensued, as far at least as relates to his personal interference in this matter: but it is rather extraordinary that his uncles should not have enjoined this exercise, as they were so long engaged in wars with France; the loss of which kingdom may be perhaps attributed to this neglect.

It was necessary for Edward the Fourth, who succeeded, to be prepared against the Lancastrians; and yet we find much earlier statutes for the promotion of archery in Ireland § than in England, which was more likely to become the scene of civil war.

In the fifth year, therefore, of his reign, an act passed, that every Englishman, and Irishman dwelling with Englishmen, shall have an English bow of his own height, which is directed to be made of yew, wych, hazel, ash, or awburne ||, or any other *reasonable* tree, according to their power. The next chapter also directs that butts shall be made in every township, which the inhabitants are obliged to shoot up and down every feast day, under the penalty of a halfpenny when they shall omit this exercise ¶.

In the fourteenth year however of this same king, it appears, by Rymer's Fœdera, that one thousand archers were to be sent to the duke of Burgundy, whose pay is settled at six-pence a day; which is more than a common soldier receives clear in the present times, when provisions are so much dearer, and the value of money is so much decreased. This circumstance seems to prove very strongly, the great estimation in which archers were still held. In the same year, Edward, preparing for a war with

* "Magis congruas et competentes."

† I am told by an arrow-maker, that these six feathers should consist of the second, third, and fourth of each wing. It is to be observed, that his majesty was not very munificent in paying for these feathers, as in the year 1417 there was little or no demand for pens, to which use at present they are almost solely applied. See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1417.

‡ See Rymer's Fœdera.

§ The English statutes of Edward IV. to this purpose are those of the seventeenth, ch. 3, and twenty-second, ch. 4, of the same king; in the preamble to the first of which it is said, "that the defence of this land was much by archers;" and in the second, "that victorious acts have been accomplished by archers."

‖ *Alder* probably.

¶ See the collection of Irish statutes, Dublin, 1723.

France,

France, directs the ſherives to procure bows and arrows, "as moſt ſpecially requiſite and neceſſary *."

As bows and arrows were however finally diſuſed by the introduction of fire-arms, it becomes neceſſary, in this inveſtigation, to take ſome ſhort notice of what may relate to ordnance, or muſquetry; and that Edward ſoon afterwards directs all workmen who might be uſeful for *artillery* (as we ſhould now term it) to be preferred †. On the war taking place with Scotland, eight years after this, Edward provides both ordnance and archers; ſo that, though the uſe of artillery was now gaining ground, yet that of the bow and arrow was not neglected.

The ſucceeding reign of Richard the Third opens with a ſimilar ſtatute to that of Edward the Fourth; but directs that all Venetian ſhips ‡ ſhall, with every butt of Malmſey or Tyre §, import ten bowſtaves; as the price had riſen from forty ſhillings to eight pounds a hundred.

By this attention to archery, he was able to ſend one thouſand bow men to the duke of Bretagne in the year following ‖; and availed himſelf of the ſame troops at the battle of Boſworth ¶.

I do not find a ſingle order of Henry VII. (in Rymer's Fœdera) relative to gunpowder or artillery; whilſt, on the other hand, in 1488 he directs a large levy of archers to be ſent to Britanny, and that they ſhall be reviewed before they embark. In the nineteenth year of his reign, this ſame king ** forbids the uſe of the croſs-bow, becauſe "the long-bow had been "much uſed in this realm, where-"by honour and victory had been "gotten againſt outward enemies, "the realm greatly defended, and "much more the dread of all "Chriſtian princes by reaſon of "the ſame ††."

During the long reign of Henry the Eighth, no royal order iſſued which relates to archery; but there are ſeveral ſtatutes which ſtate the neceſſity of reviving this martial exerciſe ‡‡. Edward the

* See Rymer.

† Ibid.

‡ As alſo from other neighbouring ports of the Mediterranean. It is believed that there is a conſiderable quantity of yew to be procured in Dalmatia, which lies on the eaſtern ſide of the Adriatic, and almoſt oppoſite to Venice. We were obliged to import foreign yew, as I do not recollect to have ſeen this tree in any part of England, with the appearance of its being indigenous.

§ Theſe wines came chiefly from Crete, which at this time belonged to the Venetians. See 7 Hen. VII. c. 7.

‖ See Rymer's Fœd.

¶ Arrows were found on this field of battle not many years ſince.

** Henry VII. is drawn as ſhooting at butts.—Strat, Vol. II.

†† See Raſtell's Statutes, 19 Hen. VII. c. 4.

‡‡ Viz. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. which directs that every father ſhould provide a bow and two arrows for his ſon, when he ſhall be ſeven years old.—6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. by which every one (except the clergy and judges) are obliged to ſhoot at butts.—6 Hen. VIII. c. 13. chiefly levelled againſt the uſe of croſs-bows.—25 Hen. VIII. c. 17. which inflicts a penalty of ten pounds if a croſs-bow is found in the houſe.—33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. which recites the great price of yew bows [made of Elke (*) yew], and reduces it to three ſhillings and fourpence.

* I rather conceive that this ſhould be Elbe, as 3 Eliz. c. 14. mentions bow-ſtaves to be imported from the Hanſe towns.

Sixth uſed to ſhoot himſelf with a bow *.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, the ſtatutes of Henry the Eighth for the promotion of archery are much commended, with directions to enforce them †.

The 8 Eliz. c. 10. regulates the price of bows; and the 13 Eliz. c. 14. enacts that bow ſtaves ſhall be brought into the realm from the Hanſe towns and the eaſtward; ſo that archery ſtill continued to be an object of attention in the legiſlature.

I find neither ſtatute nor proclamation of James the firſt on this head; but it appears by Dr. Birch's life of his ſon (prince Henry) that at eight years of age he learned to ſhoot both with the bow and gun; whilſt at the ſame time this prince had in his eſtabliſhment an officer who was ſtyled bow-bearer.

To the beſt of my recollection alſo, though I cannot at preſent refer to my authority, this king granted a ſecond charter to the Artillery Company, by which the powers they had received from Henry the Eighth were conſiderably extended.

Charles the Firſt ſeems, from the dedication of a treatiſe intitled "The Bowman's Glory." to have been himſelf an archer ‡; and in the eighth year of his reign he iſſued a commiſſion to the Chancellor, Lord Mayor, and ſeveral of the privy council, to prevent the fields near London being ſo incloſed § as "to interrupt the neceſſary and profitable exerciſe of "ſhooting;" as alſo to lower the mounds, where they prevented the view from one mark to another.

The ſame commiſſion directs that bridges ſhould be thrown over the dikes, and that all ſhooting marks which had been removed ſhould be reſtored ‖.

Charles the Firſt likewiſe iſſued two proclamations for the promotion of archery, the laſt of which recommends the uſe of the bow and pike together ¶.

Catherine of Portugal (queen to Charles the Second) ſeems to have been much pleaſed with the ſight at leaſt of this exerciſe; for in 1676, by the contributions of Sir Edward Hungerford and others, a ſilver badge for the marſhal of the fraternity was made, weighing twenty-five ounces, and repreſenting an archer drawing the long-

* See his own MS. Journal in the Britiſh Muſeum.

† See 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2. Raſtell.

‡ It hath been before obſerved that his elder brother prince Henry was ſo.—See alſo Baker's Chronicle.

§ In the fifth year of Henry the Eighth, ſuch incloſures were levelled by an inſurrection of the archers.—See Grafton's Chronicle.

‖ Under theſe laſt clauſes, a cow-keeper named Pitfield was, ſo late as 1746, obliged to renew one of theſe marks, on which the Artillery Company cut the following inſcription, viz. *Pitfield's Repentance.* I am informed alſo that Mr. Scott (the great brick-maker) hath been under the neceſſity of making his ſubmiſſion.—I mean to annex a plan of theſe ſhooting marks in the Finſbury Fields.

¶ See Rymer's Fœdera, in the years 1631 and 1633. In the latter, Charles grants the office of bow-bearer in Sherwood foreſt.

bow

bow (in the proper manner) to his ear, with the following inſcription: *Reginæ Catharinæ Sagittarii.* The ſupporters are two bow-men, with the arms of England and Portugal.

In 1682 there was a moſt magnificent cavalcade and entertainment given by the Finſbury archers*, when they beſtowed the titles of duke of Shoreditch, marquis of Iſlington, &c. upon the moſt deſerving. Charles the Second was preſent upon this occaſion, but the day being rainy, he was obliged ſoon to leave the field.

I do not find any thing relative to the ſtate of archery during the ſhort reign of James the Second; but it continued after this to be uſed for a manly exerciſe, as appears by the following epitaph on the ſouth ſide of Clerkenwell Church, which is ſtill very legible.

Sir William Wood lies very near this ſtone,
In 's time of archery excell'd by none;
Few were his equals, and this noble art
Hath ſuffer'd now in the moſt tender part.
Long did he live the honour of the bow,
And his long life to that alone did owe;
But how can art ſecure, or what can ſave,
Extreme old age from an appointed grave?
Surviving archers much his loſs lament,
And in reſpect beſtow'd this monument,
Where *whiſtling arrows* † did his worth proclaim,
And eternize his memory and name.
Obiit Sept. 4. A. D. 1691. æt. 82.

There is a very good portrait of this famous archer, belonging to the Artillery Company, at a public-houſe which looks into the Artillery ground ‡.

Archery however did not entirely die with Sir William Wood; for in 1696 a widow (named Mrs. Elizabeth Shakerley §) left by her will thirty-five pounds, to be diſtributed in prizes to this fraternity. Poſſibly ſhe had attended the Finſbury archers, from the ſame curioſity which Ovid aſcribes to Penelope ‖.

In the ſucceeding reign of queen Anne, I have been informed by general Oglethorpe, that, together with the duke of Rutland, and ſeveral others of conſiderable rank, he uſed frequently to ſhoot in the neighbourhood of London. I do not pre-

* See the Art of Archery, by Gervas Markham. 1634. 12mo.

† Theſe arrows are ſtill ſometimes uſed, the horn work being hollow, as alſo filled with holes: the air paſſing through theſe arrows, makes a whiſtling both in the aſcent and deſcent. They are ſuppoſed to have been uſed by the piquet guards, to give notice to the camp of the enemy's approach during the night.

‡ The Blue Anchor, Bunhill Row.

§ See MS. penes the Artillery Company.

‖ Penelope juvenum vires tentabat in arcu,
Qui latus argueret corneus arcus erat.

ſume to gueſs the General's age; but he muſt be advanced in years, as he was aid-de-camp to prince Eugene of Savoy; and ſtill continues to handle his bow in ſuch a manner, that there is little doubt but that he would diſtinguiſh himſelf in this manly exerciſe.

I do not find in the archives of the company any memoranda of conſequence during the reign of George the Firſt; but, till the year 1753, targets were erected in the Finſbury Fields, during the Eaſter and Whitſun holidays, when the beſt ſhooter was ſtyled captain for the enſuing year; and the ſecond, lieutenant. Of theſe there are only two now ſurviving, viz. Mr. Benjamin Poole and Mr. Philip Conſtable, who have frequently obtained theſe titles. The former of theſe is now rather aged and infirm; but the latter hath been ſo obliging as to ſhew me moſt of their marks in the Finſbury Fields. as well as to communicate ſeveral anecdotes and obſervations relative to archery.

Though we hear of arrows at Cheviot Chaſe which were a yard long, yet it is by no means to be ſuppoſed that the whole band made uſe of ſuch, or could draw them to the head.

The regulation of the Iriſh ſtatute of Edward the Fourth, viz. *that the bow ſhall not exceed the height of the man*, is allowed by archers to have been well conſidered; and as the arrow ſhould be half the length of the bow, this would give an arrow of a yard in length to thoſe only who were ſix feet high. A ſtrong man of this ſize, in the preſent times, cannot eaſily draw above twenty-four inches, if the bow is of a proper ſtrength to do execution at a conſiderable diſtance. At the ſame time it muſt be admitted, that, as our anceſtors were obliged by ſome of the old ſtatutes to begin ſhooting with the long-bow at the age of ſeven, they might have acquired a greater ſlight in this exerciſe than their deſcendants, though the latter ſhould be allowed to be of equal ſtrength.

As the ſhooting with the long-bow was firſt introduced in England, and practiſed almoſt excluſively for nearly two centuries, ſo it hath occaſioned a peculiar method of drawing the arrow to the *ear*, and not to the breaſt.

That this is contrary to the uſage of the ancients* is very clear from their *reliefs*, and from the tradition of the Amazons cutting off one of their paps, as it occaſioned an impediment to their ſhooting †.

As for Diana's not having ſuffered the ſame amputation, it muſt be remembered that ſhe was not only a goddeſs, but moſt active huntreſs, and profeſſed the moſt perfect chaſtity; ſhe therefore could not be ſuppoſed to have been impeded by ſuch an obſtable to archery as *Juno* or *Ceres*.

The Finſbury archer is therefore repreſented in this attitude, of drawing to the ear, both in *The Bowman's Glory*, as alſo in the ſilver badge given by Catherine (queen of Charles the Second) to the Artillery Company.

Several years ago there was a man named Topham, who exhibited moſt ſurpriſing feats of ſtrength, and who happened to be at a public-

* Νευρην μεν μαζω τελασεν, τοξω δε σιδηρον. HOM.
† Unum execta latus pugnæ pharetrata Camilla. VIRG.

houſe

houſe near Iſlington, to which the Finſbury archers reſorted after their exerciſe. Topham conſidered the long-bow as a play-thing, only fit for a child; upon which one of the archers laid him a bowl of punch, that he could not draw the arrow two-thirds of its length. Topham accepted this bet with the greateſt confidence of winning; but bringing the arrow to his breaſt, inſtead of his ear, he was greatly mortified by paying the wager, after many fruitleſs efforts.

As to the diſtance to which an arrow can be ſhot from a long-bow, with the beſt elevation of forty-five degrees, that muſt neceſſarily depend much both upon the ſtrength and ſlight of the archer; but as the longeſt diſtance I can find in the annexed plans is eleven ſcore and ſeven yards*, I conclude that ſuch length is not often exceeded †.

There is indeed a tradition that an attorney of Wigan in Lancaſhire (named Leigh) ſhot a mile in three flights; but the ſame tradition ſtates, that he placed himſelf in a very particular attitude, which cannot be uſed commonly in this exerciſe ‡.

The archers conſider an arrow of an ounce weight § to be the beſt for flight, or hitting a mark at a conſiderable diſtance; and that aſp alſo is the beſt material of which they can be made.

As to the feathers, that of a gooſe is preferred: it is alſo wiſhed, that the bird ſhould be two or three years old, and that the feather may drop of itſelf ‖.

And here it may not perhaps be improper to explain the *grey gooſe* wing in the ballad of Cheviot Chaſe.

Two out of the three feathers in an arrow are commonly white, being plucked from the gander; but the third is generally brown or grey, being taken from the gooſe; and from this difference in point of colour informs the archer when the arrow is properly placed. From this moſt diſtinguiſhed part therefore the whole arrow ſometimes receives its name.

Though archery continued to be encouraged by the king and legiſlature for more than two centuries

* Viz. from the mark of *Lambeth* to that of *Weſtminſter Hall*.

† "He'll clap you in the clout at *twelve* ſcore." Shakeſpear.—This, however, ſeems to be mentioned as an extraordinary feat.

It muſt be admitted, however, that by 33 Henry VIII. no one aged twenty-four is to ſhoot at any mark under eleven ſcore.

‡ He is ſuppoſed to have ſat on a ſtool, the middle of his bow being faſtened to one of his feet; to have elevated that foot forty-five degrees, and drawn the ſtring of a ſtrong bow with both his hands.

§ They generally ſpeak indeed of an arrow's weighing ſo many ſhillings.

‖ Edward the Third indeed directed the ſherives to pluck the proper feathers from the geeſe in every county. His majeſty, however, wanted theſe upon the *ſpur* of an occaſion, and could not wait till the feathers dropped.

Aſcham, in his Toxophilus, breaks out into the following panegyric on a gooſe, becauſe this bird ſupplies feathers for arrows:

"How well does ſhe make a man fare at his table, how eaſily does ſhe make a "man lie down in his bed, how fit even as her feathers be for ſhooting, ſo be "her quils only fit for writing."

Julius Scaliger hath alſo given us "Laudes Anſeris."

after

after the firſt knowledge of the effects of gunpowder, yet, by the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it ſeems to have been partly conſidered as a paſtime *.

Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, is ſaid to have been fond of this exerciſe; in ſo much, that a good ſhooter was ſtyled prince arthur †.

We are alſo informed ‡ that he pitched his tent at Mile End, in order to be preſent at this recreation; and that Henry his brother alſo attended.

When the latter afterwards became king, he gave a prize at Windſor to thoſe who ſhould excel in this exerciſe §; and a capital ſhot having been made, Henry ſaid to Barlow (one of his guards) "if you "ſtill win, you ſhall be duke over "all archers." Barlow therefore having ſucceeded, and living in Shoreditch, was created duke thereof ‖.

Upon another occaſion Henry and the queen were met by two hundred archers on Shooter's Hill, which probably took its name from their aſſembling near it to ſhoot at marks.

This king likewiſe gave the firſt charter to the Artillery Company, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, by which they are permitted to wear dreſſes of any colour except purple and ſcarlet ¶; to ſhoot not only at marks, but birds **, if not pheaſants or herons, and within two miles of the royal palaces. They are alſo enjoined by the ſame charter not to wear furs of a greater price than thoſe of the martin. The moſt material privilege however is, that of indemnification from murder, if any perſon paſſing between the ſhooter and the mark is killed, provided the archers have firſt called out FAST ††.

As it appears, by what hath been ſtated, that both Henry the Eighth

* Lord Herbert obſerves, that in 1544 Henry the Eighth had himſelf invented ſmall pieces of artillery to defend his waggons; as alſo that he took an account of all the ordnance then in the tower, and ſent much of it to Tilbury, Graveſend, Dover, and Portſmouth. That he availed himſelf of the artillery deſtined for the laſt of theſe places, appears by an engraving lately publiſhed by the Society.

† See Stowe.

‡ Bowman's Glory.

§ In the time of Charles the Firſt, the gunners ſtyled thoſe who contended for the uſe of archery *king Harry's captains*. See the Liſt of Archery, by Gervas Markham. 1634. 12mo.

‖ This title, together with that of marquis of Iſlington, earl of Pancridge, &c. were kept up even ſo late as 1683; theſe being all villages in the neighbourhood of the Finſbury Fields.

¶ Many ſtatutes of this reign reſtrain expence and colours of the dreſs.

** Though we hear that Indians ſhoot both birds and beaſts, it is believed that this is effected by the archers ſtealing very near to them. Nor are animals ſo ſhy of man in an American wilderneſs, as they are in countries better inhabited. In the Falkland Iſlands therefore, when firſt ſettled by the Engliſh, the birds ſuffered themſelves to be knocked down with ſticks. De Pagés alſo informs us, that the birds between Surat and Bombay do not avoid man, becauſe the country is peopled by Hindoos, who never moleſt them. A horſe or cow is larger, and therefore would probably be more formidable to the feathered creation, did not they ſoon experience that they are liable to more attacks from man.

†† Poſſibly an abbreviation of *ſtand faſt*. It appears that Dr. John Rainolds was nearly killed by ſuch an accident. See Holland's Herologia, part II. p. 229.

and

and his queen ſometimes attended the archers when they were ſhooting at marks, it is not at all extraordinary that their dreſſes began to be expenſive, and that they ſtudied much the gracefulneſs of the attitude.

Aſcham therefore, who wrote his Toxophilus at the end of this reign, hath ſeveral chapters on this head; in which he begins by ridiculing the aukwardneſs of ſome archers in this reſpect, as in the following citation:

"Another coureth downe, and "layeth out his buttocks, as though "he ſhould *ſhoot at crowes* *."

Which laſt part moreover explains a paſſage in Shakeſpear's King Lear, Act IV. ſc. 6.

"That fellow handles his bow "like a crowkeeper."

From the words above quoted, it is to be inferred, that, when gunpowder was yet very dear, fields were kept from crows by unſkilful archers, who had no grace in their attitudes, and were therefore ſpoken of by the expert with the greateſt contempt; ſo that *to ſhoot like a crowkeeper* had become proverbial.

Aſcham mentions another particular with regard to archery in his time, which is, that (as it commonly happens in other paſtimes) the bets at theſe ſhooting matches began to be conſiderable.

I ſhall conclude this eſſay by mentioning, that the long-bow continues to be uſed as a manly exerciſe by the inhabitants of Geneva, and in many parts of Flanders; nor is it totally neglected in Great Britain, particularly Lancaſhire †, and London, where a ſociety (of which our worthy member Sir Aſhton Lever is the preſident) frequently uſe this manly recreation.

I take the liberty alſo of preſenting, for the peruſal of the ſociety, a MS. treatiſe on the ſame ſubject, addreſſed to Sir Aſhton Lever, which, though compiled by a ſadler at Mancheſter, contains ſome particulars which may deſerve attention; as likewiſe drawings of the different ſorts of arrows, which muſt always exceed mere verbal deſcriptions.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your moſt faithful
humble ſervant,
DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. Upon looking over more carefully the plan of the archers marks, I find a greater diſtance than from *Lambeth* to *Weſtminſter-Hall* (ſee a former note) viz. from *Turks Whale* to *Abſoly*, being thirteen ſcore and five yards.

Some Account of the Burial-places of the ancient Tartars: *in a Letter to the Rev.* John Glen King, *D. D. by the Rev.* William Tooke, *F.R.S. Chaplain to the* Engliſh *Factory at* St. Peterſburg. *From the ſame.*

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your requeſt, to communicate to you what I can find concerning the old ſepulchres ſeen in the ſouthern parts of Ruſſia and in Siberia, I ſend you

* Toxophilus, 29. B.

† This county had long been famous for this exerciſe, as appears by the following line to be found ſomewhere in Leland's Collectanea.

"Lancaſheere *faire archere*."

ſome

ſome reaſons which render it probable that they are all the work of one and the ſame nation, however oppoſite a judgment thoſe may paſs who have beſtowed on them only a curſory attention. Every thing that relates to the cuſtoms of the various ſocieties mankind have formed, is a proper ſubject of reſearch to the inquiſitive mind. The repoſitories of the dead have in all ages been objects of regard; at firſt as honourable teſtimonies of human ſentiment; and in aftertimes as a ground of inveſtigation into the manners and opinions of men. There is no nation ſo ſavage but has a reverence for military proweſs, or beneficent diſpoſitions for the man that is virtuous or heroic. Ideas of excellence may be various in various nations; but excellency, according to that idea, will meet with renown. The honours that are paid to ſuch as excel will be ever in ſome degree characteriſtic of the people that beſtowed them, and muſt be conſidered as popular teſtimonies to prevailing opinions.

It is doubtleſs natural enough for the haſty traveller to paſs over theſe, as matters of but ſmall attraction; and had not the barbarous plunderers of the deſerts beheld them as objects of depredation, they would have ſtill been unexplored. It was from predatory views that they were firſt dug open, and ſome curious perſons have ſince examined them with various degrees of attention.

Of theſe Ruſſian and Siberian ſepulchres ſome are perfect tumuli, raiſed to an enormous height; while others are almoſt level with the ground. Some of them are encompaſſed with a ſquare wall of large quarry ſtones placed in an erect poſition; others are covered only with a ſmall heap of ſtones, or they are tumuli adorned with ſtones at top. Some are mured with brick within, and vaulted over; others are no more than pits, or common graves. In ſome the earth is excavated ſeveral fathoms deep; others, and eſpecially thoſe which are topped by a lofty tumulus, are only dug of a ſufficient depth for covering the carcaſe.

What chiefly excites our aſtoniſhment is, that ſome of theſe ſhould be ſurmounted by the large quarry ſtones before mentioned: for in all the neighbouring country there is not a rock to be ſeen. They muſt therefore have been tranſported thither from immenſe diſtances, by the moſt ſurpriſing efforts of labour; eſpecially as the inhabitants of theſe parts have no idea of a machine adequate to the purpoſe in the moſt diſtant degree.

Theſe ſepulchres are diſcovered only in plain and extenſive deſerts, formerly the abode of a nation which ſeems to have ſubſiſted by paſturage and the produce of the chace. On ſome ſepulchral ſtones, figures of various forms are engraved, ſuch as rude and miſhapen outlines of the human face, croſſes of different angles, and other repreſentations, which in all probability had never any meaning. But inſcriptions, in any known or unknown languages or letters, have never hitherto been found upon them. And yet inſcriptions are to be met with on ſingle ſtones and ſtatues in the deſert, on this ſide the river Yeniſei, ſuch as no one has ever been able to explain.

The foregoing are the ſeveral characteriſtics of the exterior form of theſe ſepulchral monuments. For

pointing

pointing out their difference within, the following remarks will amply ſuffice.

In many of theſe ſepulchres, the bones of men, and frequently of horſes, are found, and in a condition that renders it probable the bodies were not burnt before they were inhumed. Other bones ſhew clearly that they have been previouſly burnt; becauſe a part of them is unconſumed, and becauſe they lie in a diſordered manner, and ſome of them are wanting. Urns, in which other nations of antiquity have depoſited the aſhes of their dead, are never met with here. But ſometimes what remained of the bodies after the combuſtion, and even whole carcaſes, are found wrapped up in thin plates of gold. Many dead bodies are frequently ſeen depoſited together in one tomb; a certain indication that either a battle had been fought in the neighbourhood of the place, or that ſome families buried their relations in an hereditary tomb.

Skeletons of horſes are often found in theſe abodes of the dead. From whence we may infer that the ſame ſuperſtitious opinions which ſtill prevail among ſome nations of the Eaſt were likewiſe held by this ancient people. It is received as an article of faith by many tribes, that departed ſouls continue the ſame kind of life they followed while inhabitants of this material world; and Mohammed's doctrine of his paradiſe ſeems to be eſtabliſhed on the ſame belief. Men of quality therefore want their horſes, and their favourite wives, and the ſervants that attended them in their terreſtrial life. In conformity to this opinion, the women of India throw themſelves into the flames upon the body of their deceaſed ſpouſe; and a ſimilar cuſtom was prevalent among the Yakutes, when they were firſt ſubjected to the Ruſſian empire. The ſervants that had been faithful to their maſter were ſlain at his grave during the interment, and then buried with him. Nor was there any means of abrogating this cruel cuſtom, but by puniſhing the guilty as wilful murderers. In conſequence of the ſame notion, the dead bodies were ornamented for denoting their quality in the future life. In the tomb of the defunct were depoſited his ſword, and other implements of war; and to perſons of both ſexes were given the utenſils and neceſſaries that might be requiſite for the continuation of their exiſtence.

No race of creatures in the human form can be ſo totally ſtupid as to believe that theſe utenſils could be of any uſe to the dead bodies, ſince they are aſſured that theſe remain in the grave. When therefore they adhere to theſe ſuperſtitious practices, it is the ſouls of the wives, the horſes, the ſervants, and the utenſils (for, according to theſe philoſophers, every production of nature and art is animated with a living ſoul) which they conſecrate to the ſpirits of their departed friends. This tenet, which was held by the moſt remote antiquity, muſt have been common likewiſe to the people by whom theſe ſepulchres were formed. For no other hypotheſis can account for the relics of gold and ſilver they generally contain; and of which many articles are carefully preſerved in the Muſeum of the Imperial Academy of St. Peterſburg, for the inſpection of the curious.

Some of theſe ſepulchres are rich; but in others, here as well as in other

other diſtricts, nothing of value is to be found. In the monuments abounding in the precious metals were without doubt depoſited perſonages of rank; and we may preſume that, wherever theſe are frequently found, there anciently dwelt a wealthy nation. Nothing was added to the body in the graves of the poor; and we may thence infer that, when we find all the ſepulchres in one diſtrict deſtitute of any valuables, it was a poor people who there interred their dead.

The richeſt ſepulchres are diſcovered on the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, the Irtiſh, and the Ob. The tombs in the deſerts on the river Yeniſei are likewiſe not without relics of value; but thoſe beyond the Baikal ſea are the pooreſt of all. To account for this difference, we are by no means obliged to admit that theſe countries were inhabited by different nations. The moſt certain conſequence to be drawn from it is, that ſome nation inhabited theſe parts, which, at ſucceſſive periods, was in different conditions; poor in its commencement, but advancing afterwards from poverty to affluence. This inference is warranted by the hiſtory of all ages.

There is a very remarkable circumſtance obſervable in ſome of the tombs on the upper part of the Yeniſei, which forms an exception to the general rule of other ſepulchres. Inſtead of ornaments and utenſils of gold and ſilver found in other tombs, you meet here only with copper utenſils. Even ſuch inſtruments as would have been better wrought of iron, are here found all of copper, as knives, darts, and daggers. The nation therefore, whoſe dead are here inhumed, ſeems to have been unacquainted with the uſe of iron; and theſe tombs muſt accordingly be more ancient than the others. Hence the travellers who found theſe relics, conjectured that thoſe regions muſt contain ſome rich copper mines. And in this they were not miſtaken; for the Sayane mountains abound in copper, and the mines have been worked by the ancient inhabitants of the country. In a large open deſert on the river Abakan are likewiſe found mines of that metal; and, if they yield not ſo much at preſent as they formerly did, nothing is neceſſary but induſtry and attention for finding other places more abundant in mines. From the name of the Altaian mountains, a ſimilar conjecture has been formed. Alta, in the language of the Mongoles and Kalmucs, ſignifies *gold*; and this conjecture is now brought to perfect certainty by the diſcovery of the mines of Kolyvan.

Hiſtory has tranſmitted down to us no certain accounts of the nation whoſe dead are here depoſited, and who made uſe of copper utenſils and weapons inſtead of iron. But, whoever they were, it is probable that the inſcriptions in the unknown language, diſcovered in theſe regions, were compoſed and written by that people. Perhaps it was the Uigures or Igureans, from whom the great founder of the Mongole monarchy firſt received letters and the art of writing; for the nation was not inſtructed in that art till the time of this conqueror. The Igureans muſt certainly have been an ancient and poliſhed nation, if they invented a particular mode of writing, which had nothing in common with that of any other people. Such are theſe inſcriptions.

But,

But, if we presume that Tschingis used this manner of writing, his successors must have changed it for another; since the present Mongole writing evidently discovers its Syrian origin. Yet even this language may be called the Igurean; because certain missionaries of the Nestorian sect lived among the Igureans, and communicated their manner of writing to the Mongoles. The word Uigur or Uegur, in the Mongole language, generally denotes *a foreigner*.

With greater certainty we may affirm, that the ancient sepulchres in Siberia and Russia are the work of the Tartars who lived in the reign of Tschingis and his first successors. This hero founded his monarchy in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Mongoles and Tartars united under his sceptre were at that time a poor people, wandering in the deserts of the rivers Selenga, Orchon, and Onon, and sometimes straying as far as the Baikal sea. This last circumstance obviously affords us a reason, why these tombs contain so few valuable relics; and the fact is corroborated by history, which likewise in its turn receives light from it. By the same means as we are enabled to account for the poverty of the tombs about Selenginsk and Nertschinsk, we are capacitated also to ascertain whence the Tartars got these riches that are found in the other sepulchres.

In the year 1281 Tschingis began the conquest of China, which was finished so successfully by his nephew Koblai; in whose person began a new dynasty, known in the history of that empire by the name of Juen, which continued uninterruptedly to the year 1369. The Tartars soon made themselves rich in China; but, not contented with their wealth, they traversed almost all Asia, and a considerable part of Europe; increasing their riches in proportion as they proceeded in their conquests. In the year 1224 they first invaded Russia, and fought that signal battle on the river Kalka. From 1237 to 1240 they subdued the whole country. Notwithstanding they were divided under different chieftains and into different parties, and those who over-run Asia had nothing in common with the conquerors of Europe but the name, they had however a general head of the family, who had been acknowledged by their forefathers. To the main camp of that chieftain was therefore brought much of the riches carried off from the conquered countries. I think it highly probable that this main camp was, in the thirteenth century, in some parts of the desert on the Irtish; and that the Tartars, divided into different hordes, inhabited all the regions between the Yaik and the Ob. In that century the missionaries from Rome, Carpin, Rubruquis, and others, visited these countries. The last river they mention in their voyages is the Yaik; had they crossed the Irtish, they would not certainly have omitted to take notice of it. But, as they say nothing of that river, we may thence infer that the camp of the Khans, to whom they were delegated, was on this side of the river Irtish.

We know that European goldsmiths resided among the Tartars, and worked for them. Rubruquis mentions a Frenchman, Guillaume, who, he says, made very curi-

ous pieces of workmanſhip for the Khan Mangus Batu. The conqueror of Poland, Ruſſia, Sileſia, and Hungary, muſt have had ſtill more of theſe artiſts in his ſervice. It is remarked likewiſe, that the beſt relics which are found in the ſepulchres near the Volga, are as rich as thoſe in other tombs. The *Zolotaia orda* (the golden horde) that was given to the camp of the Khans who ſubdued Ruſſia, muſt have been given on account of the riches of that Tartarian horde.

But concerning the tombs of the Zolotaia horda we can only form conjectures; as theſe were opened and ſearched in times very remote, of which no narrative is preſerved. Some curioſities in the cabinet of the Imperial Academy here are preſumed to be from thoſe regions; but this opinion is founded merely on conjecture.

We are better informed upon the article of the ſepulchres found on the rivers Irtiſh, Tobol, Ob, and Yeniſei. Theſe could only be explored at the beginning of the preſent century, after the Kalmucs and Kirguiſes, who infeſted theſe parts, had retired to other plains. About twenty years ago, there were many perſons in Siberia who ſtill ſubſiſted entirely on the ſpoils they had formerly obtained by ranſacking theſe ſepulchres. But, ſince that time, it is not certainly known that any have followed this occupation. The cuſtom was to aſſociate in large companies for ſearching after ſepulchres, in the ſame manner as they do in our times for hunting ſables. But the countries between the Ob and the Irtiſh were often plundered by the Kirguiſe Koſacs, after the retreat of the Kalmucs. To the weſtern ſide of the Irtiſh very few have ventured of late years, on account of the incurſions of thoſe Koſacs; but, ſince the government has now taken care to prevent them, it may be preſumed that in ſome future period great riches may be procured from thence.

We cannot find that the rich ſepulchres bear any peculiar external marks upon them; but it is ſuppoſed, from various reaſons, that the tombs on the eaſtern ſide of the Irtiſh, where great numbers are yet unexplored, will yield no great advantage. Some have been examined at Uſtkamenogorſkaia, but they contained nothing of any value. Their whole contents conſiſted in inſtruments of iron, grown ſo ruſty, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to diſcover for what uſe they had been made. In others, that were opened near Nertſchinſk, nothing of any conſequence was found; not even bones of men, but only thoſe of horſes. Hence it is probable, that the aſhes of burnt bodies alone, or the remains of human bones that were here depoſited, might have been long ago mouldered away; but the bones of horſes killed at the interment, and which were not burnt, may have ſubſiſted a longer time unaltered.

Some of theſe curioſities were brought to the academy. Among others, there is a man on horſeback tolerably well executed in gold; as likewiſe ſome ſilver coins, with the impreſs of a roſe juſt opening from the bud; but there are no inſcriptions on any of them. The nation therefore, by whom this coin was ſtruck, could not have been at that time acquainted with the art of writing: or at leaſt this money muſt have been coined previous to the

the introduction of the Mohammedan religion among the Tartars; for it was by that means that these nations became acquainted with the Arabic letters, which they have ever since made use of in inscriptions on their coins.

The gold in these tombs is seldom pure, but commonly adulterated with silver; and the silver has generally an alloy of half its weight in copper. It was very easy for the European workmen to cheat the simple Tartars.

It is extremely unfortunate that many of these curiosities fell into the hands of ignorant people, who immediately melted them down. But from those preserved in the imperial Academy we may form an idea of several circumstances relating to that ancient nation.

I am, &c.

W. TOOKE.

Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies. *In a Letter to Sir* Joseph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From Mr.* Marsden, *F. S. A.*

I BEG you will do me the favour to communicate to the learned Society of Antiquaries the inclosed paper, on a subject to the investigation of which you have so essentially contributed.

I am, Sir,
your much obliged
and most obedient servant,
WILLIAM MARSDEN.

IT has long been surmised that the vagrant tribes of people called in this country *Gypsies*, and on parts of the continent of Europe, *Cingari*, *Zingari*, and *Chingali*, were of Eastern origin. The former name has been supposed a corruption of *Egyptian*, and some learned persons have judged it not improbable that their language might be traced to the *Coptic*.

In the course of researches which I have had occasion to pursue on the subject of language, I observed that Ludolfus, in his history of Ethiopia, makes mention, incidentally, of the *Cingari* vel *Errones Nubiani*, and gives a specimen of words which he had collected from these people in his travels, with a view of determining their origin. He discusses the opinions of various writers concerning them, but forms no precise one of his own, concluding his observations with these words: *Eadem vocabula, cùm maximam partem reperiam apud* Vulcanium, *à centum ferè annis tradita, non fictitia existimo, ut* Megiserus *putat, nec corrupta ex aliis linguis, neque Ægyptiaca sive Coptica.*

I was surprised to find many of the words contained in the specimen familiar to my eye, and pointed out to Sir Joseph Banks (in the latter end of the year 1783) their evident correspondence with terms in the *Hindostanic*, or as it is vulgarly termed in India, the *Moors* language. This similitude appeared to me so extraordinary, that I was inclined to suspect an error in the publication, which might have arisen from a confusion of obscure vocabularies in the author's possession. The circumstance, however, determined me to pay further attention to the subject, and to examine, in the first place, whether the language spoken by the Gypsey tribes in England, and by those in the remoter parts of the continent of Europe, were one and the same; and then to ascertain whether this actually bore the affinity, which so forcibly struck me in Ludolfus, to

any of the languages on the continent of India.

Through the obliging aſſiſtance of Sir Joſeph Banks, who has ſpared no pains to promote this inveſtigation, I procured an opportunity of obtaining a liſt of words from our Gypſies, which I can depend upon as genuine, and tolerably accurate in reſpect to the pronunciation, from their being corroborated by words alſo taken down, ſeparately, by Sir Joſeph, and by Dr. Blagden. Mr. Matra did me the favour to tranſmit for me a liſt of words to *Turkey*, and from his ingenious friend Mr. B. Piſani, I received a complete and ſatisfactory tranſlation of them, together with ſome information reſpecting the manners of the Chinghiarés, in the Turkiſh dominions, which however does not come within the deſign of this paper, as I mean to confine myſelf, in the preſent communication, ſimply to the queſtion of the ſimilarity of language, which, if eſtabliſhed, I ſhould eſteem a matter of no little curioſity; preſuming it to be perfectly new to the world. Of this ſimilarity the learned members of the Society will be enabled to form their judgment from the annexed paper, exhibiting a compariſon of a few of the words procured from the different quarters before mentioned, with the Hindoſtanic terms, from the beſt publiſhed and parole authorities.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the general appellation for theſe people in the eaſtern parts of Europe, is very nearly connected with that of the inhabitants of *Ceylon*, in the Eaſt-Indies, who are equally termed *Lingaleſe* and *Chingaleſe*; though at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that the language of this iſland has much leſs correſpondence with that of the Gypſies, than many other of the Indian dialects. His grace the archbiſhop of York, with his uſual diſcernment, ſuggeſted to me the probability that the *Zingari* here ſpoken of may have derived their name, and perhaps their origin, from the people called *Langari*, or *Langarians*, who are found in the north-weſt parts of the peninſula of Hindoſtan, and infeſt the coaſts of *Guzerat* and *Sindy* with their piratical depredations. The maritime turn of this numerous race of people, with their roving and enterpriſing diſpoſition, may warrant the idea of occaſional emigrations in their boats, by the courſe of the Red Sea.

Notwithſtanding that the reſemblance to the Hindoſtanic is the predominant feature in the Gypſey dialect, yet there are words interſperſed, which evidently coincide with other languages. Beſide the *Mahratta* and *Bengaleſe*, which I have marked in the comparative ſpecimen, it is not a little ſingular that the terms for the numerals *ſeven*, *eight*, and *nine*, are purely *Greek*, although the firſt *five*, and that for *ten*, are indiſputably *Indian*. It is alſo a curious obſervation, that although the Indian term for *ſeven*, being *ſaath*, differs from the Gypſey, yet that for a *week*, or *ſeven* days, is the *Eſtan* of the latter. One word only, among thoſe which I have examined, bears a reſemblance to the *Coptic*, which is *rom*, the ſame with *romi*, a *man*. In compariſons of this nature, a due allowance muſt be made, not only for the various modes of ſpelling adopted by different perſons, and different nations, but alſo for the diſſimilar manner in which the ſame individual ſounds ſtrikes the organs

gans of the hearers; of which ſome pointed inſtances might be given.

Should any be inclined to doubt (which I ſcarcely ſuppoſe poſſible) of the identity of the *Gypſey* of *Cingari*, and the *Hindoſtanic* languages, ſtill it will be acknowledged as no unintereſting ſubject of ſpeculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of *Nubia*, or the plains of *Romania*, have been converſed with for centuries in a dialect preciſely ſimilar to that ſpoken at this day by the obſcure, deſpiſed, and wretched people in England, whoſe language has been conſidered as a fabricated gibberiſh, and confounded with a cant in uſe amongſt thieves and beggars, and whoſe perſons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the perſecution, inſtead of the protection of our laws.

WILLIAM MARSDEN.

Collections on the Zingara, *or* Gypſey *Language*; *by* Jacob Bryant, *Eſq. tranſmitted to* O. Saluſbury Brereton, *Eſq. in a Letter from the Rev. Dr.* Douglas.

Dear Sir,

HAVING been preſent at the meeting of the Society, when Mr. Marſden's letter on the Gypſey language was read, I recollected that, ſeveral years ago, I had heard my friend Mr. Bryant mention his having collected a conſiderable number of words uſed by this wandering tribe; ſeveral of which words appeared to bear a cloſe affinity to thoſe of the ſame meaning in the languages of ancient and of diſtant nations.

At my requeſt, he has obligingly tranſmitted the incloſed papers containing the reſult of his inquiries on the ſubject; and I take the liberty of putting them into your hands, to be laid before the Society. Beſides his own collections, Mr. Bryant has alſo favoured me with the communication of a letter which he had ſome years ago received from the Rev. Mr. Coxe. That learned traveller, when in Hungary, had met with Gypſies, and had taken from their mouths ſpecimens of their language. It is very remarkable, that of ſeventeen words thus obtained, and enumerated in his letter, fourteen appear to reſemble moſt exactly thoſe of the ſame ſignification, as collected by Mr. Bryant in England. To diſtinguiſh them, they are marked in the Vocabulary with aſteriſks.

I am, dear Sir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN DOUGLAS.

A VOCABULARY *of the* Zingara, *or* Gypſey *Language*.

A.

An ape	godocovan.
An aſs	millan.
Air	yarraw, *alſo* beval caulo.
The arm	moſhee.
Anger	colee.
An arrow, or any thing miſſive	yaccogaree.
Above	apra.
To awake	iona aſs.
An aunt	bebee.

B.

A bed	woodrous.
A bough	bai.
Bread	mawro*
To burn	hatcheriban.

Blood	ratt.
Brother	pal.
A brook	paſhoo, pannee *or* pawnee.
Braſs	porcherie.
Black	cauliban.
Blue	yack.
A bird	chericloe.
The belly	per.
Beer	lavanah.
A bridge	porgee.
Breath	beval.
A bow	cuſht.
A barber	mormingro.
A book	lill.
A bath	jamoval eo panee.
To bathe	drou panee jal.
Beat him	codeſman.
A boat	bara *and* baro.
The back	domoe.
A bridle	ſolivingro.
Barley *or* corn	give.

C.

Cheeſe	cal.
A coat	chockwan.
A city	forooſe.
A cow	grove *and* grovenee.
A cat	matchian.
A coal	ſhill.
A cinder	vongur.
A chimney	tophis, con.
A child	tarno.
A crown	peng, colah.
A cock	boſhlod.
The chin	chumbo.
A cup	corow.
A cradle	mumallee.
A cap	hoova.
To command	iaſia vallacai.
Copper	careoben.
A couch	plaſtomingree.
A country	bittutheim.

D.

The devil	beng *and* benga*.
Day	davies.
A dog	yaccal.
Drink	panee.
Death	moloo* *or* mirabban.
Dark	rattie.
A door	wooda.
Drowned	adra, panee, paddee.
To drink	peola.
To-day	devus.
A dream	delapray.
A dwarf	bottoo, georgio.
A dead body	moloo, georgio.
Ditto of a woman	moloo, georgee.
A deſert *or* wilderneſs	bauro, coluri, dromo.

E.

An eye	havoura.
Eight	oitoo.
An ear	can.
For ever.	ſaw jaw.
The earth	phovee *or* p'hovee.*
An eagle	ſauvee.
Eye-brows	yocne coenue.
To eat	chollow.

F.

A father	ming *and* dad.
Flame	pratcheely.
A flower	rogeo *or* roſeo.
A flute	ſcholl.
Fear	treſh.
A foreſt	vaſh.
Fire	yog *.
The foot	peroe.
The finger	valaſhtee.
Full	pordo.
To fly	water jam perall.
To fight	campen.
The feeling	hawlaw.
To faint	aveſi to jallow.
A flag	deckloo.
A fool	dennoloo.
Fiſh	matchee.
Found	laſthom.
Four	ſtor.

Five

Five.	peng.

G.

A girl	aſſogne *or* aſſoinee*.
A grape	baulo paramattee *and* peomingro.
Green	chatto.
God	davila* *and* modaval.
Gold	ſuhakie.
A gypſey	romana chil.
A gooſe	pappin.
A grave	bauro chumbo.
Great	bootſee.
A giant	borwardo.
A garden	finepou.
Give me	deas man.
Grandfather	pappus *or* paupus.
Good ſport	fino, paiaſs.

H.

A houſe	gur *and* kir*.
A hill	cumbo *and* cumbee.
Hail	yive.
The head	ſharrous.
A hen	cappeet.
A horſe	gree.
A harp	manchouro.
Heaven	ravoo *or* ravoos.
A huſband	rome.
A horn	ſhing.
To hear	ſhirn.
Hair	ballow.
He and ſhe	ſhan.
Heat	tattoo.
A hand	vaſti.
An hour	yacorah.
Harveſt	givengro.
Hatred	hocleben.
Here	ſhulta, ſheree, aioeſee.
Hungry	bocolee.
Hearing	ſhunaloe.

I.

A judge	bauro.
I. *maſcul.*	youee.
I. *fem.*	youeſee.
An inn	kirchimopodrum.
Iron	ſaſhtaa.
An image	fino, wocklee.

K.

A king	crellis.
A key	clerin.

L.

Love	commoben.
Light	dood.
Life	gava *or* geeva*.
Letters	liecaw.
A lie	ochano.
A lord, or ſir	riah *and* raiah.
A lady	raiena *or* roiena*.
A lion	vareſs.
Language	romana.
Loſt	naſhedoe.
To laugh	ſallaw.
To look	aconterree.
A lamb	vaccaſhoe.
Lightening	bauro, tood, *or* dood.
The laurel	covaſcorook.
Little	cooſe.
The leg	herree.
Lead	molous.

M.

A mountain	dumbo* *and* cumbo.
Muſic	calabeen.
A mother	die *or* dai.
A man	rome* *or* giorgeo.
The moon	moonah.
Meat, or food	maſs.
Milk	tood.
Much	boot.
More	everſecoſi.
A mile	meou.
To-morrow	ovavo devus.
A mule	milo.

N.

The noſe	nock.

Numbers	boot.
Nine	enneah.
A nail of the hand	nie.
New	nevo.
A nutmeg	cockwhur.
A needle	thubh.
A nation	baurifoki.
Night	rattie.

O.

Old	coſhtan.
An ox	geronee.
Oil	tedou, corat.
The ocean	bauro, panee.
One	yec.

P.

Pitch	boyocrot *or* boyocorat.
Prayers	miſſihe.
A prieſt	raſhee.
A peach	poomingro.
A palace	crellis eſcochare.
To pray	moughem.
A path	podrom.
A picture	fine choverie.

R.

Rain	briſkenoe.
A river	doriove *or* doriobb.
Red	lolo.
A rock	bar.
A ring	vaunuſtry.
To run	praſthem.
A road	drom *and* podrum.

S.

Six	ſho.
Seven	aſta.
To ſee	becaſſin *and* diſcaloe.
A ſhip	bara *and* baro.
The ſea	bauro panee * *and* doeyave.
A ſteeple	boro, fule.
A ſon	chavo.
The ſun	cham.
Soot	couloe.
Sulphur	congrogre.
To ſing	givellan.
A ſong	gillee *or* givellee.
A ſervant	radchevo.
A ſword	harrow *and* bauro, charrie.
Sickneſs	naphiliſoli.
Sifter	pan *and* pen.
Silver	roop.
A ſtar	ſtarrie.
A ſerpent	ſep *and* ſap.
Smoke	tooph.
Shoes	chawan.
The ſoul	leſco, thee.
A ſick man	naphiloofoli.
A ſick woman	naphilee phillee.
Soon	ſic joſta.
A ſhepherd	baucoringro.
Strait	fitolongſoli, crooco bango.
Sight	dicken.
Smell	ſhocmaloe.
Sleep, *or* to ſleep	ſavanow.
To ſwear	ſovochollo.
To ſpeak	racamanſoe.
Salt	loon.
Summer	tattabeen.
Silk	p'har.
Sand	barraw.
A ſtorm	bauro beval acochenos.
A ſaddle	boſhtow.
A ſpur	poſomiſo, gree.

T.

Two	due.
Three	trin.
Ten	deſh.
Twenty	biſh.
Twenty-one	yec biſh.
This	acavat.
That	acavo.
A town	burgau.
Tar	chinaber.
The tongue	chive.

Thunder

Thunder	godlie.
Time	lucumoro.
Tears	panee.
Truth	techeben.
A tree	rook.
A table	miſſali.
A tomb	bauro balſcoplatti.
A tooth	dennam.

U.

An uncle	chauk.

V.

A village	gave.
A valley	delvo.
The vine	patarim.

W.

Water	panee *.
The wind	beval.
A waiſtcoat	bringeree.
A woman	romee.
Wine	moul.
Words	ohano.
White	porno.
To waſh	towamah.
To walk	iaw, paraſs.
A whale	bauro mattahee.
Warm	tattoo.
Winter	ſhillaloe.
A window	k'howe.
A whip	chucknee.
A waggon	vadon.
A wave	bauro panee.

Y.

Yellow	tedan.
A year	yabeſh.
Yeſterday	callicoe.

Zingara, or Gypſey words, which accord with others in the native Perſic, or in the Perſic of Indoſtan.

Zingara. See the vocabulary, now communicated.	Engliſh.	Perſic, or Indoſtan. See Herbert's Travels, p. 99. and p. 315.
Pannee *or* panee	Water or drink	Panne.
Yog	Fire	Augi.
Cumbee	A hill	Conbee.
Riah *and* raiah	Sir, or lord	Raiah.
Yaccal	A dog	Iaccal, a kind of wild dog.
Roop	Silver	Roopee, a ſilver coin.
Gave	A village	Gam.
Maſs	Food	Meaſe.
Miſſali	A table	Miſſale.
Sharrous	The head	Sharree.
Starrie	A ſtar	Starra.
Vaſti	The hand	Daſt.
Mawro	Bread	Maurow, *uncertain.*
Doriove *or* doriobb	A ſea or river	Deriaw, Deriobb. N. B. *Obb* is water, as is alſo *dor*, in many languages.
Peola	To drink	Peola, a cup.
Nevo	New	Nevos.

Mumallee	A candle	Mum, and mumbattee, poſſibly a miſtake for *numballee*.
Clerin	A key	Cleet.
Gur *and* kir	A houſe	Gur.
Dennam	A tooth	Dandon.

The Numerals of the Zingara, or Gypſey Tribes; compared with thoſe of Indoſtan and Perſia, as they are to be found in Herbert's Travels, p. 319, and in Bell of Antermony's Travels, vol. II. p. 117 *.

	Zingara.	Perſic of Herbert.	Indoſtan of Bell.
1.	Yec	Yec	Eik.
2.	Due	Do *or* dew	Duy.
3.	Trin	† Se *and* tean	Tin.
4.	Stor	Char	Tzar.
5.	Peng	Panch	Penge.
6.	Sho	Sheſh	Tzo.
7.	Afta	Haft	Tatee.
8.	Oitoo	Haſht	Aatza.
9.	Enneah	No	Nouy.
10.	Deſh	Dah	Daſs.
20.	Biſh	Beeſt	
30.	Biſh u deſh		
40.	Due biſha		

Zingara, or Gypſey words, remarkably ſimilar to ſome in other Languages.

Cham	The ſun	חם, חמה, *Heb.* the ſun and heat.
Geeva	Life	חוה, *Heb.* cheva.

* The following paſſage from this book is worth tranſcribing. "During my ſtay (ſays Mr. Bell) at Toboliſky, I was informed that a large troop of Gypſies had been lately at that place, to the number of ſixty or upwards. The Ruſſians call theſe vagabonds *Tziggany*. Their ſorry baggage was carried upon horſes and aſſes. The Vice Governor ſent for ſome of the chief of the gang, and demanded, whither they were going. They anſwered, to China. He ſtopped their progreſs, and ſent them back." *Bell's Travels*, vol. II. p. 157. *Simeon Simeonis* ſeems to have met with ſome of the Gypſey tribe in Cyprus, in 1332. "Ibidem et vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu Græcorum utentem, et de genere Chaym ſe eſſe aſſerentem, quæ raro, vel nunquam, in loco aliquo moratur ultra xxx dies; ſed ſemper, velut a Deo maledicta, vaga et profuga poſt xxx diem de campo in campum, cum tentoriis parvis, oblongis, nigris, et humilibus, ad modum Arabum de cavernâ in cavernam diſcurrit, quia locus ab his habitatus poſt dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus et immunditiis, cum quibus impoſſibile eſt habitare."
Simeon Simeonis Itin. p. 17.

† Herbert ſays *yec curſe* is one mile, and a league or three miles is *tean curſe*: *tean* is, therefore, three.

Cuſht	A bow
Geronee	An ox
Vareſs	A lion
Bara	A ſhip
Bai	A bough
Rome	A man
Colee	Anger
Tooph	Smoke
Sep or ſap	A ſerpent
Treſh	Fear
Apra	Above *or* over
Raiena *and* Roiena	A great lady
Moul	Wine
Drom	A way *or* road
Podrom	A foot-path, *quaſi*
Pal	A brother
Matchian	A cat
Crellis	A king
Campen	To fight
Benga	The devil

קשת, *Heb.* cuſhet.
קרן, *Heb.* Keren, quaſi cornutus.
אור; *Heb.* Alſo חור, the ſun; of which the lion was an emblem.
Bari, *Coptic and old Egyptian.*
Bai, *Coptic and Egyptian.* See Aulus Gellius.
Πιρωμις, *ancient Egyptian.* See Herodotus.
Χολη, *Greek.*
Τυφος, *Greek.*
Σηψ, *Greek.*
Τρεω, *Greek*, trepido.
Supra, ὑπερ.
Regina, *Lat.* N. B. *Rex, regi, raiat*, all of the ſame analogy.
Mulſum, *Lat.*
Δρομος, *Greek.*
Ποδος δρομος, *Greek.*
Fel, *Hungarian.*
Matcha, a tiger, *Malay and Madagaſcar.*
Crellis, *Bohemian.*
Campen, *Teutonic.*
Beug, night, *Mindunao.*

Extract from an Account of the Caves on the Elephanta Iſland, *near* Bombay, *by Lieutenant-Colonel* Barry. *From the Gentleman's Magazine for* 1785.

"IN ſeveral parts of the coaſt about Bombay, are found caves of ſuch remote antiquity, that neither tradition nor records can reach their origin; in many of them are inſcriptions, written in a language and characters now totally unknown; but of theſe diſuſed, or dead languages, beſides the Shanſcrit, or ſacred one, there are, in India, many remains. I am told the Jews at Cochin have yet the grant of their ſynagogue, at preſent unintelligible; this, I once conjectured, might be in the primitive Hebrew, as theſe people are ſuppoſed to be of the miſſing tribes; but I am aſſured, the country powers never admitted their public deeds to be drawn in the language of foreigners.

That theſe caves were formed for religious purpoſes, cannot even be doubted, as well from their conſtruction, as the ſculptured repreſentations of Gentoo mythology, which all of them contain: perhaps a deſcription of one might be introduced, with good effect, as an epiſode to ſome eaſtern heroic poem.

It is not unpleaſant to trace, as men grow refined, the temples of their worſhip, from the darkneſs of caves and foreſts, through the gloom of Gothic ſtructures, to the airy elegance of Grecian architecture.

As I viſited the Elephanta, the principal, I would call it, cathedral,

dral, of these caves, I shall attempt some account of it.

This extraordinary offspring of human industry is on Elephanta Island, so called from the statue of an elephant, of natural size, tolerably cut out of a solid rock, on its west coast, which is nearly six miles from the castle of Bombay: the caves are about the middle of this islet; the approach to them being through a deep ravine, so that one is struck with surprize at coming suddenly on their openings, and seeing an abrupt precipice, of more than 60 feet perpendicular, rising from the roofs of these excavations, and covered at the summit with shrubs and trees, that hang over the rock, which is of hard stone, more so than that usually employed in our home edifices; but as many quarries are known to indurate when exposed to the air, it may not be unreasonable to infer, that its present density is partly original, and partly acquired; but of this, however, I neither made experiment, nor sought information.

Of these caves there are three; the principal being in the centre, and the lesser ones on either hand, though not placed in similar directions; one having a common front, the other being at right angles with it: in each of the inferior ones is a small chapel, with baths at the end.

To the grand cave, or temple, there are three entrances by porticos of four pillars each, of the same order with those within. Its elevation is very disproportionate to its area, which last is nearly a square of 40 yards, whilst its height is not more than half as many feet; but the eye is not only offended at first by the lowness, but also by the flatness of the roof; which certainly would have acquired more of grandeur by being arched, the effect of which we observe in our own churches. This roof is supported by 36 columns, placed at equal distances, though some of them have been broken down by the intemperate zeal of the Portuguese to exterminate idolatry; which, as well as the tasteless curiosity of latter visitants, has likewise impaired many of the figures.

Each column is divided into three equal parts, the pedestal being one, the shaft another; and the capital, including the entablature, the third; the pedestals are square; the shafts rudely grooved, and not, as usual, cylindrical, but gradually bulbing outwards to the centre, their greatest diameter being more than half their height. The capitals are, as their shafts, grooved, and appear, to use the miner's phrase, like globes flattened by the pressure of country on them. The entablatures are simple, and without distinct divisions of members. These proportions and forms, so different from Grecian rules, are not pleasing to a corrected taste; but as they have in themselves the strictest uniformity of common principle, undoubtedly prove the arts to have been far advanced at the early period of their construction.

To the right, and within the large cave, extending the square of four pillars, which form its angles, is a small temple or chapel, having on the ground a large altar, oblong, somewhat raised, and coarsely cut; on the top of which is a cone, resembling the pivots of the rocking stones in Cornwall, or at Stone-Henge, the tops of the uprights for receiving their transems, and, perhaps,

haps, in its deſign, for ſome ſuch purpoſe. In each of the leſſer caves, there are ſeveral chapels.

On the ſides of the porticoes, and in compartments at the further end, are, in baſſo relievo, pieces of ſculpture, moſt of their figures being Coloſſian, and all repreſenting parts of the Gentoo mythology; the centre is an image of the quadruple-faced Brimha, the god of the Bedas. Theſe ſtatues, ſuch as we ſee them, groteſque and fanciful, are to us the objects of eaſtern adoration, and, in their preſent mutilated ſtate, prove the artiſt neither unſkilful, or unacquainted with animal proportions, which are well preſerved, even in thoſe which extend the height of the excavation, or which the hieroglyphic doctrines of the Bramins repreſent moſt whimſically; for, indeed, the acquaintance with nature and ſymmetry may as well be diſplayed in the ſtatues of a Silenus or Medea, as in thoſe of an Apollo or Venus."

MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Account of a curious Mode of travelling in Kamtſchatka, *by means of Sledges drawn by Dogs, as deſcribed in the Journey taken by Captains* Gore *and* King, *from the Harbour of* St. Peter and St. Paul *to* Bolcheretſk, *the Reſidence of the Governor of the Province of* Kamtſchatka; *from Captain* King's *Continuation of Captain* Cook's *laſt Voyage. Vol. III.*

"ABOUT nine o'clock the ſame evening, we were awakened by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was laſhing upon the ſledges; but, as ſoon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to ſet out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which intirely ceaſed the inſtant they marched off. But, before we ſet out, the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

The body * is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a creſcent, of light tough wood, ſtrongly bound together with wicker work; which in thoſe belonging to the better ſort of people is elegantly ſtained of a red and blue colour, and the ſeat covered with bear ſkins, or other furs. It is ſupported by four legs, about two feet high, which reſt on two long flat pieces of wood, five or ſix inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the ſledge. Theſe are turned up before, in the manner of a ſkate, and ſhod with the bone of ſome ſea animal. The fore part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and taſſels of coloured cloth; and from the croſs bar, to which the harneſs is joined, are hung links of iron, or ſmall bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are ſeldom uſed to carry more than one perſon at a time, who ſits aſide, reſting his feet on the lower part of the ſledge, and carrying his proviſions and other neceſſaries, wrapped up in a bundle, behind him. The dogs are uſually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins not being faſtened to the head of the dogs, but to the collar, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon

* *Viz.* of the ſledge. One of theſe ſledges was in the poſſeſſion of Sir Aſhton Lever.

the

the ſledge, whilſt the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention; ſome of them riſing to a moſt extraordinary value on account of their docility and ſteadineſs; inſomuch, that for one of theſe, I am well aſſured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unuſual price. The driver is alſo provided with a crooked ſtick, which anſwers the purpoſe both of whip and reins; as by ſtriking it into the ſnow, he is enabled to moderate the ſpeed of the dogs, or even to ſtop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwiſe inattentive to his voice, he chaſtiſes them by throwing it at them. Upon theſe occaſions, their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not ſurpriſing, that they ſhould labour to be ſkilful in a practice upon which their ſafety ſo materially depends. For they ſay, that if the driver ſhould happen to loſe his ſtick, the dogs will inſtantly perceive it; and unleſs their leader be of the moſt ſober and reſolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full ſpeed, and never ſtop till they are quite ſpent. But as that will not be the caſe ſoon, it generally happens, that either the carriage is overturned, and daſhed to pieces againſt the trees, or they hurry down ſome precipice, and are all buried in the ſnow. The accounts that were given us of the ſpeed of theſe dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were ſcarcely credible, if they had not been ſupported by the beſt authority. We were indeed ourſelves witneſſes of the great expedition with which the meſſenger, who had been diſpatched to Bolcheretſk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, though the ſnow was, at this time, exceedingly ſoft. But I was informed, by the Commander of Kamtſchatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half; and that he had once received an expreſs from the latter place in twenty-three hours.

The dogs are fed during the winter, on the offals of dried and ſtinking fiſh; but are always deprived of this miſerable food, a day before they ſet out on a journey, and never ſuffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were alſo told, that it was not unuſual for them to continue thus faſting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles *. Theſe dogs

* Extraordinary as this may appear, Kraſchininikoff, whoſe account of Kamtſchatka, from every thing that I ſaw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, ſeems to me to deſerve entire credit; and whoſe authority *I ſhall*, therefore, frequently have recourſe to; relates inſtances of this kind, that are much more ſurpriſing. "Travelling parties," ſays he, "are often overtaken with dreadful "ſtorms of ſnow, on the approach of which they drive, *with the utmoſt precipi-* "*tation, into the neareſt wood*, and there are obliged to ſtay till the tempeſt, which "frequently laſts ſix or ſeven days, is over; the dogs remaining all this while "quiet and inoffenſive; except that ſometimes, when preſt by hunger, they will "devour their reins, and the other leathern parts of the harneſs."

Hiſtory and Deſcription of Kamtſchatka, by Kraſchininikoff.

are,

are, in ſhape, ſomewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but conſiderably larger.

As we did not chooſe to truſt to our own ſkill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the ſledge, which, from the ſtate the roads were now in, proved a very laborious buſineſs. For, as the thaw had advanced very conſiderably in the vallies, through which our road lay, we were under the neceſſity of keeping along the ſides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with ſnow-ſhoes for that purpoſe, to ſupport the ſledges, on the lower ſide, with their ſhoulders, for ſeveral miles together. I had a very good-humoured Coſſack to attend me, who was, however, ſo very unſkilful in his buſineſs, that we were overturned almoſt every minute, to the great entertainment of the reſt of the company. Our party conſiſted, in all, of ten ſledges. That in which Captain Gore was carried, was made of two laſhed together, and abundantly provided with furs and bear-ſkins; it had ten dogs, yoked four abreaſt; as had alſo ſome of thoſe that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles, it began to rain; which, added to the darkneſs of the night, threw us all into confuſion. It was at laſt agreed, that we ſhould remain where we were till day-light; and accordingly we came to anchor in the ſnow (for I cannot better expreſs the manner in which the ſledges were ſecured) and wrapping ourſelves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to ſet out, our guides being apprehenſive, that if we waited longer, we might be ſtopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed, nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occaſioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon, we got ſafe to an *oſtrog*, called Natcheekin, ſituated on the ſide of a ſmall ſtream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The diſtance between Karatchin and Natcheekin is thirty-eight werſts (or twenty-five miles); and had the hard froſt continued, we ſhould not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the ſnow was ſo ſoft, that the dogs, almoſt at every ſtep, ſunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much ſurpriſed at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of ſo fatiguing a journey."

An Account of the Manner of Bear-hunting *practiſed by the* Kamtſchadales; *from the ſame.*

"THE next day I ſet on foot another hunting party, and put myſelf under the direction of the clerk of the pariſh, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived, by ſun-ſet, at the ſide of one of the larger lakes. The next ſtep was to conceal ourſelves as much as poſſible; and this we were able to do very effectually, among ſome long graſs and bruſh-wood, that grew cloſe to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambuſh, before we had the pleaſure to hear the growlings of bears in different parts round about us; and our expectations were ſoon gratified, by the ſight of one of them in the water, which ſeemed to be ſwimming directly

rectly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a conſiderable light; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the ſame time. The beaſt immediately turned ſhort on one ſide, and ſet up a noiſe, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond deſcription. We plainly ſaw that it was ſeverely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to ſome thick buſhes at a little diſtance. It ſtill continued to make the ſame loud and terrible noiſe; and though the Kamtſchadales were perſuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it moſt adviſeable not to rouſe it again for the preſent. It was, at this time, paſt nine o'clock; and the night becoming overcaſt, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it moſt prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curioſity till morning, when we returned to the ſpot, and found the bear dead in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common ſize.

"As the account of our firſt hunting party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this ſport is uſually conducted; it may not be amiſs to add a few more words on the ſubject; and which I am the better able to do ſince this laſt expedition.

"When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about ſun-ſet, the firſt ſtep is to look for their tracks, to examine which are the freſheſt, and the beſt ſituated with a view to concealment, and taking aim at the beaſt, either as he is paſſing by, or advancing in front, or going from them. Theſe tracks are found in the greateſt numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long ſedgy graſs and brakes by the edge of the water. The place of ambuſcade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutchets, upon which their firelocks are made to reſt, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their ſhot. This done, they kneel or lie down, as the circumſtances of the cover require; and, with their bear-ſpears by their ſide, wait for their game. Theſe precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make ſure of their mark, are, on ſeveral accounts, highly expedient. For, in the firſt place, ammunition is ſo dear at Kamtſchatka, that the price of a bear will not purchaſe more of it than is ſufficient to load a muſket four or five times; and, what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of purſuit by the firſt ſhot, the conſequences are often fatal. He immediately makes toward the place from whence the noiſe and ſmoke iſſue, and attacks his adverſaries with great fury. It is impoſſible for them to reload, as the animal is ſeldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards diſtance, when he is fired at: ſo that if he does not fall, they immediately put themſelves in a poſture to receive him upon their ſpears; and their ſafety greatly depends on their giving him a mortal ſtab, as he firſt comes upon them. If he parries the thruſt (which, by the extraordinary ſtrength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do), and thereby

thereby breaks in upon his adverſaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone ſuffice to pay the forfeit.

"There are two ſeaſons of the year when this diverſion, or occupation, as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous: in the ſpring, when the bears firſt come forth, after having ſubſiſted, as is univerſally aſſerted here, on ſucking their paws through the winter; and eſpecially if the froſt happen to be ſevere, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under theſe circumſtances, they ſoon become exceedingly famiſhed, and fierce and ſavage in proportion. They will purſue the natives by the ſcent; and, as they now prowl about out of their uſual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtſchadales have not the ſmalleſt notion of ſhooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a reſt, the bear-hunters often fall a ſacrifice to their hunger. The other ſeaſon in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

"An extraordinary inſtance of natural affection in theſe animals hath been already mentioned. The chace affords a variety of a ſimilar nature, and not leſs affecting; many of which were related to me. The Kamtſchadales derive great advantage in hunting, from this circumſtance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near: for, if the cub drop, ſhe becomes enraged to a degree little ſhort of madneſs; and if ſhe get ſight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be ſhot, the cubs will not leave her ſide, even after ſhe has been dead a long time; but continue about her, ſhewing, by a variety of affecting actions and geſtures, marks of the deepeſt affliction, and thus become an eaſy preſy to the hunters.

"Nor is the ſagacity of the bears, if the Kamtſchadales are to be credited, leſs extraordinary, or leſs worthy to be remarked, than their natural affection. Of this they have a thouſand ſtories to relate. I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning one inſtance, which the natives ſpeak of as a well-known fact; and that is, the ſtratagem they have recourſe to, in order to catch the bareins, which are conſiderably too ſwift of foot for them. Theſe animals keep together in large herds; they frequent moſtly the low grounds, and love to browſe at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by ſcent, till he comes in ſight; when he advances warily, keeping above them, and concealing himſelf amongſt the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpoſe. He then begins to puſh down, with his paws, pieces of the rock amongſt the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to purſue, until he find he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a courſe immediately enſues, that proves ſucceſsful, or otherwiſe, according to the hurt the barein has received.

"I cannot conclude this digreſſion, without obſerving, that the Kamtſchadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for

for what little advancement they have hitherto made, either in the ſciences or polite arts. They confeſs that they owe to them all their ſkill both in phyſic and ſurgery; that by remarking with what herbs theſe animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourſe to when ſick and languid, they have become acquainted with moſt of the ſimples in uſe among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But what will appear ſomewhat more ſingular, is, they acknowledge the bears likewiſe for their dancing-maſters. Indeed the evidence of one's ſenſes puts this out of diſpute; for the bear-dance of the Kamtſchadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and geſture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions; and this is the foundation and ground-work of all their other dances, and what they value themſelves moſt upon."

A circumſtantial Narrative of the Attempt made by the Confederates, on the Night of the 3d of September, 1771, to aſſaſſinate the King *of* Poland. *From Vol. I. of Travels into* Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, *and* Denmark; *by* William Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c.

IN preſenting the following narrative to our readers, we ſhall beg leave to preface it with the author's own words:

THE following circumſtantial account of this ſingular occurrence was communicated to me by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxall, Eſq; whoſe name is well known in the literary world; and who, during his reſidence at Warſaw, obtained the moſt authentic information upon ſo intereſting a tranſaction: as he has obligingly permitted me to enrich my work with this narration, I am happy to lay it before the reader in his own words.

"In the midſt of theſe turbulent "and diſaſtrous ſcenes, the confe- "derates (who ever conſidered the "king as unlawfully elected, and "who imputed to his fatal eleva- "tion, and direction or approba- "tion, all the various ills under "which the kingdom groaned from "the Ruſſian oppreſſion) planned "and executed one of the moſt dar- "ing enterprizes of which modern "hiſtory makes mention. I mean "the attempt to aſſaſſinate the "king. It is ſomewhat remark- "able, that in an age ſo humaniz- "ed, ſo free from the enormous "and flagitious crimes common in "barbarous centuries, ſo enlight- "ened as is the preſent, this is the "third attempt on a crowned head "in my remembrance. Louis XV. "Joſeph I. of Portugal, and Sta- "niſlaus Auguſtus, all narrowly "eſcaped aſſaſſination. As the at- "tempt on his Poliſh majeſty was "perhaps the moſt atrocious, and "his eſcape certainly the moſt ex- "traordinary and incredible of the "three, I ſhall be as minute as "poſſible in the enumeration of all "the principal circumſtances which "led to, and which attended this "remarkable event.

"A Poliſh nobleman, named "Pulaſki, a general in the army "of the confederates, was the per- "ſon who planned the atrocious "enterprize; and the conſpirators "who carried it into execution "were about forty in number, and "were headed by three chiefs,

" named Lukawſki, Strawenſki, and " Koſinſki. Theſe three chiefs had " been engaged and hired to that " purpoſe by Pulaſki, who in the " town of Czetſchokow, in Great " Poland, obliged them to ſwear " in the moſt ſolemn manner, by " placing their hands between his, " either to deliver the king alive " into his hands, or, in caſe that " was impoſſible, to put him to " death. The three chiefs choſe " thirty-ſeven perſons to accom- " pany them. On the 2d of Novem- " ber, about a month after they had " quitted Czetſchokow, they ob- " tained admiſſion into Warſaw " unſuſpected or undiſcovered by " the following ſtratagem. They " diſguiſed themſelves as peaſants " who came to ſell hay, and artfully " concealed their ſaddles, arms, " and cloaths under the loads of " hay which they brought in wag- " gons, the more effectually to eſ- " cape detection.

" On Sunday night the 3d of " September, 1771, a few of theſe " conſpirators remained in the ſkirts " of the town; and the others re- " paired to the place of rendezvous, " the ſtreet of the Capuchins, where " his majeſty was expected to paſs " by about his uſual hour of return- " ing to the palace. The king had " been to viſit his uncle prince " Czartoriſki, grand chancellor of " Lithuania, and was on his return " from thence to the palace between " nine and ten o'clock. He was in " a coach, accompanied by at leaſt " fifteen or ſixteen attendants, be- " ſide an aid-de-camp in the car- " riage; ſcarce was he at the diſ- " tance of two hundred paces from " prince Czartoriſki's palace, when " he was attacked by the conſpira- " tors, who commanded the coach- " man to ſtop, on pain of inſtant " death. They fired ſeveral ſhot " into the carriage, one of which " paſſed through the body of a hey- " duc, who endeavoured to defend " his maſter from the violence of " the aſſaſſins. Almoſt all the other " perſons * who preceded and ac- " companied his majeſty were diſ- " perſed; the aid-de-camp aban- " doned him, and attempted to " conceal himſelf by flight. Mean- " while the king had opened the " door of his carriage, with the de- " ſign of effecting his eſcape under " ſhelter of the night, which was " extremely dark. He had even " alighted, when the aſſaſſins ſeized " him by the hair, exclaiming in " Poliſh, with horrible execrations, ' We have thee now; thy hour is " come.' One of them diſcharged " a piſtol at him ſo very near, that " he felt the heat of the flaſh; while " another cut him acroſs the head " with his ſabre, which penetrated " to the bone. They then laid " hold of his majeſty by the collar, " and, mounting on horſeback, " dragged him along the ground " between their horſes at full gal- " lop for near five hundred paces " through the ſtreets of Warſaw †.

" All was confuſion and diſorder during

* " It is incredible, that ſuch a number of perſons as were with his Poliſh ma- " jeſty on that memorable night, ſhould all ſo baſely abandon him, except the " ſingle heyduc who was killed, and who ſo bravely defended his maſter. This " man was a proteſtant; he was not killed on the ſpot, but expired next morn- " ing of his wounds. The king allows a penſion to his widow and chil- " dren."

† " It is aſtoniſhing, that, in the number of balls which paſſed through the " carriage,

" during this time at the palace, " where the attendants who had de- " ſerted their maſter had ſpread the " alarm. The foot-guards ran im- " mediately to the ſpot from whence " the king had been conveyed, but " they found only his hat all bloo- " dy, and his bag: this increaſed " their apprehenſions for his life. " The whole city was in an uproar. " The aſſaſſins profited of the uni- " verſal confuſion, terror, and con- " ſternation, to bear away their " prize. Finding, however, that " he was incapable of following " them on foot, and that he had " already almoſt loſt his reſpiration " from the violence with with they " had dragged him, they ſet him " on horſeback; and then redoubled " their ſpeed for fear of being over- " taken. When they came to the " ditch which ſurrounds Warſaw, " they obliged him to leap his horſe " over. In the attempt the horſe " fell twice, and at the ſecond fall " broke its leg. They then mount- " ed his majeſty upon another, all " covered as he was with dirt.

" The conſpirators had no ſooner " croſſed the ditch, than they began " to riſle the king, tearing off the " order * of the Black Eagle of " Pruſſia, which he wore round his " neck, and the diamond croſs hang- " ing to it. He requeſted them to " leave his handkerchief, which " they conſented to: his tablets eſ- " caped their rapacity. A great " number of the aſſaſſins retired af- " ter having thus plundered him, " probably with intent to notify to " their reſpective leaders the ſuc- " ceſs of their enterprize, and the " king's arrival as a priſoner. Only " ſeven remained with him, of " whom Koſinſki was the chief. " The night was exceedingly dark; " they were abſolutely ignorant of " the way; and, as the horſes could " not keep their legs, they obliged " his majeſty to follow them on " foot, with only one ſhoe, the other " being loſt in the dirt.

" They continued to wander " through the open meadows, with- " out following any certain path, " and without getting to any diſ- " tance from Warſaw. They again " mounted the king on horſeback, " two of them holding him on each " ſide by the hand, and a third

" carriage, not one ſhould hurt or wound the king. Several went through his " *peliſſe*, or fur great-coat. I have ſeen this cloak, and the holes made in it by " the piſtol-bullets. Every part of the cloaths which his majeſty wore on that " night are carefully preſerved. It is no leſs wonderful, that when the aſſaſſins " had ſeized on the king, they ſhould carry him through ſuch a number of ſtreets " without being ſtopped. A Ruſſian centinel did hail them; but, as they an- " ſwered in Ruſſian, he allowed them to paſs, imagining them to be a patrole of " his nation. This happened at ſome diſtance from the place where they had " carried off the king. The night was beſides exceedingly dark, and Warſaw " has no lamps. All theſe circumſtances contribute to account for this extraor- " dinary event."

* " It was Lukawſki, one of the three chiefs of the band, who tore off the rib- " bon of the Black Eagle, which his Pruſſian majeſty had conferred on the king " when he was Count Poniatowſki. One of his motives for doing this, was by " ſhewing the order of the Black Eagle to Pulaſki and the confederates, to prove " to them inconteſtibly that the king was in their hands, and on his way. Lu- " kawſki was afterwards executed."

" leading his horſe by the bridle. " In this manner they were proceeding, when his majeſty, finding they had taken the road " which led to a village called Burakow, warned them not to enter " it, becauſe there were ſome Ruſſians ſtationed in that place, who " might probably attempt to reſcue " him *. Finding himſelf, however, incapable of accompanying " the aſſaſſins in the painful poſture " in which they held him kept down " on the ſaddle, he requeſted them, " ſince they were determined to " oblige him to proceed, at leaſt " to give him another horſe and a " boot †. This requeſt they complied with; and continuing their " progreſs through almoſt impaſſable lands, without any road, and " ignorant of their way, they at " length found themſelves in the " wood of Bielany, only a league " diſtant from Warſaw. From the " time they had paſſed the ditch, " they repeatedly demanded of Koſinſki their chief, if it was not " yet time to put the king to death; " and theſe demands were reiterated in proportion to the obſtacles " and difficulties they encountered.

" Meanwhile the confuſion and " conſternation increaſed at Warſaw. The guards were afraid " to purſue the conſpirators, leſt " terror of being overtaken ſhould " prompt them in the darkneſs to " maſſacre the king; and on the " other hand, by not purſuing they " might give them time to eſcape " with their prize, beyond the poſſibility of aſſiſtance. Several of " the firſt nobility at length mounted on horſeback, and following " the track of the aſſaſſins, arrived " at the place where his majeſty had " paſſed the ditch. There they " found his *peliſſe*, which he had loſt " in the precipitation with which " he was hurried away; it was " bloody, and pierced with holes " made by the balls or ſabres. This " convinced them that he was no " more.

" The king was ſtill in the hands " of the ſeven remaining aſſaſſins, " who advanced with him into the " wood of Bielany, when they were " ſuddenly alarmed by a Ruſſian pa-

* " This intimation, which the king gave to his aſſaſſins, may at firſt ſight appear extraordinary and unaccountable, but was really dictated by the greateſt " addreſs and judgment. He apprehended with reaſon that, on the ſight of a " Ruſſian guard, they would inſtantly put him to death with their ſabres, and fly; " whereas by informing them of the danger they incurred, he in ſome meaſure " gained their confidence: in effect, this behaviour of the king ſeemed to ſoften " them a little, and made them believe he did not mean to eſcape from them."

† The king, in his ſpeech to the diet on the trial of the conſpirators, interceded ſtrongly for Koſinſki, or John Kutſma, to whom he gratefully expreſſes himſelf indebted for theſe favours in the following words:

" As I was in the hands of the aſſaſſins, I heard them repeatedly aſk John " Kutſma, if they ſhould not aſſaſſinate me, but he always prevented them. He " was the firſt who perſuaded them to behave to me with greater gentleneſs; and " obliged them to confer upon me ſome ſervices which I then greatly wanted; " namely, one to give me a cap, and a ſecond a boot, which at that time were no " trifling preſents: for the cold air greatly affected the wound in my head; and " my foot, which was covered with blood, gave me inexpreſſible torture, which " continued every moment increaſing."

" trole

" trole or detachment. Inſtantly " holding council, four of them diſ- " appeared, leaving him with the " other three, who compelled him " to walk on. Scarce a quarter of " an hour after, a ſecond Ruſſian " guard challenged them anew. " Two of the aſſaſſins then fled, and " the king remained alone with Ko- " ſinſki the chief, both on foot. His " majeſty, exhauſted with all the " fatigue which he had undergone, " implored his conductor to ſtop, " and ſuffer him to take a moment's " repoſe. Koſinſki refuſed it, me- " nacing him with his naked ſabre; " and at the ſame time informed " him, that beyond the wood they " ſhould find a carriage. They " continued their walk, till they " came to the door of the convent " of Bielany. Koſinſki appeared " loſt in thought, and ſo much agi- " tated by his reflections, that the " king perceiving his diſorder, and " obſerving that he wandered with- " out knowing the road, ſaid to " him, 'I ſee you at a loſs which " way to proceed. Let me enter " the convent of Bielany, and do " you provide for your own ſafety.' " No,' replied Koſinſki, 'I have " ſworn.'

" They proceeded till they came " to Mariemont, a ſmall palace be- " longing to the houſe of Saxony, " not above half a league from " Warſaw: here Koſinſki betrayed " ſome ſatisfaction at finding where " he was; and the king ſtill de- " manding an inſtant's repoſe, he " conſented at length. They ſat " down together on the ground, " and the king employed theſe mo- " ments in endeavouring to ſoften " his conductor, and induce him to " favour or permit his eſcape. His " majeſty repreſented the atrocity " of the crime he had committed, in " attempting to murder his ſove- " reign, and the invalidity of an " oath taken to perpetrate ſo hei- " nous an action: Koſinſki lent at- " tention to this diſcourſe, and be- " gan to betray ſome marks of re- " morſe. 'But,' ſaid he, 'if I " ſhould conſent, and re-conduct " you to Warſaw, what will be the " conſequence?—I ſhall be taken " and executed!'

" This reflection plunged him " into new uncertainty and embar- " raſſment. 'I give you my word,' " anſwered his majeſty, 'that you " ſhall ſuffer no harm; but if you " doubt my promiſe, eſcape while " there is yet time. I can find my " way to ſome place of ſecurity; and " I will certainly direct your pur- " ſuers to take the contrary road to " that which you have choſen.' Ko- " ſinſki could not any longer con- " tain himſelf, but, throwing him- " ſelf at the king's feet, implored " forgiveneſs for the crime he had " committed; and ſwore to protect " him againſt every enemy, relying " totally on his generoſity for par- " don and preſervation. His ma- " jeſty reiterated to him his aſſu- " rances of ſafety. Judging, how- " ever, that it was prudent to gain " ſome aſylum without delay, and " recollecting that there was a mill " at ſome conſiderable diſtance, he " immediately made towards it. " Koſinſki knocked, but in vain; " no anſwer was given: he then " broke a pane of glaſs in the win- " dow, and intreated for ſhelter to " a nobleman who had been plun- " dered by robbers. The miller " refuſed, ſuppoſing them to be " banditti, and continued for more " than half an hour to perſiſt in his " denial. At length the king ap-

" proached, and ſpeaking through " the broken pane, endeavoured to " perſuade him to admit them un- " der his roof, adding, ' If we were " robbers, as you ſuppoſe, it would " be very eaſy for us to break the " whole window, inſtead of one pane " of glaſs.' This argument pre- " vailed. They at length opened " the door, and admitted his ma- " jeſty. He immediately wrote a " note to General Coccei, colonel " of the foot-guards. It was lite- " rally as follows: ' Par une eſpece " de miracle je ſuis ſauvé des mains " des aſſaſſins. Je ſuis ici au petit " moulin de Mariemont. Venez " au plutôt me tirer d'ici. Je ſuis " bleſſé, mais pas fort *.' It was " with the greateſt difficulty, how- " ever, that the king could perſuade " any one to carry this note to " Warſaw, as the people of the mill, " imagining that he was a nobleman " who had juſt been plundered by " robbers, were afraid of falling in " with the troop. Koſinſki then " offered to reſtore every thing he " had taken; but his majeſty left " him all, except the blue ribbon " of the White Eagle.

" When the meſſenger arrived " with the note, the aſtoniſhment " and joy was incredible. Coccei " inſtantly rode to the mill, follow- " ed by a detachment of the guards. " He met Koſinſki at the door, with " his ſabre drawn, who admitted " him as ſoon as he knew him. The " king had ſunk into a ſleep, cauſed " by his fatigue; and was ſtretched " on the ground, covered with the " miller's cloak. Coccei immedi- " ately threw himſelf at his majeſ- " ty's feet, calling him his ſove- " reign, and kiſſing his hand. It " is not eaſy to paint or deſcribe the " aſtoniſhment of the miller and his " family, who inſtantly imitated " Coccei's example, by throwing " themſelves on their knees †. The " king returned to Warſaw in " General Coccei's carriage, and " reached the palace about five in " the morning. His wound was " found not to be dangerous; and " he ſoon recovered the bruiſes and " injuries which he had ſuffered " during this memorable night.

" So extraordinary an eſcape is " ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory, " and affords ample matter of won- " der and ſurpriſe. Scarce could " the nobility or people at Warſaw " credit the evidence of their ſenſes, " when they ſaw him return. Cer- " tainly neither the eſcape of the " king of France from Damien, or " of the king of Portugal from the " conſpiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro, " were equally amazing or impro- " bable, as that of the king of Po- " land. I have related it very mi- " nutely, and from authorities the " higheſt and moſt inconteſtible.

" It is natural to inquire what is " become of Koſinſki, the man who " ſaved his majeſty's life, and the " other conſpirators. He was born " in the palatinate of Cracow, and

* " By a kind of miracle I am eſcaped from the hands of aſſaſſins. I am now " at the mill of Mariemont. Come as ſoon as poſſible, and take me from hence. " I am wounded, but not dangerouſly."

† " I have been at this mill, rendered memorable by ſo ſingular an event. It " is a wretched Poliſh hovel, at a diſtance from any houſe. The king has rewarded " the miller to the extent of his wiſhes, in building him a mill upon the Viſtula, " and allowing him a ſmall penſion."

" of mean extraction: having af-
" ſumed the name of Koſinſki *,
" which is that of a noble family, to
" give himſelf credit. He had been
" created an officer in the troops of
" the confederates under Pulaſki.
" It would ſeem as if Koſinſki be-
" gan to entertain the idea of pre-
" ſerving the king's life from the
" time when Lukawſki and Straw-
" enſki abandoned him; yet he
" had great ſtruggles with himſelf
" before he could reſolve on this
" conduct, after the ſolemn engage-
" ments into which he had entered.
" Even after he had conducted the
" king back to Warſaw, he expreſ-
" ſed more than once his doubts of
" the propriety of what he had
" done, and ſome remorſe for hav-
" ing deceived his employers.

" Lukawſki and Strawenſki were
" both taken, and ſeveral of the
" other aſſaſſins. At his majeſty's
" peculiar requeſt and intreaty, the
" diet remitted the capital puniſh-
" ment of the inferior conſpirators,
" and condemned them to work for
" life on the fortifications of Kami-
" niec, where they now are. By
" his interceſſion likewiſe with the
" diet, the horrible puniſhment and
" various modes of torture, which
" the laws of Poland decree and
" inflict on regicides, were mitigat-
" ed; and both Lukawſki and Stra-
" wenſki were only ſimply behead-
" ed. Koſinſki was detained under
" a very ſtrict confinement, and ob-
" liged to give evidence againſt his
" two companions. A perſon of
" diſtinction, who ſaw them both
" die, has aſſured me, that nothing
" could be more noble and manly
" than all Lukawſki's conduct pre-
" vious to his death. When he was
" carried to the place of execution,
" although his body was almoſt ex-
" tenuated by the ſeverity of his
" confinement, diet, and treatment,
" his ſpirit, unſubdued, raiſed him
" above the terrors of an infamous
" and public execution. He had
" not been permitted to ſhave his
" beard while in priſon, and his dreſs
" was ſqualid to the greateſt degree;
" yet none of theſe humiliations
" could depreſs his mind. With a
" grandeur of ſoul worthy of a bet-
" ter cauſe, but which it was impoſ-
" ſible not to admire, he refuſed to
" ſee or embrace the traitor Koſin-
" ſki. When conducted to the ſcene
" of execution, which was about a
" mile from Warſaw, he betrayed
" no emotions of terror or unmanly
" fear. He made a ſhort harangue
" to the multitude aſſembled upon
" the occaſion, in which he by no
" means expreſſed any ſorrow for
" his paſt conduct, or contrition for
" his attempt on the king, which
" he probably regarded as merito-
" rious and patriotic. His head
" was ſevered from his body.

" Strawenſki was beheaded at the
" ſame time, but he neither haran-
" gued the people, nor ſhewed any
" ſigns of contrition. Pulaſki, who
" commanded one of the many
" corps of confederate Poles then
" in arms, and who was the great
" agent and promoter of the aſſaſ-
" ſination, is ſtill alive †, though
" an outlaw and an exile. He is
" ſaid, even by the Ruſſians his ene-

* His real name was John Kutſma.

† After the concluſion of theſe troubles, Pulaſki eſcaped from Poland, and repaired to America: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American ſervice, and was killed in the attempt to force the Britiſh lines at the ſiege of Savannah, in 1779.

"mies, to poſſeſs military talents "of a very ſuperior nature; nor "were they ever able to take him "priſoner during the civil war.

"To return to Koſinſki, the man "who ſaved the king's life. About "a week after Lukawſki and Stra-"wenſki's execution, he was ſent "by his majeſty out of Poland. He "now reſides at Semigallia in the "papal territories, where he enjoys "an annual penſion from the king.

"A circumſtance almoſt incredi-"ble, and which ſeems to breathe "all the ſanguinary bigotry of the "16th century, I cannot omit. It "is that the papal nuntio in Poland, "inſpired with a furious zeal againſt "the diſſidents, whom he believed "to be protected by the king, not "only approved the ſcheme for aſ-"ſaſſinating his majeſty, but bleſſed "the weapons of the conſpirators at "Czetſchokow, previous to their "ſetting out on their expedition. "This is a trait indiſputably true, "and ſcarcely to be exceeded by any "thing under the reign of Charles "IX. of France, and of his mother "Catharine of Medicis."

An Account of the different Orders *inſtituted in* Ruſſia; *of a favourite Building of the preſent* Empreſs's, *called the* Hermitage; *and of the Manner in which ſhe paſſes her Time. Extracted from the ſame.*

"THE order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the firſt ever known in this country, was inſtituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign countries*.

That of St. Alexander Nevſki, or the red Ribband, was created by the ſame ſovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725 †.

The order of St. Anne of Holſtein was inſtituted, in 1735, by Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein, in memory of his wife Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Ruſſia by her ſon Peter III. It is in the diſpoſal of the great-duke, as ſovereign of Holſtein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called alſo the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the preſent empreſs in 1769. It is appropriated to perſons ſerving by land or by ſea, and is never beſtowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange ſtripes.

This order is divided into four claſſes;

The knights of the firſt claſs, called the Great Croſs, wear the ribband over the right ſhoulder, and the ſtar upon the left ſide. Each receives an annual ſalary of 700 roubles = £ 140. The knights of the ſecond claſs wear the ſtar upon their left breaſt, the ribband with the croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = £ 80 *per ann.* The knights of the third claſs wear the ſmall croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or £ 40 *per ann.* This claſs admits 50. The knights of the fourth claſs wear the ſmall croſs faſtened by a ribband to the button-hole, like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or £ 20 *per ann.*

The fund of this order, aſſigned

* Weber's Ver. Ruſſ. Part III. p. 161. † Ibid. p. 38.

by

by the empreſs for the payment of their ſalaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £ 8,000 *per ann.* Of this 1,680 is deſtined for the firſt claſs; and 2,000 for each of the remaining three.

The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778, the firſt claſs, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, Marſhal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexéy Orlof, for burning the Turkiſh fleet at Tcheſme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conqueſts in the Crimea. The ſecond claſs compriſed only eight knights; the third 48; and the fourth 237. No perſon can obtain this order without having performed ſome gallant exploit, or having ſerved with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by ſea *.

There is alſo the order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies; it was inſtituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the diſplay of thoſe virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as, beſide the empreſs, the great-duchefs, and a few foreign princeſſes, only five Ruſſian ladies were decorated with it.

The order of St. Andrew is the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe, which, beſide the ſovereign princes and foreigners, compriſed, in 1778, 26 Ruſſians; that of St. Alexander Nevſki 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empreſs may alſo be ſaid to have the diſpoſal of the Poliſh orders of the White Eagle and of St. Staniſlaus.

Since our departure from Ruſſia her majeſty inſtituted, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vladimir, in favour of thoſe who ſerve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the ſame footing as that of St. George with reſpect to the ſalaries annexed to the different claſſes. There are to be ten great croſſes, twenty of the ſecond claſs, thirty of the third, and ſixty of the fourth, beſide a fifth for thoſe who have ſerved 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it."

"A ſeparate edifice of brick ſtuccoed white, called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes its appellation from its being the ſcene of imperial retirement, but bears no other reſemblance to an hermitage, except in its name, the apartments being extremely ſpacious, and decorated in a ſuperb ſtyle of regal magnificence. To this favourite ſpot the empreſs uſually repairs for an hour or two every day; and on a Thurſday evening ſhe gives a private ball and ſupper to the principal perſons who form her court; foreign miniſters and foreign noblemen being ſeldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is ſaid to be baniſhed, as far as is conſiſtent with that reſpect which is paid to a great ſovereign. The attendance of ſervants is excluded, while the ſupper and various refreſhments are preſented on ſmall tables, which emerge through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this ſelect ſociety are diſpoſed in the various apartments: the meaning of thoſe

* See Ukaſe ueber die Stiftung des St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

written

written in the Ruſſian tongue was explained to me by a gentleman of the company, and their general tendency was to encourage freedom from etiquette, and to inculcate the moſt unreſtrained eaſe of behaviour. One written in the French language I comprehended and retained. "*Aſ-*
"*ſeyez vous où vous voulez, et quand*
"*il vous plaira, ſans qu'on le repete*
"*mille fois* *."

This hermitage contains a numerous aſſemblage of pictures, chiefly purchaſed by her preſent majeſty. Its principal ornament was the celebrated collection of Crozat, which devolved by heritage to the Baron de Thieres, upon whoſe death the empreſs purchaſed it from his heirs. The Houghton collection, the loſs of which every lover of the arts in England muſt ſincerely regret, will form a moſt valuable acceſſion.

A winter and ſummer garden, compriſed within the ſite of the building, are ſingular curioſites, and ſuch as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The ſummer garden, in the true Aſiatic ſtyle, occupies the whole level top of the edifice: at this ſeaſon of the year it was entirely buried under the ſnow, which prevented our viewing it. The winter-garden is entirely roofed and ſurrounded with glaſs frames: it is an high and ſpacious hot-houſe, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees, and other ſhrubs; and peopled with ſeveral birds of ſundry ſorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleaſing effect, and was the more delightful as being contraſted with the diſmal and dreary ſeaſon of the year.

The ordinary diſtribution of the empreſs's time at Peterſburgh, as far as I could collect from inquiries which I had many opportunities of making, as it concerns ſo great a princeſs, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Her majeſty uſually riſes about ſix, and is engaged till eight or nine in public buſineſs with her ſecretary. At ten ſhe generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dreſſing, the miniſters of ſtate, and her aide-de-camps in waiting, pay their reſpects, and receive their orders. Being dreſſed about eleven, ſhe ſends for her grand-children, the young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, or viſits them in their own apartment. Before dinner ſhe receives a viſit from the great-duke and ducheſs; and ſits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, uſually about nine perſons, conſiſting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Ruſſian nobility, whom ſhe invites. Their imperial highneſſes dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is encreaſed to eighteen perſons. The lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who always ſits oppoſite to the empreſs, carves one diſh and preſents it to her; an attention which, after having once politely accepted, ſhe afterwards diſpenſes with. Her majeſty is remarkably temperate, and is ſeldom at table more than an hour. From thence ſhe retires to her own apartment; and about three fre-

* Sit down where you chuſe, and when you pleaſe, without its being repeated to you a thouſand times.

quently

quently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five she goes to the theatre *, or to a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a private party at cards. She seldom sups, generally retires at half past ten, and is usually in bed before eleven."

Curious Account of the Distresses and Escape of the Pretender, *Prince* Charles Edward, *after the Battle of* Culloden, *in the Year* 1745: *From the Journal of a Tour to the* Hebrides *with Dr.* Johnson, *by* James Boswell, *Esq.*

MR. Boswell introduces the following account with these words.

FROM what she † told us, and from what I was told by others personally concerned, and from a paper of information which Raſay was so good as to send me, at my desire, I have compiled the following abstract, which, as it contains some curious anecdotes, will, I imagine, not be uninteresting to my readers, and even, perhaps, be of some use to future historians.

"Prince Charles Edward, after the battle of Culloden, was conveyed to what is called the *Long Island*, where he lay for some time concealed. But intelligence having been obtained where he was, and a number of troops having come in quest of him, it became absolutely necessary for him to quit that country without delay. Miss Flora Macdonald, then a young lady, animated by what she thought the sacred principle of loyalty, offered, with the magnanimity of a heroine, to accompany him in an open boat to Sky, though the coast they were to quit was guarded by ships. He dressed himself in women's clothes, and passed as her supposed maid, by the name of Betty Bourke, an Irish girl. They got off undiscovered, though several shots were fired to bring them to, and landed at Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Sir Alexander was then at Fort Augustus, with the duke of Cumberland; but his lady was at home. Prince Charles took his post upon a hill near the house. Flora Macdonald waited on lady Margaret, and acquainted her of the enterprise in which she was engaged. Her ladyship, whose active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents, shewed a perfect presence of mind, and readiness of invention, and at once settled that Prince Charles should be conducted to old Raſay, who was himself concealed with some select friends. The plan was instantly communicated to Kingsburgh, who was dispatched to the hill to inform the Wanderer, and carry him refreshments. When Kingsburgh approached, he started up, and advanced, holding a large knotted stick, and in appearance ready to knock him down, till he said "I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your highness." The Wanderer answered, "It is well," and was satisfied with the plan.

Flora Macdonald dined with lady Margaret, at whose table there sat an officer of the army, stationed

* An Italian opera, a set of Russian, and another of French players, were, in 1778, maintained at her majesty's expence, at which the spectators were admitted gratis.

† Flora Macdonald.

here

here with a party of ſoldiers, to watch for prince Charles, in caſe of his flying to the iſle of Sky. She afterwards often laughed in good humour with this gentleman, on her having ſo well deceived him.

After dinner, Flora Macdonald on horſeback, and her ſuppoſed maid and Kingſburgh, with a ſervant carrying ſome linen, all on foot, proceeded towards that gentleman's houſe. Upon the road was a ſmall rivulet which they were obliged to croſs. The Wanderer, forgetting his aſſumed ſex, that his clothes might not be wet, held them up a great deal too high. Kingſburgh mentioned this to him, obſerving it might make a diſcovery. He ſaid, he would be more careful for the future. He was as good as his word; for the next brook they croſſed, he did not hold up his clothes at all, but let them float upon the water. He was very aukward in his female dreſs. His ſize was ſo large, and his ſtrides ſo great, that ſome women whom they met reported that they had ſeen a very big woman, who looked like a man in woman's clothes, and that perhaps it was (as they expreſſed themſelves) the *Prince*, after whom ſo much ſearch was making.

At Kingſburgh he met with a moſt cordial reception; ſeemed gay at ſupper, and after it indulged himſelf in a cheerful glaſs with his worthy hoſt. As he had not had his clothes off for a long time, the comfort of a good bed was highly reliſhed by him, and he ſlept ſoundly till next day at one o'clock.

The miſtreſs of Corrichatachin told me, that in the forenoon ſhe went into her father's room, who was alſo in bed, and ſuggeſted to him her apprehenſions that a party of the military might come up, and that his gueſt and he had better not remain here too long. Her father ſaid, "Let the poor man repoſe himſelf after his fatigues; and as for me, I care not, though they take off this old grey head ten or eleven years ſooner than I ſhould die in the courſe of nature." He then wrapped himſelf in the bed-clothes, and again fell faſt aſleep.

On the afternoon of that day, the Wanderer, ſtill in the ſame dreſs, ſet out for Portree, with Flora Macdonald and a man ſervant. His ſhoes being very bad, Kingſburgh provided him with a new pair, and taking up the old ones, ſaid, "I will faithfully keep them till you are ſafely ſettled at St. James's. I will then introduce myſelf by ſhaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof."—He ſmiled, and ſaid, "Be as good as your word!"—Kingſburgh kept the ſhoes as long as he lived. After his death, a zealous Jacobite gentleman gave twenty guineas for them.

Old Mrs. Macdonald, after her gueſt had left the houſe, took the ſheets in which he had lain, folded them carefully, and charged her daughter that they ſhould be kept unwaſhed, and that, when ſhe died, her body ſhould be wrapped in them as a winding-ſheet. Her will was religiouſly obſerved.

Upon the road to Portree, Prince Charles changed his dreſs, and put on man's clothes again; a tartan ſhort coat and waiſtcoat, with philibeg and ſhort hoſe, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet.

Mr. Donald M'Donald, called Donald Roy, had been ſent expreſs to the preſent Raſay, then the young laird,

laird, who was at that time at his ſiſter's houſe, about three miles from Portree, attending his brother, Dr. Macleod, who was recovering of a wound he had received at the battle of Culloden. Mr. M'Donald communicated to young Raſay the plan of conveying the Wanderer to where old Raſay was; but was told that old Raſay had fled to Knoidart, a part of Glengary's eſtate. There was then a dilemma what ſhould be done. Donald Roy propoſed that he ſhould conduct the Wanderer to the main land; but young Raſay thought it too dangerous at that time, and ſaid it would be better to conceal him in the iſland of Raſay, till old Raſay could be informed where he was, and give his advice what was beſt. But the difficulty was, how to get him to Raſay. They could not truſt a Portree crew, and all the Raſay boats had been deſtroyed, or carried off by the military, except two belonging to Malcolm M'Leod, which he had concealed ſomewhere.

Dr. M'Leod being informed of this difficulty, ſaid he would riſk his life once more for Prince Charles; and it having occurred, that there was a little boat upon a freſh-water lake in the neighbourhood, young Raſay and Dr. M'Leod, with the help of ſome women, brought it to the ſea, by extraordinary exertion, acroſs a Highland mile of land, one half of which was bog, and the other a ſteep precipice.

Theſe gallant brothers, with the aſſiſtance of one little boy, rowed the ſmall boat to Raſay, where they were to endeavour to find captain M'Leod, as Malcolm was then called, and get one of his good boats, with which they might return to Portree, and receive the Wanderer; or, in caſe of not finding him, they were to make the ſmall boat ſerve, though the danger was conſiderable.

Fortunately, on their firſt landing, they found their couſin Malcolm, who, with the utmoſt alacrity, got ready one of his boats, with two ſtrong men, John M'Kenzie, and Donald M'Friar. Malcolm, being the oldeſt man, and moſt cautious, ſaid, that as young Raſay had not hitherto appeared in the unfortunate buſineſs, he ought not to run any riſk; but that Dr. Macleod and himſelf, who were already publicly engaged, ſhould go on this expedition. Young Raſay anſwered, with an oath, that he would go, at the riſk of his life and fortune.—"In GOD's name then (ſaid Malcolm) let us proceed." The two boatmen, however, now ſtopped ſhort, till they ſhould be informed of their deſtination; and M'Kenzie declared he would not move an oar till he knew where they were going. Upon which they were both ſworn to ſecrecy; and the buſineſs being imparted to them, they were eager to put off to ſea without loſs of time. The boat ſoon landed about half a mile from the inn at Portree.

All this was negotiated before the Wanderer got forward to Portree. Malcolm M'Leod, and M'Friar, were diſpatched to look for him. In a ſhort time he appeared, and went into the public houſe. Here Donald Roy, whom he had ſeen at Mugſtot, received him, and informed him of what had been concerted. He wanted ſilver for a guinea, but the landlord had only thirteen ſhillings; he was going to accept of this for his guinea, but Donald Roy very judiciouſly obſerved, that it would diſcover him to be ſome great man;

man; ſo he deſiſted. He ſlipped out of the houſe, leaving his fair protectreſs, whom he never again ſaw; and Malcolm Macleod was preſented to him by Daniel Roy, as captain in his army. Young Raſay and Dr. Macleod had waited, in impatient anxiety, in the boat. When he came, their names were announced to him. He would not permit the uſual ceremonies of reſpect, but ſaluted them as his equals.

Donald Roy ſtaid in Sky, to be in readineſs to get intelligence, and give an alarm in caſe the troops ſhould diſcover the retreat to Raſay; and Prince Charles was then conveyed in a boat to that iſland in the night. He ſlept a little upon the paſſage, and they landed about day break. There was ſome difficulty in accommodating him with a lodging, as almoſt all the houſes in the iſland had been burnt by the ſoldiery. They repaired to a little hut, which ſome ſhepherds had lately built, and having prepared it as well as they could, and made a bed of heath for the ſtranger, they kindled a fire, and partook of ſome proviſions which had been ſent with him from Kingſburgh. It was obſerved, that he would not taſte wheat-bread, or brandy, while oat-bread and whiſky laſted; "for theſe (ſaid he) are my own country bread and drink."—This was very engaging to the Highlanders.

Young Raſay being the only perſon of the company that durſt appear with ſafety, he went in queſt of ſomething freſh for them to eat; but though he was amidſt his own cows, ſheep, and goats, he could not venture to take any of them for fear of a diſcovery, but was obliged to ſupply himſelf by ſtealth. He therefore caught a kid, and brought it to the hut in his plaid, and it was killed and dreſt, and furniſhed them a meal which they reliſhed much. The diſtreſſed Wanderer, whoſe health was now a good deal impaired by hunger, fatigue, and watching, ſlept a long time, but ſeemed to be frequently diſturbed. Malcolm told me he would ſtart from broken ſlumbers, and ſpeak to himſelf in different languages, French, Italian, and Engliſh.—I muſt however acknowledge, that it is highly probable that my worthy friend Malcolm did not know preciſely the difference between French and Italian. One of his expreſſions in Engliſh was, "O God! poor Scotland!"

While they were in the hut, M'Kenzie and M'Friar, the two boatmen, were placed as centinels upon different eminences; and one day an incident happened, which muſt not be omitted. There was a man wandering about the iſland, ſelling tobacco. Nobody knew him, and he was ſuſpected to be a ſpy, M'Kenzie came running to the hut, and told that this ſuſpected perſon was approaching. Upon which the three gentlemen, young Raſay, Dr. Macleod, and Malcolm, held a council of war upon him, and were unanimouſly of opinion that he ſhould inſtantly be put to death. Prince Charles, at once aſſuming a grave and even ſevere countenance, ſaid, "God forbid that we ſhould take away a man's life, who may be innocent while we can preſerve our own." The gentlemen however perſiſted in their reſolution, while he as ſtrenuouſly continued to take the merciful ſide. John M'Kenzie, who ſat watching at the door of the hut, and overheard the debate,

bate, ſaid in Erſe, "Well, well; he muſt be ſhot. You are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we chooſe." Prince Charles, ſeeing the gentlemen ſmile, aſked what the man had ſaid, and being told it in Engliſh, he obſerved that he was a clever fellow, and, notwithſtanding the perilous ſituation in which he was, laughed loud and heartily. Luckily the unknown perſon did not perceive that there were people in the hut, at leaſt did not come to it, but walked on paſt it, unknowing of his riſk. It was afterwards found out that he was one of the Highland army, who was himſelf in danger. Had he come to them, they were reſolved to diſpatch him; for, as Malcolm ſaid to me, "We could not keep him with us, and we durſt not let him go. In ſuch a ſituation, I would have ſhot my brother, if I had not been ſure of him."—John M'Kenzie was at Raſay's houſe, when we were there *. About eighteen years before, he hurt one of his legs when dancing, and being obliged to have it cut of, he now was going about with a wooden leg. The ſtory of his being a *member of Parliament* is not yet forgotten. I took him out a little way from the houſe, and gave him a ſhilling to drink Raſay's health, and led him into a detail of the particulars which I have juſt related.—With leſs foundation, ſome writers have traced the idea of a parliament, and of the Britiſh conſtitution, in rude and early times. I was curious to know if he had really heard, or underſtood, any thing of that ſubject, which, had he been a greater man, would probably have been eagerly maintained. "Why, John, (ſaid I) did you think the king ſhould be controuled by a parliament?"——He anſwered, "I thought, ſir, there were many voices againſt one."

The converſation then turning on the times, the Wanderer ſaid, that, to be ſure, the life he had led of late was a very hard one; but he would rather live in the way he now did for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies. The gentlemen aſked him, what he thought his enemies would do with him, ſhould he have the misfortune to fall into their hands. He ſaid, he did not believe they would dare to take his life publicly, but he dreaded being privately deſtroyed by poiſon or aſſaſſination.—He was very particular in his inquiries about the wound which Dr. Macleod had received at the battle of Culloden, from a ball, which entered at one ſhoulder, and went croſs to the other. The doctor happened ſtill to have on the coat which he wore on that occaſion. He mentioned, that he himſelf had his horſe ſhot under him at Culloden; that the ball hit the horſe about two inches from his knee, and made him ſo unruly that he was obliged to change him for another. He threw out ſome reflections on the conduct of the diſaſtrous affair at Culloden, ſaying, however, that perhaps it was raſh in him to do ſo.—I am now convinced that his ſuſpicions were groundleſs; for I have had a good deal of converſation upon the ſubject with my very worthy and ingenious friend, Mr. Andrew Lumiſden, who was under ſecretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards prin-

* This old Scottiſh *member of parliament*, I am informed, is ſtill living (1785).

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cipal ſecretary to his father at Rome, who, he aſſured me, was perfectly ſatisfied both of the abilities and honour of the generals who commanded the Highland army on that occaſion. Mr. Lumiſden has written an account of the three battles in 1745-6, at once accurate and claſſical.——Talking of the different Highland corps, the gentlemen who were preſent wiſhed to have his opinion which were the beſt ſoldiers. He ſaid, he did not like compariſons among thoſe corps: they were all beſt.

He told his conductors, he did not think it adviſeable to remain long in any one place, and that he expected a French ſhip to come for him to Lochbroom, among the Mackenzies. It then was propoſed to carry him in one of Malcolm's boats to Lochbroom, though the diſtance was fifteen leagues coaſtwiſe. But he thought this would be too dangerous, and deſired that at any rate they might firſt endeavour to obtain intelligence. Upon which young Raſay wrote to his friend, Mr. M'Kenzie of Applecroſs, but received an anſwer, that there was no appearance of any French ſhip.

It was therefore reſolved that they ſhould return to Sky, which they did, and landed in Strath, where they repoſed in a cow-houſe belonging to Mr. Niccolſon of Scorbreck. The ſea was very rough and the boat took in a good deal of water. The Wanderer aſked if there was danger, as he was not uſed to ſuch a veſſel. Upon being told there was not, he ſung an Erſe ſong with much vivacity. He had by this time acquired a good deal of the Erſe language.

Young Raſay was now diſpatched to where Donald Roy was, that they might get all the intelligence they could; and the Wanderer, with much earneſtneſs, charged Doctor Macleod to have a boat ready, at a certain place about ſeven miles off, as he ſaid he intended it ſhould carry him upon a matter of great conſequence; and gave the doctor a caſe, containing a ſilver ſpoon, knife, and fork, ſaying, "keep you that till I ſee you," which the doctor underſtood to be two days from that time. But all theſe orders were only blinds; for he had another plan in his head, but wiſely thought it ſafeſt to truſt his ſecrets to no more perſons than was abſolutely neceſſary. Having then deſired Malcolm to walk with him a little way from the houſe, he ſoon opened his mind, ſaying, "I deliver myſelf to you. Conduct me to the laird of M'Kinnon's country."—Malcolm objected that it was very dangerous, as ſo many parties of ſoldiers were in motion. He anſwered, "There is nothing now to be done without danger."—He then ſaid, that Malcolm muſt be the maſter, and he the ſervant; ſo he took the bag, in which his linen was put up, and carried it on his ſhoulder; and obſerving that his waiſtcoat, which was of ſcarlet tartan, with a gold twiſt button, was finer than Malcolm's, which was of a plain ordinary tartan, he put on Malcolm's waiſtcoaſt, and gave him his; remarking at the ſame time, that it did not look well that the ſervant ſhould be better dreſſed than the maſter.

Malcolm, though an excellent walker, found himſelf excelled by Prince Charles, who told him, he ſhould not much mind the parties that were looking for him, were he once but a muſket-ſhot from them; but that he was ſomewhat afraid of

of the Highlanders who were againſt him. He was well uſed to walking in Italy in purſuit of game; and he was even now ſo keen a ſportſman, that, having obſerved ſome partridges, he was going to take a ſhot; but Malcolm cautioned him againſt it, obſerving that the firing might be heard by the tenders who were hovering upon the coaſt.

As they proceeded through the mountains, taking many a circuit to avoid any houſes, Malcolm, to try his reſolution, aſked him what they ſhould do, ſhould they fall in with a party of ſoldiers: he anſwered, "Fight, to be ſure!"—Having aſked Malcolm if he ſhould be known in his preſent dreſs, and Malcolm having replied he would, he ſaid, "Then I'll blacken my face with powder."—"That (ſaid Malcolm) would diſcover you at once."—"Then (ſaid he) I muſt be put in the greateſt diſhabille poſſible." So he pulled off his wig, tied a handkerchief round his head, and put his night-cap over it, tore the ruffles from his ſhirt, took the buckles out of his ſhoes, and made Malcolm faſten them with ſtrings; but ſtill Malcolm thought he would be known. "I have ſo odd a face, (ſaid he) that no man ever ſaw me but he would know me again."

He ſeemed unwilling to give credit to the horrid narrative of men being maſſacred in cold blood, after victory had declared for the army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. He could not allow himſelf to think that a general could be ſo barbarous.

When they came within two miles of M'Kinnon's houſe, Malcolm aſked if he choſe to ſee the laird. "No, (ſaid he) by no means. I know M'Kinnon to be as good and as honeſt a man as any in the world, but he is not fit for my purpoſe at preſent. You muſt conduct me to ſome other houſe; but let it be a gentleman's houſe."—Malcolm then determined that they ſhould go to the houſe of his brother-in-law, Mr. John M'Kinnon, and from thence be conveyed to the main land of Scotland, and claim the aſſiſtance of Macdonald of Scothouſe. The Wanderer at firſt objected to this, becauſe Scothouſe was couſin to a perſon of whom he had ſuſpicions. But he acquieſced in Malcolm's opinion.

When they were near Mr. John M'Kinnon's houſe, they met a man of the name of Roſs, who had been a private ſoldier in the Highland army. He fixed his eyes ſteadily on the Wanderer in his diſguiſe, and having at once recognized him, he clapped his hands, and exclaimed, "Alas! is this the caſe?" Finding that there was now a diſcovery, Malcolm aſked, "What's to be done?" "Swear him to ſecrecy," anſwered Prince Charles. Upon which Malcolm drew his dirk, and on the naked blade made him take a ſolemn oath, that he would ſay nothing of his having ſeen the Wanderer, till his eſcape ſhould be made public.

Malcolm's ſiſter, whoſe houſe they reached pretty early in the morning, aſked him who the perſon was that was along with him. He ſaid, it was one Lewis Caw, from Crieff, who being a fugitive like himſelf, for the ſame reaſon, he had engaged him as his ſervant, but that he had fallen ſick. "Poor man! (ſaid ſhe) I pity him. At the ſame time my heart warms to a man of his appearance."—Her huſband was gone a little way from home; but was expected every minute to re-

turn. She ſet down to her brother a plentiful Highland breakfaſt. Prince Charles acted the ſervant very well, ſitting at a reſpectful diſtance, with his bonnet off. Malcolm then ſaid to him, "Mr. Caw, you have as much need of this as I have; there is enough for us both: you had better draw nearer, and ſhare with me."—Upon which he roſe, made a profound bow, ſat down at table with his ſuppoſed maſter, and eat very heartily. After this there came in an old woman, who, after the mode of ancient hoſpitality, brought warm water, and waſhed Malcolm's feet. He deſired her to waſh the feet of the poor man who attended him. She at firſt ſeemed averſe to this, from pride, as thinking him beneath her; and in the periphraſtick language of the Highlanders and the Iriſh, ſaid warmly, "Though I waſh your father's ſon's feet, why ſhould I waſh his father's ſon's feet?"—She was however perſuaded to do it.

They then went to bed, and ſlept for ſome time; and when Malcolm awaked, he was told that Mr. John M'Kinnon, his brother-in-law, was in ſight. He ſprang out to talk to him before he ſhould ſee Prince Charles. After ſaluting him, Malcolm, pointing to the ſea, ſaid, "What, John, if the prince ſhould be a priſoner on board one of thoſe tenders?"—"God forbid!" replied John.—"What if we had him here?" ſaid Malcolm.—"I wiſh we had, (anſwered John) we ſhould take care of him."—"Well, John, (ſaid Malcolm) he is in your houſe."—John, in a tranſport of joy, wanted to run directly in, and pay his obeiſance; but Malcolm ſtopped him, ſaying, "Now is your time to behave well, and do nothing that can diſcover him."—John compoſed himſelf, and having ſent away all his ſervants upon different errands, he was introduced into the preſence of his gueſt, and was then deſired to go and get ready a boat lying near his houſe, which, though but a ſmall leaky one, they reſolved to take, rather than go to the laird of M'Kinnon. John M'Kinnon however thought otherwiſe; and upon his return told them, that his chief and lady M'Kinnon were coming in the laird's boat. Prince Charles ſaid to his truſty Malcolm, "I am ſorry for this, but muſt make the beſt of it."—M'Kinnon then walked up from the ſhore, and did homage to the Wanderer. His lady waited in a cave, to which they all repaired, and were entertained with cold meat and wine.—Mr. Malcolm M'Leod being now ſuperſeded by the laird of M'Kinnon, deſired leave to return, which was granted him, and Prince Charles wrote a ſhort note, which he ſubſcribed *James Thompſon*, informing his friends that he had got away from Sky, and thanking them for their kindneſs; and he deſired this might be ſpeedily conveyed to young Raſay and Dr. Macleod, that they might not wait longer in expectation of ſeeing him again. He bade a cordial adieu to Malcolm, and inſiſted on his accepting of a ſilver ſtock-buckle, and ten guineas from his purſe, though, as Malcolm told me, it did not appear to contain above forty. Malcolm at firſt begged to be excuſed, ſaying, that he had a few guineas at his ſervice; but Prince Charles anſwered, "You will have need of money. I ſhall get enough when I come upon the main land."

The

The laird of M'Kinnon then conveyed him to the oppoſite coaſt of Knoidart. Old Raſay, to whom intelligence had been ſent, was croſſing at the ſame time to Sky; but as they did not know of each other, and each had apprehenſions, the two boats kept aloof.

Theſe are the particulars which I have collected concerning the extraordinary concealment and eſcapes of Prince Charles, in the Hebrides. He was often in imminent danger. The troops traced him from the Long Iſland, acroſs Sky, to Portree, but there loſt him."

Curious Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. *By Dr.* B. Franklin.

THE Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counſellors; for all their government is by the counſel or advice of the ſages; there is no force, there are no priſons, no officers to compel obedience, or inflict puniſhment. Hence they generally ſtudy oratory; the beſt ſpeaker having the moſt influence. The Indian women till the ground, dreſs the food, nurſe and bring up the children, and preſerve and hand down to poſterity the memory of public tranſactions. Theſe employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leiſure for improvement by converſation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they eſteem ſlaviſh and baſe; and the learning on which we value ourſelves, they regard as frivolous and uſeleſs.

Having frequent occaſions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men ſit in the foremoſt ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmoſt. The buſineſs of the women is to take exact notice of what paſſes, imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preſerve tradition of the ſtipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would ſpeak, riſes. The reſt obſerve a profound ſilence. When he has finiſhed, and ſits down, they leave him five or ſix minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to ſay, or has any thing to add, he may riſe again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common converſation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeneſs of theſe Savages in converſation, is, indeed, carried to exceſs; ſince it does not permit them to contradict, or deny the truth of what is aſſerted in their preſence. By this means they indeed avoid diſputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impreſſion you make upon them. The miſſionaries who have attempted to convert them to chriſtianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their miſſion. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the goſpel explained to them, and give their uſual tokens of aſſent and approbation: you would think they were convinced.—No ſuch matter; it is mere civility.

A Swediſh miniſter having aſ-

ſembled the chiefs of the Saſquehanah Indians, made a ſermon to them, acquainting them with the principal hiſtorical facts on which our religion is founded; ſuch as the fall of our firſt parents by eating an apple; the coming of Chriſt to repair the miſchief; his miracles, and ſuffering, &c.—When he had finiſhed, an Indian orator ſtood up to thank him. "What you "have told us," ſays he, "is all "very good. It is indeed bad to "eat apples. It is better to make "them all into cyder. We are "much obliged by your kindneſs "in coming ſo far, to tell us thoſe "things which you have heard from "your mothers. In return, I will "tell you ſome of thoſe we have "heard from ours.

"In the beginning, our fathers "had only the fleſh of animals to "ſubſiſt on; and if their hunting "was unſucceſsful, they were ſtarving. Two of our young hunters "having killed a deer, made a fire "in the woods to broil ſome parts "of it. When they were about to "ſatisfy hunger, they beheld a "beautiful young woman deſcend "from the clouds, and ſeat herſelf "on that hill which you ſee yonder "among the Blue Mountains. They "ſaid to each other, it is a ſpirit "that perhaps has ſmelt our broiling veniſon, and wiſhes to eat of "it: let us offer ſome to her. They "preſented her with the tongue: "ſhe was pleaſed with the taſte of "it, and ſaid, your kindneſs ſhall "be rewarded. Come to this place "after thirteen moons, and you "will find ſomething that will be "of great benefit in nouriſhing you "and your children to the lateſt "generations. They did ſo, and to "their ſurpriſe, found plants they "had never ſeen before; but "which, from that antient time, "have been conſtantly cultivated "among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had "touched the ground, they found "maize; where her left hand had "touched it, they found kidney-"beans; and where her backſide "had ſat on it they found tobac-"co." The good miſſionary, diſguſted with this idle tale, ſaid, "What I delivered to you were "ſacred truths; but what you tell "me is mere fable, fiction, and "falſehood." The Indian offended, replied, "My brother, it "ſeems your friends have not done "you juſtice in your education; "they have not well inſtructed you "in the rules of common civility. "You ſaw that we, who underſtand "and practiſe thoſe rules, believed "all your ſtories, why do you re-"fuſe to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to croud round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they deſire to be private; this they eſteem great rudeneſs, and the effect of the want of inſtruction in the rules of civility and good-manners. "We "have," ſay they, "as much cu-"riofity as you, and when you come "into our towns, we wiſh for oppor-"tunities of looking at you; but "for this purpoſe we hide ourſelves "behind buſhes where you are to "paſs, and never intrude ourſelves "into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewiſe its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling ſtrangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as ſoon as they arrive within hearing, they

ſtop

ſtop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men uſually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the ſtrangers houſe. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that ſtrangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one ſends them what he can ſpare of victuals, and ſkins to repoſe on. When the ſtrangers are refreſhed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, converſation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it uſually ends with offers of ſervice; if the ſtrangers have occaſion for guides, or any neceſſaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The ſame hoſpitality, eſteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practiſed by private perſons; of which Conrad Weiſer, our interpreter, gave me the following inſtance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and ſpoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a meſſage from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canaſſetego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, ſpread furs for him to ſit on, placed before him ſome boiled beans and veniſon, and mixed ſome rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreſhed, and had lit his pipe, Canaſſetego began to converſe with him: aſked how he had fared the many years ſince they had ſeen each other, whence he then came, what had occaſioned the journey, &c. Conrad anſwered all his queſtions; and when the diſcourſe began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, ſaid, "Conrad, you have "lived long among the white peo- "ple, and know ſomething of their "cuſtoms; I have been ſometimes "at Albany, and have obſerved, "that once in ſeven days they ſhut "up their ſhops, and aſſemble all "in the great houſe; tell me what "it is for?—What do they do "there?" "They meet there," ſays Conrad, "to hear and learn "*good things*." "I do not doubt," ſays the Indian, "that they tell "you ſo; they have told me the "ſame: but I doubt the truth of "what they ſay, and I will tell "you my reaſons. I went lately "to Albany to ſell my ſkins, and "buy blankets, knives, powder, "rum, &c. You know I gene- "rally uſed to deal with Hans "Hanſon; but I was a little in- "clined this time to try ſome other "merchants. However, I called "firſt upon Hans, and aſked him "what he would give for beaver. "He ſaid he could not give more "than four ſhillings a pound: but, "ſays he, I cannot talk on buſineſs "now; this is the day when we "meet together to learn *good things*, "and I am going to the meeting. "So I thought to myſelf, ſince I "cannot do any buſineſs to-day, I "may as well go to the meeting "too; and I went with him.— "There ſtood up a man in black, "and began to talk to the people "very angrily. I did not under- "ſtand what he ſaid; but perceiv- "ing that he looked much at me "and at Hanſon, I imagined he was "angry at ſeeing me there; ſo I "went out, ſat down near the "houſe, ſtruck fire, and lit my "pipe, waiting till the meeting "ſhould break up. I thought too,

" that the man had mentioned some-
" thing of beaver, and I suspected
" it might be the subject of their
" meeting. So when they came
" out, I accosted my merchant.—
" Well, Hans, says I, I hope you
" have agreed to give more than
" four shillings a pound?" "No,
" says he, I cannot give so much,
" I cannot give more than three
" shillings and six-pence." I then
" spoke to several other dealers,
" but they all sung the same song,
" three and six-pence, three and six-
" pence. This made it clear to me
" that my suspicion was right; and
" that whatever they pretended of
" meeting to learn *good things*, the
" real purpose was, to consult how
" to cheat Indians in the price of
" beaver. Consider but a little,
" Conrad, and you must be of my
" opinion. If they met so often to
" learn *good things*, they certainly
" would have learned some before
" this time. But they are still ig-
" norant. You know our practice.
" If a white man, in travelling
" through our country, enters one
" of our cabins, we all treat him as
" I treat you; we dry him if he is
" wet, we warm him if he is cold,
" and give him meat and drink,
" that he may allay his thirst and
" hunger; and we spread soft furs
" for him to rest and sleep on: we
" demand nothing in return. But
" if I go into a white man's house
" at Albany, and ask for victuals
" and drink, they say, Where is
" your money? And if I have none,
" they say, Get out, you Indian dog.
" You see they have not yet learned
" those little *good things*, that we
" need no meeting to be instructed
" in, because our mothers taught
" them to us when we were chil-
" dren; and therefore it is impossi-
" ble their meetings should be, as
" they say, for any such purpose, or
" have any such effect: they are
" only to contrive *the cheating of*
" *Indians in the price of beaver.*"

Short Account of the Penal Laws of Russia—*Description of the Punishment called the* Knoot—*The* Empress's *Answers to Mr.* Coxe's *Queries on the State of the* Russian *Prisons*—*The Outlines of the new Code of Laws established by her at her Accession. Extracted from Vol. II. of Travels into* Poland, Russia, Sweden, *and* Denmark, *by* William Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c.

ONE morning, as I was casually strolling through the streets of St. Petersburgh, near the market-place, I observed a vast crowd of people flocking to one particular spot. Upon enquiring of my Russian servant the cause of this concourse, he informed me, that the multitude was assembled in order to see a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally shuddered at the very idea of being a spectator of the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet my curiosity overcame my feelings. With the assistance of my servant, I penetrated through the crowd, and ascended the roof of a wooden house of one story, from whence I had a distinct view of the dreadful operation, which was already begun. The executioner held in his hand the knoot *: this instrument is a thong,

* The following are the exact dimensions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Russia, and which is now in my possession.

Length

thong, about the thickneſs of a crown piece, and about three quarters of an inch broad, and rendered extremely hard by a peculiar kind of preparation: it is tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a ſmall piece of leather that acts like a ſpring, and is faſtened to a ſhort wooden handle.

The executioner, before every ſtroke, receded a few paces, and at the ſame time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he applied the flat end of the thong with conſiderable force to the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching ſix or ſeven inches from the collar towards the waiſt. He began by hitting the right ſhoulder, and continued his ſtrokes parallel to each other quite to the left ſhoulder; nor ceaſed till he had inflicted 333 laſhes, the number preſcribed by the ſentence. At the concluſion of this terrible operation, the noſtrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to priſon, in order to be tranſported to the mines of Nerſhinſk, in Siberia.

As ſeveral authors have erroneouſly deſcribed or exaggerated the puniſhment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under my obſervation; and I ſhall take this opportunity of throwing together a few remarks upon the penal laws of Ruſſia.

By the ancient ſtatutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of the empreſs Elizabeth, certain corporal penalties were, in caſes of felony, ſubſtituted in the room of capital ſentences, a circumſtance peculiar to the Ruſſian code.

According to the preſent penal laws, offenders are puniſhed in the following manner. Perſons convicted of high treaſon are either beheaded or impriſoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their noſtrils torn, and their faces marked, as I have juſt deſcribed, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerſhinſk. Petty offenders are either whipped *, tranſported into Siberia as coloniſts, or ſentenced to hard labour for a ſtated period. Among the coloniſts are included peaſants, who may be arbitrarily conſigned by their maſters to baniſhment †.

All theſe perſons, felons and others, are tranſported in ſpring and autumn from different parts of the Ruſſian dominions. They travel part of the way by water, and part by land; are chained in pairs, and faſtened to a long rope: at night they are carried to different cottages, and guarded by the ſoldiers who conduct them.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; at the bottom $\frac{1}{2}$. —Thickneſs $\frac{1}{8}$.—Length of the plaited whip 2 feet.—Circumference of ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Diameter of the ring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{8}$.—Length of the leather ſpring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$.—Length of the handle 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and $\frac{1}{8}$.—Weight 11 ounces.

The reader will judge of the great force which the ſkilful executioner can give to this inſtrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can diſpatch the criminal by ſtriking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

* There are three inſtruments for whipping in Ruſſia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their maſters are empowered to inflict this puniſhment, only aſſigning the cauſe of the offence.

When the whole troop arrive at Tobolſk, the governor aſſigns the coloniſts who have been bred to handicraft trades to different maſters in the town; others he diſpoſes as vaſſals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the coloniſts go on to Irkutſk, where they are diſpoſed of by the governor of that town in the ſame manner. The felons then proceed alone to the diſtrict of Nerſhinſk; where they are condemned to work in the ſilver mines, or at the different forges."

The Empreſs's Anſwers to Mr. Coxe's *Queries on the State of the Ruſſian Priſons.*

" According to the plan I laid down, I viſited the Ruſſian priſons at Moſcow and Peterſburgh, of which I have already given an ample account in a former publication *. In this place I ſhall only remark in general, that the empreſs, being informed of my reſearches in relation to priſons, with a condeſcenſion peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-preſident of the admiralty, a liſt of queries, with reſpect to ſome of which I received information, by her orders, from her beſt-informed governors †, and others ſhe even condeſcended to anſwer herſelf. The latter I ſhall here ſubjoin, with a full conviction, that obſervations even of leſs moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

Queries upon the Ruſſian priſons, delivered to the empreſs.

1. *Is there any general plan for the conſtruction of priſons, and their interior diſtribution? and are they uſually ſituated in the ſuburbs, and near the running water?*

2. *What precautions are taken, in order to keep the priſons clean, and to prevent epidemical diſtempers?*

3. *Is there a ſeparate infirmary for the ſick?*

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons alſo ſeparated from each other?*

Anſwers dictated by the empreſs to her ſecretary, and ſent to the author.

1. " There has been hitherto no " general plan for the conſtruction " of priſons, nor rules for their diſ- " tribution and ſituation.

2. " There is no more regula- " tion for the cleanlineſs of the " priſons, than for their conſtruc- " tion and ſituation. By an abuſe " favourable to the priſoners, they " are in many places permitted to " go to the baths. It is probable " that the cold alone prevents epi- " demical diſorders.

3. " Not every where.

4. " Although it is preſcribed " by the ancient laws that a felon, " when he is ſentenced to death, " ſhall be kept in a ſeparate room,

* Account of the Priſons and Hoſpitals in Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c.

† I have made uſe of theſe papers in the treatiſe mentioned in the laſt note.

" called the chamber of repentance,
" nevertheleſs, there are nowhere
" chambers of that deſcription.

5. Are the priſoners permitted to purchaſe ſpirituous liquors, and do the jailers ſell them?

5. " Every ſpecies of food is
" ſold in the priſons, but the jailer
" cannot ſell ſpirituous liquors, and
" that for two reaſons: Firſt, be-
" cauſe ſpirituous liquors can only
" be ſold by thoſe who farm the
" right of vending them from the
" crown; Secondly, what is very
" extraordinary, there are no jail-
" ers * to any of the priſons, al-
" though the laws make mention
" of them.

6. Are female criminals put in irons?

6. " The laws are ſilent upon
" this head. So that whenever
" this cuſtom is practiſed, it muſt
" be reckoned among thoſe innu-
" merable abuſes, which ought to
" be aboliſhed †.

7. Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in caſe of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?

7. " Criminals condemned to
" public labour are tranſported:
" for murder they are branded in
" the face with an hot iron, &c.
" ſome are chained, others have
" their noſtrils torn; and, unleſs
" upon a general or particular am-
" neſty, they receive no mitigation.

8. Are there fixed times and places in the ſeveral provinces for the trial of criminals?

8. " The laws ſettled indeed
" certain times for this purpoſe;
" but, as a great quantity of differ-
" ent affairs and trials were decided
" in the ſame tribunal, the courts
" of criminal juſtice were very di-
" latory in their proceedings.
" See the manifeſto of 1775, at
" the head of the Regulations ‡,
" &c."

* The priſoners are guarded by ſoldiers.

† The original paſſage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal tranſlation:

" Les loix paſſent ſous ſilence ce point: ainſi ce que pourroit ſe faire à cet
" égard peut être compté parmi l'inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus ſont
" pour la plupart autant de cloux qu'il faut tirer du corps politique de l'etat où
" on les trouve."

‡ Reglements de ſa Maj. Imp. pour l'Adminiſtration des Gouvernements, &c.

" New

" New Plan for the Ruſſian Priſons, " to be introduced into each go- " vernment.

1. " To divide the priſons into " civil and criminal. 2. The cri- " minal priſon ſhall be diſtributed " into three parts. The firſt, for " criminals before and during trial; " the ſecond, for perſons ſentenced " to confinement for a ſtated time; " and the third, for felons capitally " convicted, condemned to perpe- " tual impriſonment, or to the pub- " lic works. 3. Each part ſhall be " ſeparated, one for the men, the " other for the women. 4. There " ſhall be an infirmary for ſick pri- " ſoners. 5. The priſon ſhall be " conſtructed without the town, in " an airy ſituation, and near the " water."

It cannot be otherwiſe than a ſubject of pleaſing reflection to the reader, that this great princeſs thus condeſcends to contemplate and alleviate the ſufferings of even the wretched victims to public juſtice; but how much more will the veneration for her be increaſed, when he conſiders her as erecting the glorious ſuperſtructure of national happineſs on the firm baſis of equal legiſlation!

The empreſs, at her acceſſion, found the Ruſſian code of laws a rude and indigeſted chaos; and ſaw the immediate neceſſity of amending and reforming it. The courts of juſtice were regulated by the ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch*, extremely defective both as to order and preciſion, and by the *ukaſes*, or imperial mandates, iſſued by Peter and his ſucceſſors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

The vaſt empire of Ruſſia was diſtributed into a few extenſive governments: each government was ſubdivided into provinces, and each province into diſtricts, or circles. Over each government was appointed a governor; over the provinces a vayvode and his officers, who formed a chancery; and over the diſtricts an inferior vayvode, or a kind of juſtice of peace. The abuſes which reſulted from this diſtribution are ſufficiently detailed in the following paſſage, from the manifeſto of the empreſs, prefixed to the firſt part of the new code †.

" We find that many governments " are not ſufficiently provided with " tribunals or officers of juſtice in " proportion to their extent; that " not only the affairs of the treaſury " and of the police, but alſo the ci- " vil and criminal cauſes, are tried " in the ſame court in which the

* The earlieſt regular code of written laws was formed, in 1542, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. from precedents and ancient cuſtoms.

The ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly compoſed from the above-mentioned code, from the mandates of the ſovereigns ſubſequent to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. from the deciſions of the boiars, who in thoſe times preſided in the high courts of juſtice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts iſſued by the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople. The new ſtatutes, compiled from theſe ſources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the tzar's preſence, were printed, and a copy ſent into each province.

See Statuta Moſchovitica in Herberſteini Itin. in Moſchoviam; alſo Von Juſtiz-Weſen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

† Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. VII.

" adminiſtration

"adminiſtration of government is "carried on. Nor are the provinces "and diſtricts in theſe ſame governments leſs ſubject to ſimilar inconveniencies, as the ſole chancery of "the vayvode is the only court which "has cognizance of ſo many and "ſuch different affairs. The diſorders reſulting from theſe circumſtances are but too evident: on "one ſide delays, omiſſions, and "vexations, are the natural conſequences of ſo incongruous and defective a conſtitution; where one "buſineſs impedes another, and "where the impoſſibility of terminating matters ſo various in the "ſole chancery of the vayvode, occaſions procraſtination, neglect of "duty, and admits only a partial "diſpatch of buſineſs; on the other "ſide, theſe delays generate chicanery, and encourage the commiſſion of crimes, becauſe the puniſhment does not follow the tranſgreſſion of the laws with that celerity which is neceſſary to repreſs "and ſtrike terror into offenders, "while the endleſs appeals * from "one court to another, are perpetual obſtructions to juſtice."

But the greateſt evil to the lower claſs of people was derived from the enormous authority of the inferior vayvode, who, though uſually a perſon of low birth, and totally ignorant of the laws, yet could not only impoſe puniſhment for petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knoot, of inflicting torture, and of tranſporting to Siberia. Hence perſons ſuſpected of crimes were detained in priſon ſeveral years without being brought to a final trial; were applied to the torture without ſufficient proof, and frequently more than once.

Many ſovereigns ſubſequent to Alexèy Michaelovitch, and particularly Peter I. had framed the project for amending and reforming the Ruſſian juriſprudence, but had never carried it into execution: the completion of this arduous undertaking was reſerved for Catharine II. who, in 1767, ſummoned deputies to Moſcow from every part of her extenſive dominions, and having appointed commiſſioners for compoſing a new code of laws, delivered to them her Grand Inſtructions †, which had been previouſly compoſed by her imperial majeſty in the true ſpirit of genuine legiſlation. In conformity to theſe inſtructions, the firſt part of a new code made its appearance in 1775, and a ſecond part in 1780; and has been received in many of the new governments into which the Ruſſiam empire has

* The manifeſto of the empreſs enumerates the following inſtances of appeal in the affairs relative to commerce, as well as all cauſes of merchants or burghers. "A perſon, not content with the deciſion by oral judgment, could carry his "cauſe before the magiſtrate of the town, from whoſe ſentence he might appeal "to the magiſtrate of the province, from him ſucceſſively to the magiſtrate of the "government, to the ſuperior magiſtrate, and laſtly to the ſenate." Ibid. p. VIII.

† "Inſtructions de Chatharine II. Pour la Commiſſion chargé de dreſſer le "Projet d'un Nouveau Code de Loix." St. Pet. 1769.

Theſe inſtructions have been tranſlated into moſt modern languages, and into Engliſh by Tatiſchef, a Ruſſian gentleman; to which is prefixed, a deſcription of the manner of opening the commiſſion, with the order and rules for electing the commiſſioners appoined to fraine a new code of laws. See The Grand Inſtructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

been

been lately divided. Many of the abuſes, as well thoſe above enumerated as others of no leſs moment, have been removed by theſe new inſtitutions; and many of them ſtill exiſting will be aboliſhed, if the empreſs has time to complete the ſyſtem.

As an ample detail of theſe regulations falls not within the compaſs of the preſent work, nor within the capacity of the author, it is to be hoped that the curioſity of the public will be in ſome meaſure gratified by the enumeration of the moſt ſtriking peculiarities in this extenſive plan; which has changed and modified the whole ſyſtem of government.

The empire, which had been divided by Peter the Great into nine extenſive governments, is now diſtributed into a larger number*, each upon an average containing only from 3 to 400,000 ſouls. One or more of theſe governments is ſuper-intended by a nameſtnick, or lord-lieutenant, and each of them has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, ſome of whoſe members are appointed by the ſovereign, and the others are choſen by the nobles. By this inſtitution Catherine has, in ſome inſtances, ſet bounds to her abſolute prerogative, by diminiſhing the power of thoſe tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, by tranſferring it to the nobles, and inveſting them with many additional privileges with reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice. As ſhe has introduced likewiſe into each government ſuperior tribunals, whoſe deciſion is final, ſhe has prevented, by theſe means, frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Peterſburgh and Moſcow, which were attended with conſiderable expence and delay. By eſtabliſhing or ſeparating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the ſame place, ſhe has facilitated the diſpatch of buſineſs, and rendered the adminiſtration of juſtice more ſpeedy. She has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, who before, from the narrowneſs of their income, were neceſſarily expoſed to almoſt irreſiſtible temptations from bribery: or, to uſe her own expreſſions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your neceſſities might

* The firſt provinces erected into governments, according to the new inſtitution, were Tver and Smolenſko, in January 1776. Thoſe which have been ſince eſtabliſhed, either before or during my reſidence in Ruſſia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Pleſcof, Yareſlaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotſk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Reſan, Volodimir, Koſtroma, and Orel, in December 1778.

By the lateſt accounts from Peterſburgh, the governments were ranged in the following manner:

1. Moſcow. 2. Peterſburgh. 3. Wiburgh. 4. Tver. 5. Nivogorod. 6. Pleſkof. 7. Smolenſko. 8. Mohilef. 9. Polotſk. 10. Orel. 11. Kurſk. 12. Karkof. 13. Voronetz. 14. Tamboſ. 15. Reſan. 16. Tula. 17. Kaluga. 18. Yaroſlaf. 19. Vologda. 20. Vladimir. 21. Koſtroma. 22. Niſhnei Novogorod. 23. Viatka. 24. Permia. 25. Tobolſk. 26. Kolyvan. 27. Irkutſk. 28. Ufa. 29. Simbirſk. 30. Caſan. 31. Penza. 32. Saratof. 33. Aſtracan. 34. Azof. 35. New-Ruſſia. 36. Little-Ruſſia. 37. Kiof. 38. Tchernigof. 39. Livonia, or Riga. 40. Eſthonia, or Reval. 41. Novogorod-Severſkoi. 42. Orenburgh.

"have

" have induced you to be too atten-
" tive to your own intereſts: your
" country now pays your labours;
" and what before might admit of
" ſome excuſe, from this moment
" becomes a crime." She has conſiderably increaſed the expences of the crown in each government*, without increaſing the taxes; which ſhe has been enabled to perform by introducing a more regular order into the finances.

To theſe regulations muſt be added the abolition of torture; the ſettling the proper boundaries between the ſeveral governments, which has prevented many diſſenſions and law-ſuits; the appointment of regular phyſicians and ſurgeons, ſtationed in various diſtricts, at the crown's expence; the foundation of ſchools for the education of the nobility, others for children of perſons of inferior rank; the eſtabliſhment or augmentation of new ſeminaries for thoſe intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate, with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberleſs vaſſals of the crown; and facilitating the means of giving liberty to the peaſants."

Anecdote of the Ducheſs of Queenſberry; *extracted from the Life of Mrs.* Bellamy, *written by herſelf.*

"I Had likewiſe, about this period†, the happineſs to acquire the approbation and patronage of two ladies of the firſt diſtinction: the late ducheſs of Montague, then lady Cardigan, and her grace of Queenſberry. Both theſe ladies favoured me with their ſupport, ſo far as to grace the theatre whenever I performed. An attention which was the more flattering, as the latter had not honoured a play-houſe ſince the death of her favourite Gay.

" As Mr. Rich could not afford, from the receipts of the theatre, to allow me a ſalary equal to the ſucceſs I met with, and the capital parts I performed, he gave me a benefit free of all expences, upon one of his own nights, in order to prevent diſcord in the company. Though the public appeared to be much intereſted in my favour, yet as I had but few friends, except thoſe who out of civility to Mr. Quin eſpouſed my intereſt, I had very little reaſon to expect that it would prove lucrative.

" Some days before that fixed for my benefit, I received a meſſage whilſt I was at the theatre, to be at Queenſberry-houſe the next day by twelve o'clock. As I thought it likewiſe incumbent on me to wait on the counteſs of Cardigan, who had honoured me with equal marks of approbation, I dreſſed myſelf early, and taking a chair, went firſt to Privy-Garden. I had there every reaſon to be pleaſed with the reception her ladyſhip gave me, who joined politeneſs to every virtue.

" But at Queenſberry-houſe my reception was far otherwiſe. Her Grace was determined to mortify my vanity, before ſhe promoted my intereſt. Quite elated with lady Cardigan's flattering behaviour, I ordered the chairmen to proceed to Queenſberry-houſe. Soon after the

* The expences of the government of Tver amount to £. 24,000 per annum; and the revenues to £. 175,000.

† The period when Mrs. Bellamy firſt came upon the ſtage.

rat-tat

rat-tat had been given, and my name announced to the porter, the groom of the chambers appeared, I desired him to acquaint her Grace, that I was come to wait upon her. But how was I surprized, when he returned and informed me, that her Grace knew no such person! my astonishment at this message was greatly augmented, by the certainty I entertained of a ready admittance. I assured the domestic, that it was by the duchess's own directions I had taken the liberty to wait on her. To which he replied, that there must have been some mistake in the delivery of it. In this mortifying situation, I had nothing to do but to return home. Ludicrous and humiliating as the foregoing scene must be, I cannot avoid relating it, as it may serve as a lesson to many, who too readily give way to the impulses of vanity. Young minds are naturally prone to it; mine consequently was. And this well-timed rebuke, however grating, was the greatest piece of regard her Grace could have given me.

"I went home with no very pleasing sensations, as I expected to receive the taunts of a female relation upon the occasion, who had lately arrived from Ireland, and on whom my mother doated. As this person will be frequently mentioned in the course of my narrative, and was the cause of many of the inconveniencies I afterwards suffered, it may not be amiss to acquaint you, that her deformed body was a fit receptacle for her depraved mind.

"According to Hogarth's rules, indeed, her person may be said to abound in all the graces annexed to the idea of beauty, as she had not a straight line about her. And her mind was no less crooked than her body. She had taken a dislike to me on her first coming over, but for what reason I cannot account; and her aversion seemed to increase with my success on the stage. To such a height was it now risen, that it was the cause of much unhappiness to me: so that I was at length obliged to complain to Mrs. Jackson, who requested my mother to provide for her elsewhere, but without effect.

"According to my expectations, I had no sooner returned from Queensbery-house, and informed my mother of the reception I met with there, than this relation persuaded her that the invitation was merely a chimera of my own brain, generated by my insupportable vanity. So virulent was her behaviour, that in order to avoid her sarcasms, I pretended business at the theatre, in the evening, and went there.

"Upon my entering the green-room I was accosted by Prince Lobkowitz, who was then here in a public character, requesting a box at my benefit, for the *corps diplomatique*. After thanking his highness for the honour intended me, I informed him they might be accommodated with a stage-box, and sending for the house-keeper, desired he would make an entry in his book to this purpose. But how great was my surprize, when he acquainted me I had not a box to dispose of; every one, except those of the countess of Cardigan, the duchess dowager of Leeds, and lady Shaftesbury, being retained for her grace the duchess of Queensberry! I could not help thinking but the man was joking, as he himself brought me the message from her grace the night before, and that I had found to be a deception. He however still persisted in what he said; and further added, that

that the ducheſs had likewiſe ſent for two hundred and fifty tickets. This made me more at a loſs to account for the cavalier treatment I had received in the morning.

"His highneſs prince Lobkowitz condeſcended to put up with a balcony for himſelf and friends; and I haſtened home, at once to make known to my mother my good fortune, and to retaliate on my inimical relation. To add to my ſatisfaction, when I got home, I found a note from her grace, deſiring I would wait upon her the next morning. This being ſuch an evident proof of my veracity, which it had given me inexpreſſible uneaſineſs to have doubted, I experienced proportionable pleaſure from it.

"I was, notwithſtanding, ſo apprehenſive of meeting with a ſecond mortification, that I determined to walk to Queenſberry-houſe, to prevent any perſon's being a witneſs to it, ſhould it happen. I accordingly ſet out on foot, and was not totally free from perturbation when I knocked at the gate. I was, however, immediately uſhered into her grace's apartment, where my reception was as ſingular as my treatment had been the day before; her grace thus accoſting me: "Well, young "woman!—What buſineſs had you "in a chair yeſterday?—It was a "fine morning, and you might "have walked. You look as you "ought to do now." (obſerving my linen gown) "Nothing is ſo "vulgar as wearing ſilk in a morning.—Simplicity beſt becomes "youth. And you don't ſtand in "need of ornaments.—Therefore "dreſs always plain, except when "you are upon the ſtage."

"Whilſt her grace was talking in this manner to me, ſhe was cleaning a picture, which I officiouſly requeſting her permiſſion to do, ſhe haſtily replied, "Don't you "think I have domeſtics enough, if "I did not chuſe to do it myſelf;—I apologized for my preſumption, by informing her grace that I had been for ſome time at Jones's, where I had been flattered that I had acquired a tolerable proficiency in that art. The ducheſs on this exclaimed, "are you the girl I have "heard Cheſterfield ſpeak of?" Upon my anſwering I had the honour of being known to his Lordſhip, ſhe ordered a canvas bag to be taken out of her cabinet, ſaying, "Queenſ-"berry can give no perſon leſs than "gold. There are a hundred and "fifty guineas, and twenty for the "duke's tickets and mine, but I "muſt give you ſomething for Ty-"rawley's ſake." She then took a bill from her pocket book, which having put into my hands, ſhe told me her coach was ordered to carry me home, leſt any accident ſhould happen to me now I had ſuch a charge about me.

"Though the concluſion of her grace's whim, as it might be juſtly termed, was more pleaſing than the beginning of it, and her munificence much greater than that of the counteſs of Cardigan, yet I muſt acknowledge I was much better pleaſed with the reception I met with from her ladyſhip, who honoured me with her protection whilſt I continued on the ſtage."

A Prayer directed by the Brahmins *to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the* Shanſcrit *Language, and tranſlated by* C. W. Boughton Rouſe, *Eſq; from a* Perſic *Verſion of* Dara Shekoo,

koo, *a Son of* Shah Jehan, *Emperor of* Hindoſtan. *From the Inſtitutes of the* Great Timour, *improperly called* Tamerlane, *publiſhed by* Joſ. White, *B. D. &c. &c.*

O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy majeſty and in thy diſpleaſure. I reverence thy arrows, which convey deſtruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou beſtoweſt joy, and doeſt away all ſins.

O thou, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, diſpel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful, and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain ſecure under thy guardianſhip and protection. Thou art the great phyſician of phyſicians! heal thou my infirmities; diſperſe my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I reverence thee in the ſun, which is thy image, whilſt it ſcatters a hundred thouſand vivifying rays over the univerſe; whilſt in meridian brightneſs it diffuſes gladneſs; nor leſs when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence Him who is the ſource of joy to living creatures, whoſe nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increaſe of age. —To Him and all that ſprings from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O Ruder, ſtring thy bow to defend me from all my open or ſecret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to deſtroy them. When thou haſt deſtroyed my enemies and unſtrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewiſe may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needeſt not to ſtring the bow, nor to ſharpen the points of arrows. Thou needeſt not the ſword like other ſwords, to accompliſh thy purpoſes. O thou who canſt fulfil deſires, whoſe deſign no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every ſide, and drive my enemies far from me.

O Ruder, thy arm is like ſhining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All cauſes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cauſe of cauſes. Thou art ſpace. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art lord of all the beaſts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the guide. Every light that ſhines is thy light. Thou entereſt into all: thou ſuſtaineſt all.

O puniſher of thoſe who go aſtray, O Lord of life, O pureſt of beings! terrify not thy creatures, ſtrike them not, deſtroy them not: nor let even one of them ſuffer pain from thee. O thou, who giveſt ſtrength to the feeble and medicines to the ſick; grant me thy ſupport, that I may enjoy health and live. O Ruder, turn my underſtanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beſeech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beaſt, in quiet and ſecurity. Preſerve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with ſickneſs: do thou, Ruder, give them health, and drive diſeaſes far from them. We all come before thee in ſupplication. Grant unto us all thoſe bleſſings, which our fathers aſked

aſked of thee for us, when they were deſirous of bringing us into exiſtence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in ſacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou ſource of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wanteſt nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employeſt thy arms for my ſecurity, who haſt thouſands of thouſands of weapons; ſcatter my enemies, and deſtroy them: for thou, Ruder, art ſupreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth: which ſhew themſelves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various ſpecies of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the ſupport of life. Thou, who deſtroyeſt all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidſt the guardians of the high-ways and in the places of worſhip; in all thou art the infinite Ruder: in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to diſarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the eaſt, ten times toward the ſouth, ten times toward the weſt, and ten times toward the north, I bow myſelf before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the eaſt, ten times toward the ſouth, ten times toward the weſt, ten times toward the north, and ten times with my eyes on heaven above, I bow myſelf before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whoſe arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Every one of theſe is Ruder, whoſe infinite power I reverence: Ruder, whoſe fulneſs is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that ſhall be, it is He.

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the Judger Bede: *to which it may be curious to ſubjoin a Deſcription of* Ruder, *to whom it is addreſſed, as contained in another ſacred Book, intitled the* Atherbun Bede.

THE angels having aſſembled themſelves in heaven before Ruder, made obeiſance and aſked him, O Ruder, what art thou? Ruder replied, Were there any other I would deſcribe myſelf by ſimilitude. I always was, I always am, and always ſhall be. There is no other, ſo that I can ſay to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward eſſence, and the exterior ſubſtance of all things. I am the primitive cauſe of all. All things that exiſt in the eaſt, or weſt, or north, or ſouth, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are tranſcendant. I am truth. I am the ſpirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four Bedes *. I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the firſt, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpoſe do I exiſt, that whoſoever knows me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their

* The ſacred writings of the Hindoos in the *Shanſcrit* language.

ordinances. And whoſoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will underſtand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to thoſe who practiſe virtue, will I give fulneſs and tranquillity.

Ruder having pronounced theſe words to the angels, was abſorbed in his own brightneſs.

POETRY

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1784.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Esq*; *Poet Laureat.*

ENOUGH of arms—to happier ends
Her forward view Britannia bends,
The generous hosts who grasp'd the sword
Obedient to her awful word,
Tho' martial glory cease;
Shall now with equal industry,
Like Rome's brave sons when Rome was free,
Resume the arts of peace.
O come! ye toil-worn wanderers! come!
To genial hearths, and social home,
The tender housewife's busy care,
The board with temperate plenty crown'd,
And smiling progeny around,
That listen to the tale of war!
Yet be not war the favorite theme,
For what has war with bliss to do?
Teach them more justly that to deem,
And own experience taught it you;
Teach them 'tis in the will of fate,
Their frugal industry alone
Can make their country truly great,
And in her bliss secure their own!
Be all the songs that soothe their toil,
And bid the brow of labour smile;
When through the loom the shuttle glides,
Or shining share the glebe divides;
Or, bending to the woodman's stroke,
To waft her commerce, falls the British oak!
Be all their songs that soften these,
Of calm content, and future well-earn'd ease!
Nor dread, lest inborn spirit die!
One glorious lesson early taught;
Will all the boasted pow'rs supply,
Of practis'd rules, and studied thought!

From

From the firſt dawn of reaſon's ray,
On the young boſom's yielding clay,
Strong be their country's love impreſs'd,
And let your own example fire their breaſt;
Tell them, 'tis their's to graſp the ſword
If Britain gives the awful word;
To bleed, to die, in Britain's cauſe,
And guard, from faction nobly free,
Their birth-right bleſſing, liberty;
True liberty that loves the law.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1784.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat.*

HAIL to the day whoſe beams, again
Returning, claim the choral ſtrain,
And bid us breathe our annual vows
To the firſt pow'r that Britain knows;
The power which, though itſelf reſtrain'd,
And ſubject to that juſt controul
Which many an arduous conflict gain'd,
Connects, unites, and animates the whole.

Yon radiant ſun, whoſe central force
Winds back each planet's vagrant courſe,
And through the ſyſtems holds imperial ſway,
Bound by the ſame inherent laws,
Even whilſt it ſeems the active cauſe,
Promotes the gen'ral good, as much confin'd as they.

That wond'rous plan, through ages ſought,
Which elder Egypt never taught,
Nor Greece with all her letter'd lore,
Nor ſtruggling Rome could e'er explore,
Though many a form of rule ſhe try'd:
That wond'rous plan has Britain found,
Which curbs licentiouſneſs and pride,
Yet leaves true liberty without a wound.

The fierce Plantagenets beheld
It's growing ſtrength, and deign'd to yield;
Th' imperious Tudors frown'd, and felt aggriev'd;
Th' unhappy race whoſe faults we mourn,
Delay'd awhile it's wiſh'd return,
Till Brunſwick perfected what Naſſau had atchiev'd.

From that bright æra of renown
Aſtrea walks the world again;
Her fabled form the nations own,
With all th' attendant bleſſings in her train.

Hark! with what gen'ral loud acclaim
They venerate the Britiſh name,
When forms of rule are in the balance weigh'd;
And pour their torrents of applauſe
On the fair iſle, whoſe equal laws
Controul the ſceptre, and protect the ſpade.

The triple chain, which binds them faſt,
Like Homer's golden one, deſcends from Jove:
Long may the ſacred union laſt,
And the mix'd pow'rs in mutual concert move,
Each temp'ring each, and liſt'ning to the call
Of genuine public good, bleſt ſource and end of all!

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1785.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Eſq; Poet Laureat.*

DELUSIVE is the poet's dream,
Or does prophetic truth inſpire
The zeal which prompts the glowing theme,
And animates th' according lyre?

Truſt the Muſe: her eye commands
Diſtant times and diſtant lands;
Thro' burſting clouds in opening ſkies
Sees from diſcord union riſe,
And friendſhip bind unwilling foes
In firmer ties than duty knows.

Torn rudely from its parent tree,
Yon ſcion riſing in the weſt
Will ſoon its genuine glory ſee,
And court again the foſtering breaſt,
Whoſe nurture gave its powers to ſpread,
And feel their force, and lift an alien head.
The parent tree, when ſtorms impend,
Shall own affection's warmth again,
Again its foſt'ring aid ſhall lend,
Nor hear the ſuppliant plead in vain;

Shall ſtretch protecting branches round,
Extend the ſhelter, and forget the wound.

Two Britains thro' th' admiring world
Shall wing their way with ſails unfurl'd,
Each from the other kindred ſtate
Avert, by turns, the bolts of fate;
And acts of mutual amity endear
The Tyre and Carthage of a wider ſphere.

When Rome's divided eagles flew,
And different thrones her empire knew,
The varying language ſoon disjoin'd
The boaſted maſters of mankind.
But here no ills like thoſe we fear,
No varying language threatens here:
Congenial worth, congenial flame,
Their manners and their arts the ſame,
To the ſame tongue ſh ll glowing themes afford,
And Britiſh heroes act, and Britiſh bards record.

Fly ſwift ye years, ye minutes haſte,
And in the future loſe the paſt;
O'er many a thought-affecting tale,
Oblivion, caſt thy friendly veil;
Let not memory breathe a ſigh,
Or backward turn th' indignant eye;
Nor the inſidious arts of foes
Enlarge the breach, that longs to cloſe;
But acts of amity alone inſpire
Firm faith and cordial love, and wake the willing lyre.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1785.

By the Rev. T. WARTON, *Poet Laureat.*

I.

TRUE glory ſcorns the pride of war,
Nor ſits in conqueſt's echoing car,
Nor bids the ſword her bays bequeath,
Nor ſtains with blood her brighteſt wreath;
No plumed hoſt her tranquil triumphs own;
Nor ſpoils of murder'd multitudes ſhe brings
To ſwell the ſtate of her diſtinguiſh'd kings,
And deck her choſen throne.

On that fair throne, to Britain dear,
With the flow'ring olive twin'd,
High ſhe hangs the hero's ſpear;
And there, with all the palms of peace combin'd,
Her unpolluted hands the milder trophy rear.
To Kings like theſe, her genuine theme,
The Muſe a blameleſs homage pays;
To GEORGE, of kings like theſe ſupreme,
She wiſhes honour'd length of days,
Nor proſtitutes the tribute of her lays.

II.

'Tis his to bid neglected genius glow,
And teach the regal bounty how to flow.
His tutelary ſceptre's ſway
The vindicated arts obey,
And hail their patron-king;
'Tis his, to judgment's ſteady line
Their flights fantaſtic to confine,
And yet expand their wing:
The fleeting forms of faſhion to reſtrain,
And bind capricious taſte in truth's eternal chain.
Sculpture, licentious now no more,
From Greece her great example takes;
With nature's warmth the marble wakes,
And ſpurns the toys of modern lore;
In native beauty, ſimply plann'd,
Corinth, thy tufted ſhafts aſcend;
The graces guide the painter's hand,
His magic mimicry to blend.

III.

While ſuch the gifts his reign beſtows,
Amid the proud diſplay,
Thoſe gems around the throne he throws
That ſhed a ſofter ray:
While from the ſummits of ſublime renown
He wafts his favour's univerſal gale,
With thoſe ſweet flowers he binds a crown
That bloom in virtue's humble vale:
With rich munificence the nuptial tye
Unbroken he combines:—
Conſpicuous in a nation's eye,
The ſacred pattern ſhines!
Fair ſcience to reform, reward, and raiſe;
To ſpread the luſtre of domeſtic praiſe;
To foſter emulation's holy flame;
To build ſociety's majeſtic frame;

Mankind to poliſh and to teach,
Be this the monarch's aim;
Above ambition's giant reach
The monarch's meed to claim.

The EXORDIUM *of* Jaumi's *Poem, entitled,* "EUSOOF *and* ZOOLLEIKHA." *From* THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR, &c.

By Major DAVY.

IN the name of him whoſe name is the refuge of the ſouls *of the faithful*;
Whoſe praiſe is the ornament of eloquent tongues.
The moſt high, the only God, the eternal, the omniſcient;
He who beſtoweth ſtrength and *power* on the feeble *and the helpleſs*.
The heavens he illumines with multitudes of conſtellations;
And with the human race he decorateth the earth, as with ſtars.
He who prepared the vaulted roof of the revolving ſphere,
Who raiſed up the quadruple fold of the elements.
He who gives fragrance to the boſom of the roſe-bud,
And ornamenteth the parent-ſhrub with wreaths of flowers.
He weaveth the garment for the brides of the ſpring,
And teacheth the graceful cypreſs to erect his head on the border *of the lake*.
He crowneth with ſucceſs the virtuous intention,
And humbleth the pride of the ſelf-conceited.
He accompanies the ſolitude of thoſe who watch the midnight *taper*;
He paſſeth the day with the children of affliction.
From the ſea of his bounty iſſues the vernal cloud,
Which waters alike the thorn and the jeſſamine.
From the repoſitory of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal gale,
Which beſpangles with gold the carpet of the garden.
It is his preſence that enflameth the orb of day,
From whence every atom derives its light.
Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries of the world,
Their *mighty* ſpheres would deſcend quick into the area of annihilation;
From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,
Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination,
Whether we deſcend, or haſten upwards,
We ſhall not diſcover one atom uninfluenced by his power.
Wiſdom is confounded in the contemplation of his eſſence;
The inveſtigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.
The angels bluſh at their want of comprehenſion;
And the heavens are aſtoniſhed at their own motion.

Tranſlation

Tranſlation of a Hymn to CAMDEO, *the Hindoo God of Love.*
By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

WHAT potent God, from *Agra*'s orient bow'rs,
Floats thro' the lucid air, whilſt living flow'rs
With ſunny twine the vocal arbours wreathe,
And gales enamour'd heavenly fragrance breathe?
Hail, pow'r unknown! for at thy beck
Vales and groves their boſoms deck,
And every laughing bloſſom dreſſes
With gems of dew his muſky treſſes.
I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine,
And hallow thee and kiſs thy ſhrine.

"Knowſt thou not me?" Celeſtial ſounds I hear?
"Knowſt thou not me?" Ah, ſpare a mortal ear!
"Behold"—My ſwimming eyes entranc'd I raiſe,
But oh! they ſhrink before th' exceſſive blaze.
Yes, ſon of *Maya*, yes, I know
Thy bloomy ſhafts and cany bow,
Cheeks with youthful glory beaming,
Locks in braids ethereal ſtreaming,
Thy ſcaly ſtandard, thy myſterious arms,
And all thy pains and all thy charms.

God of each lovely ſight, each lovely ſound,
Soul-kindling, world-inflaming, ſtar-ycrown'd,
Eternal *Cama!* Or doth *Smara* bright,
Or proud *Ananga*, give thee more delight?
Whate'er thy ſeat, whate'er thy name,
Seas, earth, and air, thy reign proclaim:
Wreathy ſmiles, and roſeate pleaſures,
Are thy richeſt, ſweeteſt treaſures.
All animals to thee their tribute bring,
And hail thee univerſal king.

Thy conſort mild, *Affection* ever true,
Graces thy ſide, her veſt of glowing hue,
And in her train twelve blooming girls advance,
Touch golden ſtrings, and knit the mirthful dance.
Thy dreaded implements they bear,
And wave them in the ſcented air;
Each with pearls her neck adorning,
Brighter than the tears of morning.
Thy crimſon enſign, which before them flies,
Decks with new ſtars the ſapphire ſkies.

God

God of the flow'ry ſhafts and flow'ry bow,
Delight of all above and all below!
Thy lov'd companion, conſtant from his birth,
In heaven clep'd *Beſſent*, and gay *Spring* on earth,
Weaves thy green robe and flaunting bow'rs,
And from thy clouds draws balmy ſhow'rs;
He with freſh arrows fills thy quiver,
(Sweet the gift and ſweet the giver!)
And bids the many-plumed warbling throng
Burſt the pent bloſſoms with their ſong.

He bends the luſcious cane, and twiſts the ſtring
With bees how ſweet! but ah, how keen their ſting!
He with five flow'rets tips thy ruthleſs darts,
Which thro' five ſenſes pierce enraptur'd hearts:
Strong *Chumpa*, rich in od'rous gold;
Warm *Amer*, nurs'd in heav'nly mould;
Dry *Nagkeſer* in ſilver ſmiling,
Hot *Kiticum* our ſenſe beguiling;
And laſt, to kindle fierce the ſcorching flame,
Loveſhaft, which Gods bright *Bela* name.

Can men reſiſt thy pow'r, when *Kriſhen* yields,
Kriſhen, who ſtill in *Matra*'s holy fields
Tunes harps immortal, and to ſtrains divine
Dances by moonlight with the *Gopia* nine?
But when thy daring arm untam'd
At *Mahadeo* a loveſhaft aim'd,
Heav'n ſhook, and ſmit with ſtony wonder,
Told his deep dread in burſts of thunder;
Whilſt on thy beauteous limbs an azure fire
Blaz'd forth, which never muſt expire.

O thou for ages born, yet ever young,
For ages may thy *Bramin*'s lay be ſung!
And when thy lory ſpreads his em'rald wings
To waft thee high above the tow'rs of kings,
Whilſt o'er thy throne the moon's pale light
Pours her ſoft radiance thro' the night,
And to each floating cloud diſcovers
The haunts of bleſt or joyleſs lovers,
Thy mildeſt influence to thy bard impart,
To warm, but not conſume, his heart.

MRS. SHERIDAN *on her Brother's Violin.*

"SWEET inſtrument of him for whom I mourn,
"Tuneful companion of my Lycid's hours,

"How

" How lieſt thou now neglected and forlorn,
" What ſkilful hand ſhall now call forth thy pow'rs!

" Ah! none like his can reach thoſe liquid notes,
" So ſoft, ſo ſweet, ſo eloquently clear,
" To live beyond the touch, and gently float
" In dying modulations on the ear."

Thus o'er my Lycid's lyre as I complain'd,
And kiſs'd the ſtrings where he was wont to play;
While yet in penſive ſadneſs I remain'd,
Methought it ſigh'd, and ſighing ſeem'd to ſay,

" Ah! me, forlorn, forſaken, now no more
Shall fame and juſt applauſe around me wait;
No power my gentle Maſter can reſtore,
And I, alas! will ſhare his hapleſs fate.

" Fled is that ſpirit, chill'd that youthful fire
Which taught thoſe ſtrains with harmony replete,
And cold that hand which only can inſpire
My ſenſeleſs form to utter ſounds ſo ſweet.

" Thoſe ſounds melodious ne'er again ſhall pleaſe,
No tuneful ſtrain from me ſhall ever flow;
Save o'er my trembling ſtrings a ſighing breeze,
To call one ſad, ſoft note of tender woe.

" Elſe ah! for ever mute let me remain,
Unſtrung, untun'd, forgotten let me be;
Guard me from curious eye, and touch profane,
And let me reſt in mournful ſympathy!

" One fate with thee, dear Maſter, let me ſhare;
Like thee in ſilent darkneſs let me lie;
My fame without thee is not worth my care!
With thee alone it liv'd, with thee ſhall die!"

Her Brother's Lyre to Mrs. SHERIDAN. *By Mr.* PRATT.

THIS ſaid——a ſolemn ſilence breath'd around,
Cecilia wept upon her Lycid's lyre,
The penſive breeze then gave a ſighing ſound,
And the ſtrings ſeem'd to tremble and expire.

One hollow murmur, like the dying moan,
Was heard to vibrate then, with pauſes ſlow,

From

From the ſad inſtrument, when thus the tone
Gave modulations of a ſofter woe:

"Ceaſe, beauteous Mourner! partner of my grief?
Tuneful aſſociate of my loſt deſpair,
Thou, only thou, canſt bring this breaſt relief;
Thy ſympathy alone can ſoothe my care.

"What though—ah, ſtroke ſevere! our Lycid'sdead,
Nor more, alas! can raviſh mortal ear!
What though the ſoul of melody is fled,
His bleſt attendant, to th' harmonious ſphere,

"Struck by *Cecilia*'s hand I yet may live;
Her magic touch again can tune my frame;
Her cherub voice my ſpirit yet revive,
And ſounds of heavenly ſorrow grace my fame.

"But ſhould nor dulcet ſong, nor muſic's art,
Nor ſocial ſighs, which mourn the youth we love,
Have power to heal the ſiſter's wounded heart,
Nor to theſe chords forlorn a ſolace prove;

"Ah! ſtill together let our ſorrows join,
And this ſad form yet boaſt thy gentle aid;
Lycid's companion ſure ſhould ſtill be thine;
Still ſhould'ſt thou kiſs the ſtrings where he has play'd."

L'AMOUR TIMIDE.

TO —— ——— ———

IF in that breaſt, ſo good, ſo pure,
Compaſſion ever lov'd to dwell,
Pity the ſorrows I endure,
The cauſe—I muſt not—dare not tell.

The grief that on my quiet preys—
That rends my heart—that checks my tongue—
I fear will laſt me all my days,
But feel it will not laſt me long.

SONG.

CEASE to blame my melancholy,
Though with ſighs and folded arms
I muſe with ſilence on her charms;
Cenſure not—I know 'tis folly.

Yet,

Yet, theſe mournful thoughts poſſeſſing,
Such delights I find in grief,
That, could Heaven afford relief,
My fond heart would ſcorn the bleſſing.

VERSES *to the* FEATHERED YOUNG LADIES.

Said to be written by Earl NUGENT.

DEAR, charming girls! in whom I trace
Your once-lov'd mothers thro' their race,
(And ſtill enough of fond deſire
Remains to light chaſte Friendſhip's fire)
Attend! nor let the ear of youth
Deſpiſe the voice of Age and Truth.

Avoid the wild extremes of dreſs;
Virtue and Wiſdom ſhun exceſs;
The boſom bare, the tucker ſlaunting,
Prove ſomething to that boſom wanting;
And lofty heads, in proud attire,
Seldom to better heights aſpire.

With warlike creſt let heroes move!
Men are not bullied into love;
Nor Cupid perch'd upon a feather,
Trembling, can join two hearts together;
With ſurer aim his darts are ſped
From modeſt Nugent's* plumeleſs head.

SONNET. *To a Nightingale.*

From CHARLOTTE SMITH's *Elegiac Sonnets, and other Eſſays.*

POOR melancholy bird, that all night long
Tell'ſt to the moon thy tale of tender woe;
From what ſad cauſe can ſuch ſweet ſorrow flow,
And whence this mournful melody of ſong?

Thy poet's muſing fancy would tranſlate
What mean the ſounds that ſwell thy little breaſt,
When ſtill at dewy eve thou leav'ſt thy neſt,
Thus to the liſtening night to ſing thy fate.

Pale Sorrow's victims wert thou once among,
Tho' now releas'd in woodlands wild to rove,
Or haſt thou felt from friends ſome cruel wrong,
Or dieſt thou martyr of diſaſtrous love?
Ah! ſongſtreſs ſad! that ſuch my lot might be,
To ſigh and ſing at liberty—like thee!

* Now Marchioneſs of Buckingham.

SONNET.

SONNET. *To the South Downs.*

From the ſame work.

AH, hills belov'd! where once, an happy child,
Your beechen ſhades, "your turf, your flowers among,"
I wove your blue-bells into garlands wild,
And woke your echoes with my artleſs ſong.
Ah, hills belov'd! your turf, your flowers remain;
But can they peace to this ſad breaſt reſtore,
For one poor moment ſoothe the ſenſe of pain,
And teach a breaking heart to throb no more?
And you, Aruna! in the vale below,
As to the ſea your limpid waves you bear,
Can you one kind Lethean cup beſtow,
To drink a long oblivion to my care?
Ah, no!—when all, e'en hope's laſt ray is gone,
There's no oblivion—but in death alone!

Extract from THE NEWS PAPER, *a Poem by the Rev.* G. CRABBE, *Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of* RUTLAND.

"BUT Sunday paſt, what numbers* flouriſh then,
What wond'rous labours of the preſs and pen!
Diurnal moſt, ſome thrice each week affords,
Some only once, oh avarice of words!
When thouſand ſtarving minds ſuch manna ſeek,
To drop the precious food but once a week.

"Endleſs it were to ſing the powers of all,
Their names, their numbers; how they riſe and fall;
Like baneful herbs the gazer's eye they ſeize,
Ruſh to the head, and poiſon where they pleaſe;
Like idle flies, a buſy, buzzing train,
They drop their maggots in the weak man's brain;
That genial ſoil receives the fruitful ſtore,
And there they grow and breed a thouſand more.

Now be their arts diſplay'd, how firſt they chooſe
A cauſe and party, as the Bard his Muſe;
Inſpir'd by theſe, with clamorous zeal they cry,
And thro' the town their dreams and omens fly.
So the Sybilline† leaves were blown about,
Diſjointed ſcraps of fate involved in doubt:
So idle dreams, the journals of the night,
Are right and wrong by turns, and mingle wrong with right.

* Viz. of News-papers.

† ——— In foliis deſcripſit carmina Virgo———
——— & tenues turbavit janua frondes. VIRG. Æneid. Lib. iii.

Some champions for the rights that prop the crown,
Some ſturdy patriots, ſworn to pull them down;
Some neutral powers, with ſecret forces fraught,
Wiſhing for war, but willing to be bought;
While ſome to every ſide and party go,
Shift every friend, and join with every foe;
Like ſturdy rogues in privateers they ſtrike
This ſide and that, the foes of both alike;
A traitor crew, who thrive in troubled times,
Fear'd for their force, and courted for their crimes.

" Chief to the proſperous ſide the numbers ſail,
Fickle and falſe, they veer with every gale;
Soon as the chiefs, whom once they chooſe, lie low,
Their praiſe too ſlackens, and their aid moves ſlow;
Not ſo when leagu'd with riſing powers, their rage
Then wounds th' unwary foe, and burns along the page.

" As birds that migrate from a freezing ſhore,
In ſearch of warmer climes, come ſkimming o'er,
Some bold adventurers firſt prepare to try
The doubtful ſunſhine of the diſtant ſky;
But ſoon the growing ſummer's certain ſun
Wins more and more, nor leaves the winter one:
So, on the early proſpect of diſgrace,
Fly in ſucceſſive troops this fluttering race;
Inſtinctive tribes! their failing food they dread,
And buy, with timely change, their future bread.

" Or are there thoſe, who ne'er their friends forſook,
Lur'd by no promiſe, by no danger ſhook?
Then bolder bribes the venal aid procure,
And golden fetters make the faithleſs ſure:
For thoſe who deal in flattery or abuſe,
Will ſell them where they can the moſt produce.

" Such are our guides; how many a peaceful head,
Born to be ſtill, have they to wrangling led!
How many an honeſt zealot ſtol'n from trade,
And factious tools of pious paſtors made!
With clews like theſe they tread the maze of ſtate,
Theſe oracles explore to learn our fate;
Pleas'd with the guides who can ſo well deceive,
Who cannot lye ſo faſt as they believe.

" Oft lend I loth to ſome ſage friend an ear
(For we who will not ſpeak are doom'd to hear)
While he, bewilder'd, tells his anxious thought,
Infectious fear from tainted ſcribblers caught,

Or

Or idiot hope; for each his mind aſſails,
As LLOYD's court light or STOCKDALE's gloom prevails.

" Yet ſtand I patient while but one declaims,
Or gives dull comments on the ſpeech he maims;
But oh! ye Muſes, keep your votary's feet
From tavern haunts where politicians meet;
Where Juſtice, Rector, and Attorney pauſe,
Firſt on each pariſh, then each public cauſe;
Indited roads, and rates that ſtill increaſe;
The murmuring poor, who will not faſt in peace;
Election zeal and friendſhip, ſince declin'd;
A tax commuted, or a tythe in kind;
The Dutch and Germans kindling into ſtrife,
Dull port and poachers vile! the ſerious ills of life.

" Here comes the neighbouring Squire, with gracious air,
To ſtamp opinions, and to take the chair;
In private buſineſs his commands prevail,
On public themes his reaſoning turns the ſcale;
Aſſenting ſilence ſoothes his happy ear,
And, in or out, his party triumphs here.

" Nor here th' infectious rage for party ſtops,
But flits along from palaces to ſhops;
Our weekly journals o'er the land abound,
And ſpread their plagues and influenzas round;
The village too, the peaceful, pleaſant plain,
Breeds the whig-farmer and the tory-ſwain;
Brooks' and St. Alban's boaſts not, but inſtead
Stares the Red Ram, and ſwings the RODNEY's Head:—
Hither, with all a patriot's care, comes he
Who owes the little hut that makes him free;
Whoſe yearly forty ſhillings buy the ſmile
Of mightier men, and never waſte the while;
Who feels his freehold's worth, and looks elate,
A little prop and pillar of the ſtate.

" Here he delights the weekly News to con,
And mingle comments as he blunders on;
To ſwallow all their varying authors teach,
To ſpell a title, and confound a ſpeech:
'Till with a muddled mind he quits the News,
And claims his nation's licence to abuſe;
Then joins the cry, " that all the courtly race
" Strive but for power, and parley but for place,"
Yet hopes, good man! " that all may ſtill be well,"
And thanks the ſtars that he's a vote to ſell.

" While thus he reads or raves, around him wait
A ruſtic band, and join in each debate;

Partake

Partake his manly ſpirit, and delight
To praiſe or blame, to judge of wrong or right;
Meaſures to mend, and miniſters to make,
Till all go madding for their country's ſake."

On the Author of the BALLAD *called The* CHILDREN *in the* WOOD.

From the New Edition of Poems *in Two Vols. by* Mr. JERNINGHAM.

LET others praiſe the martial ſong,
Which ruſhes as a flood,
And round the harp attentive throng
That honours deeds of blood:

Let me that humble Bard revere,
Tho' artleſs be his theme,
Who ſnatch'd the tale to Pity dear,
From dark Oblivion's ſtream.

Say, little MARY*, prattling maid,
(Whoſe wit thine age excels)
Beneath what holy yew-tree's ſhade
Thy favourite author dwells?

Ah! not on WESTMINSTER's proud ground
The fond enquiry waſte;
Go where the meek of heart are found,
And th' unambitious reſt.

Where WALTON's limpid ſtreamlet flows,
On NORFOLK's rich domain,
A gently-riſing hillock ſhews
The hamlet's ſtraw-roof'd fane.

Hard by is ſeen a marble ſtone,
By many a winter worn;
Forgetfulneſs around has thrown
The rude o'ermantling thorn:

Within this low obſcure abode
Fame ſays the Bard is laid;
Oft have I left the beaten road
To greet the Poet's ſhade:

Fame too reports, that when the bier
Receiv'd the Poet's frame,
The neighb'ring hamlets haſten'd here,
And all the childhood came:

* The daughter of Sir Thomas Beauchamp, of Langley Park, in Norfolk.

Attir'd in white, an infant band
Advanc'd in long array;
With roſemary-leaves each little hand
O'erſpread the mournful way:

Encircling now the Poet's tomb,
Thrice on his name they call,
And thrice into the hallow'd gloom
Sweet ſhow'rs of violets fall.

Compaſſion's prieſt! oh! feeling Bard,
Who melts the heart away,
Enduring praiſe ſhall ſtill reward
Thy ſhort and ſimple lay.

Thoſe ſhall thy praiſe be found among
Whom Nature's touch has grac'd,
The warm of heart applaud thy ſong,
And all the pure of taſte:

The child ſhall leave his jocund dance,
Suppreſs his frolic mood,
And bend to hear, in ſilent trance,
The ſtory of the wood.

ODE *to* MELPOMENE.

From HORACE, Book iv. Ode 3. *By* ANNA SEWARD.

NOT he, O Muſe! whom thy auſpicious eyes
Kind in his natal hour beheld,
Shall victor in the Iſthmian conteſt riſe;
Nor o'er the long-reſounding field
The rapid horſe his kindling wheels ſhall roll,
Gay in th' Olympic race, and foremoſt at the goal.

Nor in the Capitol, triumphant ſhown,
The victor laurel on his brow,
For the proud threats of vaunting kings o'erthrown;
But Tiber's ſtreams, that warbling flow,
And groves of fragrant gloom, reſound his ſtrains,
Whoſe ſweet Æolian grace high celebration gains.

Now that his name, her nobleſt bards among,
Th' imperial city loudly hails,
The proud diſtinction guards his riſing ſong,
When Envy's carping tongue aſſails;
In ſullen ſilence now ſhe hears his praiſe,
Nor ſheds her livid ſpots upon his ſpringing bays.

O Muſe!

O Muſe! who ruleſt every dulcet lay
That floats along the gilded ſhell;
That the mute tenant of the watery way
Canſt teach, at pleaſure, to excel
The ſofteſt notes harmonious ſorrow brings,
When the expiring ſwan her own ſad requiem ſings.

Thine be the praiſe, that pointing Romans guide
The ſtranger's eye, with proud deſire,
That well he note the man whom crowds decide
Should boldly ſtring the Latian lyre.——
Ah! when I pleaſe, if ſtill to pleaſe be mine,
Nymph of th' Æolian ſhell, be all the glory THINE.

An Emblem of the Shortneſs of Human Pleaſure.

To the GRASSHOPPER.

From CASIMIR, Book iv. Ode 23. *By* Mr. SAY.

LITTLE inſect, that on high,
On a ſpire of ſpringing graſs,
Tipſy with the morning dew,
Free from care thy life doſt paſs;

So may'ſt thou, companion ſole,
Pleaſe the lonely mower's ear,
And no treach'rous winding ſnake
Glide beneath, to work thee fear.

As in chirping plaintive notes
Thou the haſty ſun doſt chide,
And with murm'ring muſic charm,
Summer charming to abide.

If a pleaſant day arrive,
Soon a pleaſant day is gone;
While we reach to ſeize our joys,
Swift the winged bliſs is flown.

Pain and Sorrow dwell with us,
Pleaſure ſcarce a moment reigns;
Thou thyſelf find'ſt Summer ſhort,
But the Winter long remains.

EPITAPH, *by* VOLTAIRE.

Inſcribed on his Monument in his own Chamber at Ferney, *his heart in a Box.*

MES manes ſont conſolé,
Puiſque mon cœur eſt au milieu de vous.
Son eſprit eſt par-tout,
Mais ſon cœur eſt ici!

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of BOOKS.

A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, *undertaken by the Command of His Majeſty, for making Diſcoveries in the Northern Hemiſphere; performed under the Direction of Captains* Cook, Clerk, *and* Gore, *in His Majeſty's Ships the* Reſolution *and* Diſcovery, *in the Years* 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780; *in* 3 *Vols.* 4*to. Vol.* 1*ſt and* 2*d written by Captain* James Cook, F. R. S. *Vol.* 3*d, by Captain* James King, LL. D. *and* F. R. S.

IT is now three centuries ſince the nations of Europe began their plan of diſcoveries, with ſuch zeal, and upon ſuch principles, as promiſed to leave no acceſſible part of this globe unexplored; and we are happy in having the opportunity of congratulating the world upon the completion of this amazing undertaking, in the work now under our conſideration, which abounds with as much novelty and curious obſervation, as if the ſubject had but lately drawn the attention of mankind.

The firſt and ſecond volumes are written by captain Cook, and with regard to the third volume, we find its author's attention directed to the ſame objects ſo judiciouſly, as proves that he had entered into the ſchemes, and was capable of proſecuting the ideas of captain Cook with effect; and therefore the death of captain King would have been regarded not as a common accident, but as a public misfortune, if our great navigator had not already exhauſted the ſubject; for there is nothing now unknown of this globe, which can intitle any one to the character of a diſcoverer.

If the time employed in theſe geographical reſearches ſhould appear to be long, when compared to the diſcoveries that have been made; thoſe who think ſo, ſhould furniſh us with an apology for the little progreſs made in this work by the different nations of antiquity. It ought to be conſidered, that the fruits of human genius and induſtry muſt run the courſe of other fruits; the ſeed muſt be ſown in a proper ſoil, and after being allowed time to take root, it has afterwards to ſtruggle with the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and many unforeſeen accidents.

But the different lets and impediments which have tended to retard this great undertaking, give us a more inſtructive diſplay of the human character, than could have been obtained by the moſt rapid and uninterrupted progreſs towards the end in view: for ſchemes brought to perfection with adequate inſtruments, neither raiſe the ſurpriſe, nor engage the attention of thoſe who

may conſider themſelves only as ſpectators of what is going forward; but when inſtruments are wanting, or muſt be prepared as occaſions call for them, the opportunity will often be loſt to the greateſt induſtry, perſeverance, and abilities, for want of the means neceſſary to accompliſh the end in view. And ſurely ſuch diſappointments in works undertaken for the general benefit of mankind, will rouſe our ſympathy, and force us to do juſtice to every ſeparate exertion, which tends to the promotion of any great deſign.

And this was the ſituation of our firſt navigators, whoſe theories were ſo very confined and inaccurate, that every day's experience might correct them, and it was only by ſuch an experience that they could be corrected. Thus a double taſk was impoſed upon the navigator, that of making diſcoveries, and alſo of improving the art of navigation, the only means by which his diſcoveries were to be made. Nor were any navigators, before thoſe employed in our late diſcoveries, ever furniſhed with the proper means for finding the longitude, that moſt neceſſary of all nautical problems.

Beſides theſe unavoidable difficulties, it muſt be acknowledged that it has fared with thoſe who have been engaged in diſcoveries, as it is feigned to have happened to Atalanta in her race with Hippomenes, they have been retarded by the golden apples that were thrown in their way; and it may be ſaid with particular propriety of the Spaniſh nation:

——*Nitidique cupidine pomi*
Declinat curſus, aurumque volubile tollit.

and that it is the diſintereſtedneſs of the Engliſh nation which has enabled it to gain the prize.

But the great national expence incurred by our different expeditions, undertaken upon ſuch liberal principles, and without any ſordid view of gain and expence, and which from its nature muſt be ſatisfied out of the ſuperfluities of a people, will, joined to our ſucceſs in exploring unknown regions, give poſterity a convincing proof that we have a more decided ſuperiority over the other countries of Europe, than could be derived from the moſt extenſive conqueſts, and will hold us forth to future ages as the moſt powerful people upon this globe. For, without detracting from the praiſe due to his majeſty, and thoſe immediately under him, who planned the expeditions, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that his and their good intentions would have ended in nothing but diſappointment, had not the opulence and learning of the nation been anſwerable to the greatneſs of the undertaking.

Nor are we leſs diſtinguiſhed by the abilities of our navigators, who ſtand unrivalled for the accuracy with which they have aſcertained their diſcoveries; whilſt the feeble attempts of other nations would lead one to ſuſpect, that they had been driven by accident upon objects which they had neither the ſkill nor the courage to examine.

The diſcoveries made in this laſt voyage by captain Cook, are, both in themſelves, and as forming, with his other diſcoveries, the hydrography of the globe (with a very few exceptions) of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and important nature. After re-viſiting and giving us the moſt minute and ample account of the iſlands already known, and diſcovering

vering others in the Southern Pacific, we find him to the north of the equinoctial line, unfolding to our view the new group of islands called after the present Earl of Sandwich, which, to use the words of captain King in the third volume, "from their situation and production bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the system of European navigation, than any discovery in the South Sea."

We next follow him to the western coast of America, which we find him exploring with the greatest exactness, from the latitude of 43° to 70° north, and upwards, an immense tract! hitherto unknown, the subject of vague conjecture, and uncertain hypothesis.

After making several discoveries along this coast, of which the most material are, *King George's* (called by the natives *Nootka*) *sound*; *Prince William's sound*, and *Cook's river*; he proceeds northwards, to the *western extremity of America*; "ascertains the *proximity* of the two great continents of *Asia* and *America*; passes the straits between them, and surveys the coast on each side to such an height of northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course."

From this indefatigable and laborious search after a passage, he was driven by the rigour of the season, in August 1778, and returned back again to the Sandwich islands, where a melancholy and long to be lamented period was put to his life and his labours: his own words upon retiring so strongly mark how unwillingly he quitted his objects, when even necessity obliged him, and how eagerly his mind was engaged in the further prosecution of them, that we cannot help laying them before our readers.

"The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any further attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed towards finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage the ensuing summer."

The account of the death of captain Cook, given by captain King in the third volume, is as follows:

"Next morning, at day-light, I went on board the Resolution for the time-keeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the Discovery, and informed, that their cutter had been stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me, with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the Discovery's cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever any thing of consequence was lost, at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the prin-

cipal *Erees*, on board, and to keep them as hoſtages, till it was reſtored. This method, which had been always attended with ſucceſs, he meant to purſue on the preſent occaſion; and, at the ſame time, had given orders to ſtop all the canoes that ſhould attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of ſeizing and deſtroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly, the boats of both ſhips, well manned and armed, were ſtationed acroſs the bay; and, before I left the ſhip, ſome great guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their eſcape.

It was between ſeven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ſhip together; captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips, and nine marines, with him; and myſelf in the ſmall boat. The laſt orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives, on our ſide of the bay, by aſſuring them, they ſhould not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted; the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king reſided; and I proceeded to the beach. My firſt care, on going aſhore, was to give ſtrict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo, and the prieſts, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hoſtile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found, that they had already heard of the cutter's being ſtolen, and I aſſured them, that though captain Cook was reſolved to recover it, and to puniſh the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our ſide, need not be under the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of ſuffering any evil from us. I deſired the prieſts to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo aſked me, with great earneſtneſs, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I aſſured him, he was not; and both he and the reſt of his brethren ſeemed much ſatisfied with this aſſurance.

In the mean time, captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was ſtationed at the North point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the uſual marks of reſpect; the people proſtrating themſelves before him, and bringing their accuſtomed offerings of ſmall hogs. Finding that there was no ſuſpicion of his deſign, his next ſtep was, to enquire for Terreeoboo, and the two boys, his ſons, who had been his conſtant gueſts on board the Reſolution. In a ſhort time, the boys returned along with the natives, who had been ſent in ſearch of them, and immediately led captain Cook to the houſe where the king had ſlept. They found the old man juſt awoke from ſleep; and, after a ſhort converſation about the loſs of the cutter, from which captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wiſe privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and ſpend the day on board the Reſolution. To this propoſal the king readily conſented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this proſperous train, the two boys being already

in the pinnace, and the reſt of the party having advanced near the water-ſide, when an elderly woman called Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears, and entreaties, beſought him not to go on board. At the ſame time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and, inſiſting that he ſhould go no farther, forced him to ſit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the ſhore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hoſtility in the bay, began to throng round captain Cook and their king. In this ſituation, the lieutenant of marines, obſerving that his men were huddled cloſe together in the crowd, and thus incapable of uſing their arms, if any occaſion ſhould require it, propoſed to the captain, to draw them up along the rocks, cloſe to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to paſs, they were drawn up in a line, at the diſtance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was ſitting.

All this time, the old king remained on the ground, with the ſtrongeſt marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on ſhore, continuing to urge him, in the moſt preſſing manner, to proceed; whilſt, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who ſtood round him, interpoſed, at firſt with prayers and entreaties, but afterward having recourſe to force and violence, and inſiſted on his ſtaying where he was. Captain Cook therefore, finding that the alarm had ſpread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodſhed, at laſt gave up the point; obſerving to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impoſſible to compel him to go on board, without the riſk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprize, which had carried captain Cook on ſhore, had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his perſon did not appear to have been in the leaſt danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been ſtationed acroſs the bay, having fired at ſome canoes, that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the firſt rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where captain Cook was, juſt as he had left the king, and was walking ſlowly toward the ſhore. The ferment it occaſioned was very conſpicuous; the women and children were immediately ſent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themſelves with ſpears and ſtones. One of the natives, having in his hands a ſtone, and a long iron ſpike (which they call a *pahooa*) came up to the captain, flouriſhing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the ſtone. The captain deſired him to deſiſt; but the man perſiſting in his inſolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of ſmall-ſhot. The man having his mat on, which the ſhot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several ſtones were thrown at the marines; and one of the *Erees* attempted to ſtab Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*; but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the but end of his muſquet.

quet. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musquetry from the marines, and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy: three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pahooa**, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boat-men had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable, that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about, to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, shewed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction."

After having wintered at the Sandwich islands, of which captain King has given the most accurate description, as also of the manners, customs, habits, and the degree of improvement of the inhabitants, the two ships, under the command of captain Clerk, (captain Cook's successor) on the 15th of March, 1779, began their second expedition to the North.

On the 29th of April they arrived at the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka;—their transactions there, their journey to Bolcheretsk, (the residence of the governor, major Behm) and the generous and humane conduct of that officer towards them, are told in a manner the most chaste, simple, and affecting that can be conceived.

The attempt this year in search of a passage, proved as fruitless as that made by captain Cook, in the year preceding. The ships were stopped by impenetrable ice, which frequently floating in immense masses, not only damaged the ships, but so embayed them, as even to render their returning back a matter of great difficulty.

The author's† words upon this occasion, give us a lively idea of their situation.

"As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, captain Clerk sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the Discovery, to enquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned, in the evening,

* A sort of dagger.

† Captain King's.

evening, with the report of captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ſhips, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be neceſſary, for that purpoſe, to go into ſome port.

Thus, finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obſtructed by a ſea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the ſervice, by endangering the ſafety of the ſhips, as well as fruitleſs, with reſpect to the deſign of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a paſſage. This, therefore, added to the repreſentations of captain Gore, determined captain Clerk not to loſe more time in what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to ſail for Awatſka Bay, to repair our damages there; and, before the winter ſhould ſet in, and render all other efforts towards diſcovery impracticable, to explore the coaſt of Japan.

I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as ſoon as captain Clerk's reſolutions were made known. We were all heartily ſick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmoſt perſeverance had not been repaid with the ſmalleſt probability of ſucceſs. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an abſence of three years, with a delight and ſatisfaction, which, notwithſtanding the tedious voyage we had ſtill to make, and the immenſe diſtance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in ſight of the Land's-end."

If from the labours, the perils, and the natural bad effects ariſing from the variation of climates, in a voyage of four years and upwards, chiefly in unexplored regions, and of the wonderful extent of the one in queſtion. If from theſe neceſſary and unavoidable evils, we turn our eyes upon the ſhips with their reſpective crews returned home, and find the following to be their ſtate and condition, with what a mixture of admiration and gratitude muſt we look upon the benevolent exertions of captain Cook, in preſerving the health of his ſeamen; exertions which will tranſmit his name to poſterity, amongſt the friends and benefactors of mankind!

"On quitting the Diſcovery at Stromneſs, I had the ſatisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the ſame time, the number of convaleſcents on board the Reſolution did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of ſervice. In the courſe of our voyage, the Reſolution loſt but five men by ſickneſs, three of whom were in a precarious ſtate of health at our departure from England; the Diſcovery did not loſe a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations eſtabliſhed by captain Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be juſtly conſidered as the principal cauſe, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, of this ſingular ſucceſs. But the baneful effects of ſalt proviſions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithſtanding theſe ſalutary precautions, if we had not aſſiſted them, by availing ourſelves of every ſubſtitute, our ſituation at various times afforded. Theſe frequently conſiſting of articles, which our people had not been uſed to conſider as food for men, and being ſometimes exceedingly nauſeous, it required

required the joint aid of perſuaſion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and diſguſts.

The preventives we principally relied on were ſour krout and portable ſoup. As to the antiſcorbutic remedies, with which we were amply ſupplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the ſlighteſt ſymptoms of the ſcurvy, in either ſhip, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had alſo been kept as a reſource, in caſe of actual ſickneſs, and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely ſpoiled. About the ſame time, were opened ſome caſks of biſcuit, flour, malt, peaſe, oatmeal, and groats, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in ſmall caſks, lined with tin-frail, and found all, except the peaſe, in a much better ſtate than could have been expected in the uſual manner of package.

I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the conſideration of government, the neceſſity of allowing a ſufficient quantity of Peruvian bark, to ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as may be expoſed to the influence of unwholſome climates. It happened very fortunately in the Diſcovery, that only one of the men that had fevers in the ſtraits of Sunda, ſtood in need of this medicine, as he alone conſumed the whole quantity uſually carried out by ſurgeons, in ſuch veſſels as ours. Had more been affected in the ſame manner, they would probably all have periſhed, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumſtance attending this voyage; which, if we conſider its duration, and the nature of the ſervice in which we were engaged, will appear ſcarcely leſs ſingular than the extraordinary healthineſs of the crews, was, that the two ſhips never loſt ſight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the firſt time, to an accident that happened to the Diſcovery off the coaſt of Owhyhee; and the ſecond to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatſka bay. A ſtronger proof cannot be given of the ſkill and vigilance of our ſubaltern officers, to whom this ſhare of merit almoſt entirely belongs."

Having given this general outline of the voyage, and having alſo, in other parts of this volume of the Annual Regiſter, given various extracts relative to the characters, manners, and cuſtoms, of the inhabitants of the different countries explored by captain Cook, we ſhall conclude by ſelecting ſome parts from this work of a more philoſophical nature and tendency. The firſt is reſpecting the currents which captain Cook met with in his paſſage from England to the Cape of Good Hope. After mentioning the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, as given by the watch, he proceeds as follows:

"Hence we have reaſon to conclude, that ſhe had gone well all the way from England, and that the longitude, thus given, may be nearer the truth than any other.

If this be admitted, it will, in a great meaſure, enable me to find the direction and ſtrength of the currents we met with on this paſſage from England. For, by comparing the latitude and longitude by dead reckoning, with thoſe by obſervation and the watch, we ſhall, from time

to

to time, have, very accurately, the error of the ſhip's reckoning, be the cauſe what it will. But as all imaginable care was taken in heaving and keeping the log, and every neceſſary allowance made for leeway, heave of the ſea, and other ſuch circumſtances, I cannot attribute thoſe errors that did happen, to any other cauſe but currents; but more particularly when the error was conſtantly the ſame way, for ſeveral days ſucceſſively.

On the contrary, if we find the ſhip a-head of the reckoning on one day, and a-ſtern of it on another, we have reaſon to believe that ſuch errors are owing to accidental cauſes, and not to currents. This ſeems to have been the caſe in our paſſage between England and Teneriffe. But, from the time of our leaving that iſland, till the 15th of Auguſt, being then in the latitude of 12° north, and longitude 24° weſt, the ſhip was carried 1° 20′ of longitude to the weſtward of her reckoning. At this ſtation, the currents took a contrary direction, and ſet to eaſt ſouth eaſt, at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles a day, or twenty-four hours, till we arrived into the latitude of 5° north, and longitude of 20° weſt; which was our moſt eaſterly ſituation after leaving the Cape de Verde iſlands, till we got to the ſouthward. For in this ſituation the wind came ſoutherly, and we tacked and ſtretched to the weſtward; and, for two or three days, could not find that our reckoning was affected by any current. So that I judged we were between the current that generally, if not conſtantly, ſets to the eaſt upon the coaſt of Guinea, and that which ſets to the weſt toward the coaſt of Braſil.

This weſterly current was not conſiderable till we got into 2° north, and 25° weſt. From this ſtation, to 3° ſouth and 30° weſt, the ſhip, in the ſpace of four days, was carried one hundred and fifteen miles in the direction of ſouth weſt by weſt, beyond her reckoning; an error by far too great to have any other cauſe but a ſtrong current running in the ſame direction. Nor did its ſtrength abate here; but its courſe was, afterward, more weſterly, and to the north weſt; and off Cape Auguſtine, north, as I have already mentioned. But this northerly current did not exiſt at twenty or thirty leagues to the ſouthward of that Cape; nor any other, that I could perceive, in the remaining part of the paſſage. The little difference we afterward found between the reckoning and obſervations, might very well happen without the aſſiſtance of currents; as will appear by the table of days works.

In the account of my laſt voyage *, I remarked, that the currents one meets with in this paſſage generally balance each other. It happened ſo then; becauſe we croſſed the line about 20° more to the eaſtward than we did now; ſo that we were, of conſequence, longer under the influence of the eaſterly current, which made up for the weſterly one. And this, I apprehend, will generally be the caſe, if you croſs the line 10° or 15° to the eaſt of the meridian of St. Jago.

From theſe remarks I ſhall draw the following concluſion, That, after paſſing the Cape de Verde iſlands, if you do not make above

* Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 14.

4° or

4° or 5° eaſting, and croſs the line in, or to the weſtward of, the meridian of St. Jago, you may expect to find your ſhip 3° or 4° to the weſtward of her reckoning, by the time you get into the latitude of 10° ſouth. If, on the other hand, you keep well to the eaſt, and croſs the line 15° or 20° to the eaſt of St. Jago, you will be then as much to the eaſt of your reckoning; and the more you keep to the eaſtward, the greater will be your error; as has been experienced by ſome India ſhips, whoſe people have found themſelves cloſe upon the coaſt of Angola, when they thought its diſtance was above two hundred leagues.

During the whole of our paſſage from England, no opportunity was omitted of obſerving, with all the attention and accuracy that circumſtances would permit, the variation of the compaſs, which I have inſerted in a table, with the latitude and longitude of the ſhip at the time of obſervation. As the longitude may be depended upon, to a quarter or half a degree at moſt, this table will be of uſe to thoſe navigators who correct their reckoning by the variation. It will alſo enable Mr. Dun to correct his new Variation Chart, a thing very much wanted.

It ſeems ſtrange to me, that the advocates for the variation ſhould not agree amongſt themſelves. We find one * of them telling us, as I have already obſerved, *that with 8° weſt variation, or any thing above that, you may venture to ſail by the Cape de Verde iſlands, by night or day, being well aſſured, with that variation, that you are to the eaſtward of them.* Another, in his chart †, lays down this variation ninety leagues to the weſtward of them. Such a diſagreement as this, is a ſtrong proof of the uncertainty of both. However, I have no doubt, the former found here, as well as in other places, the variation he mentions. But he ſhould have conſidered, that at ſea, nay even on land, the reſults of the moſt accurate obſervations will not always be the ſame. Different compaſſes will give different variations; and even the ſame compaſs will differ from itſelf two degrees, without our being able to diſcover, much leſs to remove, the cauſe.

Whoever imagines he can find the variation within a degree, will very often ſee himſelf much deceived. For, beſides the imperfection which may be in the conſtruction of the inſtrument, or in the power of the needle, it is certain that the motion of the ſhip, or attraction of the iron-work, or ſome other cauſe not yet diſcovered, will frequently occaſion far greater errors than this. That the variation may be found, with a ſhare of accuracy more than ſufficient to determine the ſhip's courſe, is allowed; but that it can be found ſo exactly as to fix the longitude within a degree, or ſixty miles, I abſolutely deny."

Theſe obſervations and remarks are delivered by captain Cook, with a preciſion which ſhews, that he conſidered them as of importance, and if they are not already confirmed, improved, or enlarged, it is a proof that this age is unworthy of them, conſidering the frequent opportunities that the Eaſt India trade furniſhes for making ſuch obſervations.

* Nichelſon.

† Mr. Dun.

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We ſhall finiſh theſe extracts with captain King's opinion upon the proſpect of a *north weſt* or *north eaſt paſſage*.

"Had captain Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a ſecond attempt, the impracticability of a North Eaſt or North Weſt paſſage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtleſs have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obſtacles which defeated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his obſervations on a ſubject of ſuch magnitude, and which had engaged the attention, and divided the opinions of philoſophers and navigators for upwards of two hundred years. I am very ſenſible how unequal I am to the taſk of ſupplying this deficiency; but, that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly diſappointed, I muſt beg his candid acceptance of the following obſervations, as well as of thoſe I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the North Eaſt coaſt of Aſia.

The evidence that has been ſo fully and judiciouſly ſtated in the introduction, amounts to the higheſt degree of probability, that a North Weſt paſſage, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, cannot exiſt to the ſouthward of 65° of latitude. If then there exiſts a paſſage, it muſt be either through Baffin's bay, or round by the north of Greenland, in the weſtern hemiſphere; or elſe through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eaſtern; and on which ever ſide it lies, the navigator muſt neceſſarily paſs through Beering's Strait. The impracticability of penetrating into the Atlantic on either ſide, through this ſtrait, is therefore all that remains to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the ſea to the north of Beering's Strait, is clearer of ice in Auguſt than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be ſtill more free. But, after the equinox, the days ſhorten ſo faſt, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow ſo great an effect to the warm weather, in the firſt half of September, as to imagine it capable of diſperſing the ice from the moſt northern parts of the American coaſt. But admitting this to be poſſible, it muſt at leaſt be granted, that it would be madneſs to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay (a diſtance of four hundred and twenty leagues), in ſo ſhort a time as that paſſage can be ſuppoſed to continue open.

Upon the Aſiatic ſide, there appears ſtill leſs probability of ſucceſs, both from what came to our own knowledge, with reſpect to the ſtate of the ſea to the ſouthward of Cape North, and alſo from what we learn from the experience of the * lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauroff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia.

The voyage of Deſhneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the poſſibility of paſſing round the north eaſt point of Aſia; but when the reader reflects, that near a century and a half has elapſed ſince the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of great curioſity and enterprize, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not en-

* See Gmelin, pages 369, 374.

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tertain very ſanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even ſuppoſe, that in ſome ſingularly favourable ſeaſon a ſhip has found a clear paſſage round the coaſt of Siberia, and is ſafely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, ſtill there remains the cape of Taimura, ſtretching to the 78th of latitude, which the good fortune of no ſingle voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are ſtrongs reaſons for believing, that the ſea is more free from ice, the nearer we approach to the pole; and that all the ice we ſaw in the lower latitudes, was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate ſea. But even if that ſuppoſition be true, it is equally ſo, that there can be no acceſs to thoſe open ſeas, unleſs this great maſs of ice is ſo far diſſolved in the ſummer, as to admit of a ſhip's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this paſſage, which ſhould have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reaſons may be given againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground, we had reaſon to doubt, whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed with the ſtories we heard in Kamtſchatka, that on the Siberian coaſt, they go out from the ſhore in winter, upon the ice, to greater diſtances than the breadth of the ſea is, in ſome parts, from one continent to the other.

In the depoſitions referred to above, the following remarkable circumſtance is related. Speaking of the land ſeen from the Tſchukotſkoi Noſs, it is ſaid, "that in ſummer time they ſail in one day to the land in baidares, a ſort of veſſel conſtructed of whale-bone, and covered with ſeal-ſkins; and in winter time, going ſwift with rein-deer, the journey may likewiſe be made in a day." A ſufficient proof, that the two countries were uſually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr. Muller, of one of the expeditions undertaken to diſcover a ſuppoſed iſland in the Frozen Sea, is ſtill more remarkable. "In the year "1714, a new expedition was pre- "pared from Jakutzk, for the ſame "place, under the command of "Alexei Markoff, who was to ſail "from the mouth of the Jana; "and if the *Schitiki* were not fit "for ſea voyages, he was to con- "ſtruct at a proper place veſſels "fit for proſecuting the diſcoveries "without danger.

"On his arrival at Uſt-janſkoe "Simovie, the port at which he "was to embark, he ſent an ac- "count, dated February 2, 1715, "to the chancery of Jakutzk, men- "tioning that it was impoſſible to "navigate the ſea, as it was con- "tinually frozen, both in ſummer "and winter; and that, conſe- "quently, the intended expedition "was no otherwiſe to be carried "on, but with ſledges drawn by "dogs. In this manner he accord- "ingly ſet out, with nine perſons, "on the 10th of March the ſame "year, and returned on the 3d of "April, to Uſt-janſkoe Simovie. "The account of his journey is as "follows: that he went ſeven days, "as faſt as his dogs could draw him, "which, in good ways and wea- "ther,

"ther, is eighty or a hundred "werſts in a day) directly toward "the north, upon the ice, without "diſcovering any iſland: that it "had not been poſſible for him "to proceed any farther, the ice "riſing there in the ſea like moun-"tains: that he had climbed to the "top of ſome of them, whence he "was able to ſee to a great diſ-"tance round about him, but could "diſcern no appearance of land: "and that, at laſt, wanting food "for his dogs, many of them died, "which obliged him to return."

Beſides theſe arguments, which proceed upon an admiſſion of the hypotheſis, that the ice in thoſe ſeas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to ſuſpect the truth of the hypotheſis itſelf. Captain Cook, whoſe opinion reſpecting the formation of ice, had formerly coincided with that of the theoriſts we are now controverting, found abundant reaſon, in the preſent voyage, for changing his ſentiments. We found the coaſt of each continent to be low, the ſoundings gradually decreaſing toward them, and a ſtriking reſemblance between the two; which, together with the deſcription Mr. Hearne gives of the copper-mine river, afford reaſon to conjecture, that whatever rivers may empty themſelves into the Frozen Sea, from the American continent, are of the ſame nature with thoſe on the Aſiatic ſide; which are repreſented to be ſo ſhallow at the entrance, as to admit only ſmall veſſels; whereas the ice we have ſeen, riſes above the level of the ſea to a height equal to the depth of thoſe rivers; ſo that its entire height muſt be at leaſt ten times greater.

The curious reader will alſo, in this place, be led naturally to reflect on another circumſtance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of thoſe who imagine land to be neceſſary for the formation of ice; I mean the different ſtate of the ſea about Spitſbergen, and to the north of Beering's Strait. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to paſs, that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to near 80° north latitude; whereas, on the other ſide, his utmoſt efforts have not been able to carry him beyoud 71°; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly eaſt and weſt, and where there is no land yet known to exiſt near the pole. For the farther ſatisfaction of the reader on this point, I ſhall beg leave to refer him to *Obſervations made during a voyage round the world*, by Dr. Forſter, where he will find the queſtion of the formation of ice, fully and ſatisfactorily diſcuſſed, and the probability of open polar ſeas diſproved by a variety of powerful arguments.

I ſhall conclude theſe remarks with a ſhort comparative view of the progreſs we made to the northward, at the two different ſeaſons we were engaged in that purſuit, together with a few general obſervations relative to the ſea, and the coaſt of the two continents, which lie to the north of Beering's Strait.

It may be obſerved, that in the year 1778, we did not meet with the ice, till we advanced to the latitude of 70°, on Auguſt 17th; and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the

whole was moveable, ſince, by its drifting down upon us, we narrowly eſcaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitleſs and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north, between the ice and the land, we ſtood over toward the Aſiatic ſide, between the latitude 69° and 70°, frequently encountering, in this tract, large and extenſive fields of ice; and though, by reaſon of the fogs, and thickneſs of the weather, we were not able abſolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it acroſs, yet we were ſure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of 70°, whenever we attempted to ſtand to the northward. On the 26th of Auguſt, in latitude 69¾°, and longitude 184°, we were obſtructed by it in ſuch quantities, as made it impoſſible for us to paſs either to the north or weſt, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the ſouth ſouth weſt, till we ſaw land, which we afterwards found to be the coaſt of Aſia. With the ſeaſon thus far advanced, the weather ſetting in with ſnow and ſleet, and other ſigns of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprize for that time.

In this ſecond attempt, we could do little more than confirm the obſervations we had made in the firſt; for we were never able to approach the continent of Aſia higher than the latitude of 67°, nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of 68° and 68° 20′, that were not ſeen the laſt year. We were now obſtructed by ice 3° lower, and our endeavours to puſh farther to the northward, were principally confined to the wide ſpace between the two coaſts. We penetrated near 3° farther on the American ſide than on the Aſiatic, meeting with the ice both years ſooner, and in greater quantities, on the latter coaſt. As we advanced north, we ſtill found the ice more compact and ſolid; yet as, in our different traverſes from ſide to ſide, we paſſed over ſpaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured, that moſt of what we ſaw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the higheſt to have been ſixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the obſervations, we alſo found the current to ſet different ways, yet more from the ſouth weſt than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was ſo trifling, that no concluſions, reſpecting the exiſtence of any paſſage to the northward, could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of Auguſt. The thermometer in July was once at 28°, and very commonly at 30°; whereas the laſt year, in Auguſt, it was very rare to have it ſo low as the freezing point. In both ſeaſons, we had ſome high winds, all of which came from the ſouth weſt. We were ſubject to fogs, whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended ſoutherly winds more conſtantly than contrary ones.

The ſtraits, between the two continents, at their neareſt approach, in latitude 66°, were aſcertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to north eaſt by eaſt and weſt north weſt; and in latitude 69°, they become 14° of longitude,

or

of about one hundred leagues, asunder. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries, to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them, was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom, in the middle, was a soft slimy mud; and on drawing near to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was, came from the westward."

Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, *and* Denmark, *&c. &c. by* William Coxe, *A. M., F. R. S. Fellow of* King's College, Cambridge; *and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of* Marlborough. *In two Volumes, 4to.*

IN this work Mr. Coxe has entered at large into the history, the policy, the laws, and the government of the different kingdoms through which he has travelled. His assiduity and his judgment in deriving his information from the best and most respectable authorities, render his book of considerable value. Less elegant than useful, he is sometimes entertaining, but almost always instructive.

He commences with Poland, and has interwoven into his account of that kingdom, a particular relation communicated to him by Mr. Wraxall, of the attempt made by the confederates to assassinate the present king, in 1771 *. He afterwards gives a tolerably circumstantial, and yet not too diffusive, an account of the government of Poland; the legislative part thereof consisting of the king, the senate, and the equestrian order, in a general diet assembled; the executive part, according to the new establishment made by the diet in 1775, being vested in the permanent council, constituted from the three different estates of the king, senate, and equestrian order. Of all these different estates separately, of the permanent council, its departments, and its duties, and of the general diet, he speaks fully and distinctly. His account of the country itself only proves to us how ill-adapted and insufficient is its government, to overbalance and restrain the oppressive, indolent, and wasting power of its nobles.

His character of the king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, is the one generally adopted in favour of that monarch; namely, that of an amiable man, a gentleman, and a scholar.

From Poland Mr. Coxe proceeds to Russia, and enters minutely into some particular periods of the history of that kingdom, concerning which historians have not at all agreed. The various accounts given by different authors of the Czar, who reigned under the name of Demetrius, are discussed with great judgment and penetration; and the different authorities concerning his

* See the Miscellaneous Essays, page 97, where this account is inserted.

identity being brought, as it were, to a focus, the reader is better enabled to form his own determination on the ſubject. Mr. Coxe inclines to think him the real ſon of the emperor Ivan Vaſſiliovitch II. With equal minuteneſs Mr. Coxe enters into the hiſtory of the princeſs Sophia Alexiefna, ſiſter to Peter the Great, and regent during his minority, and takes great pains to do away the different aſperſions thrown upon her character by almoſt all the hiſtorians who have treated of that period.—That the princeſs Sophia Alexiefna excluded Peter from all ſhare in the government as long as ſhe was able, appears evidently to be the caſe; that ſhe did ſo without having recourſe to any peculiar acts, either of ſeverity or oppreſſion with reſpect to him, is as evident: "when the genius of Peter acquired the aſcendancy," it is as evident that he did not uſe his ſuperiority over his rival with equal moderation and temperance. Ferocious and penetrating, the ſhorteſt way to his objects, with him, was always the beſt, and once clearly ſeeing his way, he purſued it by means ſo ſtrong, deciſive, and powerful, as made art and nice conduct unneceſſary in their execution.

We cannot here help obſerving, that the regular diſcuſſion of controverted and detached parts of hiſtory, (though extremely uſeful in itſelf) is but ill ſubmitted to by readers of travels, voyages, and ſuch like. The mind, eaſily led on, and intereſted by the force of narration ſimply, is with difficulty led out of its road to the conſideration of any ſpecific or given ſubject of magnitude. But whatever is naturally and intimately connected with the narrative, neither branching out from, nor returning to it too abruptly, keeps the attention alive and unbroken.

Peterſburgh and its environs, the different reſidences of the preſent Empreſs of Ruſſia, her court, her mode of life, her buſineſs, her pleaſures, and amuſements *, are deſcribed and treated in an entertaining and eaſy manner. In the ſecond volume of his work, Mr. Coxe commences with relating the particulars of the Revolution of 1762, which placed the preſent Empreſs on the throne of Ruſſia, in excluſion of her huſband, Peter III. As the weakneſs of his conduct enabled her, ſo his ill behaviour towards her, in ſome meaſure juſtified the ſteps ſhe took on this occaſion. If the intention of impriſoning her can be clearly and ſatisfactorily brought home to Peter, the conduct of the Empreſs then ſtands in a ſtill fairer light, and ſelf-defence may be urged as her leading motive.

Here follows the hiſtory of prince Ivan, great grandſon of the Czar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great. This unfortunate prince ſucceeded his aunt the Empreſs Anne, when he was only three months old, and in little more than a year afterwards was depoſed and impriſoned by Elizabeth, together with his parents, Anne of Mecklenburgh, and Anthony Ulrick, prince of Brunſwick. A priſoner from his cradle, he was at laſt killed in his twenty-third year by the officers who guarded him in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh, and who,

* See an extract from this part of Mr. Coxe's work, given under the head of Miſcellaneous Eſſays, page 105.

in

in obedience to their orders, were driven to that extremity, from an attempt made by a ſubaltern officer to reſcue him from his confinement, and which was upon the point of ſucceeding.

We ſhall here lay before our readers a ſhort account of the celebrated Marſhal Munich, which Mr. Coxe has given in the following words:

"Count Burchard Chriſtopher Munich, ſon of a Daniſh officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May, O. S. 1683. He received an excellent education; and, in the 17th year of his age, entered into the ſervice of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred upon him the rank of captain. He ſerved his firſt campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joſeph commanded againſt the French; and was preſent at the ſiege of Landaw. In 1705, he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and learned the art of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his cool intrepidity in ſeveral engagements and ſieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerouſly wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken priſoner by the French; and ſoon after his releaſe, in the enſuing year, raiſed to the command of a regiment.

"In 1716, he quitted the Heſſian, and entered the Poliſh ſervice, under Auguſtus II. and was ſoon promoted to the rank of major-general; but, in 1721, being inſulted by count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Ruſſia, and was received in the moſt honourable manner by Peter I. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of ſeveral important truſts, both civil and military, he ſucceſſively filled the higheſt poſts in the army and ſtate. He was created marſhal by the empreſs Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army againſt the Turks, and proved his military talents by his ſucceſſes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

"Soon after the death of the empreſs, he adviſed, planned, and executed the arreſt of Biren; and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the office of prime-miniſter. But as he was diſcontented at not being appointed generaliſſimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requeſted permiſſion to reſign his employments, and was aſtoniſhed at the readineſs with which his requeſt was granted. Inſtead of repairing to the Pruſſian court, to which he was ſtrongly invited, he imprudently remained in Ruſſia, flattering himſelf with the hopes of being reinſtated in his former dignity; and was arreſted on the 6th of December 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The oſtenſible reaſon of his diſgrace was, that he had perſuaded the empreſs Anne to nominate Ivan her ſucceſſor; but the real cauſe, as I was informed by a perſon of veracity, who received it from count Munich himſelf, was that, by order of that empreſs, he had taken into cuſtody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

"Munich was brought before a committee appointed to examine the ſtate priſoners; being fatigued with repeated queſtions, and perceiving

that his judges were determined to find him guilty, he said to them, 'Dictate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them.' The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which being subscribed by Munich, his mock-trial was concluded. Being thus without further ceremony convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered; but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. During that empress's reign, namely, for the space of twenty years, he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an ostrog, or prison, surrounded with palisadoes, of which, according to Manstein, he had himself drawn the plan, and ordered to be constructed for the reception of Biren. The place of his imprisonment was an area enclosed with high palisadoes about 170 feet square; within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants; and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12*s.* for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domestics; which little pittance he increased by keeping cows, and selling part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement, with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulness. He was accustomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife "a happy return to Petersburgh." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening: they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens; and, after his death, which happened in 1749, the count himself performed the service. Beside the culture of his garden, and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found sufficient leisure for composing hymns, for translating several psalms and prayers into German verse, and for writing a treatise upon the art of war: the latter he proposed, if ever he should be released from his confinement, to present to the king of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a centinel informing against Munich's servants for supplying him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent any discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writings, the amusement and labours of so many years.

"He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter III.; but he was no sooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill-founded. He suffered during several weeks the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuated between hope and fear; and was often heard to declare, that these few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February 1762, the long-expected messenger arrived from Petersburgh, with the order for his release. Munich, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him; and his wife made signs to the messenger not to disturb him. Upon being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away; but soon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and in the most fervent manner offered up his thanks for this change in his situation. On

the

the 19th, he departed from Pelim, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the 24th of March, in the ſame ſheepſkin dreſs which he had worn in his priſon. On the 31ſt, he was admitted to an audience by the emperor: Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and reſtoring him to his antient rank, ſaid to him, 'I hope that your advanced age will ſtill permit you to ſerve me.'——'Since your majeſty,' replied the count at the concluſion of a long ſpeech, 'has raiſed me from darkneſs into light, and recalled me from Siberia to proſtrate myſelf before your throne; I ſhall always be moſt willing to expoſe my life in your ſervice. Neither a long baniſhment from the throne of majeſty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to damp, in the ſmalleſt degree, that fire which formerly ſhone with ſuch luſtre for the intereſts of the Ruſſian empire, and the glory of its ſovereign.'

"Munich enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter III. and Catharine II.; and died on the 16th of October 1763, in the 85th year of his age."

After having given an account of the rebellion of the impoſtor Pugatchef, who aſſumed the name of Peter III. his defeat and ſubſequent execution, Mr. Coxe returns to the preſent ſtate of Ruſſia, and gives us an exact and particular detail of its penal laws*, puniſhments, and the outlines of its preſent juriſprudence. In treating of theſe ſubjects, he pays that tribute of applauſe to her imperial majeſty, which is ſo juſtly due to her conduct. The different claſſes of the inhabitants of Ruſſia, divided into four orders, viz. the nobles, the clergy, the merchants and burghers, and the peaſants, come next into conſideration; and afterwards the ſtate of learning in Ruſſia, including poetry and hiſtory, with a minute account of the two reſpective academies of arts and ſciences (the firſt inſtituted by the empreſs Elizabeth, the latter by Peter the Great); the ſtate of the revenues, of the army, of the navy, and of the commerce of the country, concludes what is ſaid of Ruſſia.—To enter particularly into the different above-mentioned ſubjects treated of by Mr. Coxe, is far from being within the limits of our work; but let it ſuffice to ſay, that they contain much minute, extenſive, and authentic information.

From Ruſſia, Mr. Coxe proceeds through Finland into Sweden: his deſcription of Stockholm, and of its ſituation, we ſhall lay before our readers.

"During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as with that of Stockholm, for its ſingular and romantick ſcenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beſide two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the gulf of Bothnia. A variety of contraſted and enchanting views are formed by numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houſes, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Bal-

* See extracts from this part of Mr. Coxe's Travels, page 119, in the Miſcellaneous Eſſays.

tic: the water is clear as cryſtal, and of ſuch depth that ſhips of the largeſt burthen can approach the quay, which is of conſiderable breadth, and lined with ſpacious buildings and warehouſes. At the extremity of the harbour ſeveral ſtreets riſe one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the ſummit. Towards the ſea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow ſtrait, and, winding among high rocks, diſappears from the ſight; and the proſpect is terminated by diſtant hills, overſpread with foreſt. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate theſe ſingular views. The central iſland, from which the city derives its name, and the Ritterholm, are the handſomeſt parts of the town.

"Excepting in the ſuburbs, where the houſes are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of ſtone, or brick ſtuccoed white. The royal palace, which ſtands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the higheſt ſpot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular ſtone edifice, and the ſtyle of architecture is both elegant and magnificent."

The chapter relative to the preſent government of Sweden, as ſettled by the revolution in 1772, is well written; it gives due praiſe to, and in general coincides with, what Mr. Sheridan, formerly ſecretary to the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, has written on that ſubject, but differs with him on the general concluſions which that gentleman has drawn, reſpecting the king of Sweden's unlimited authority. This point Mr. Coxe has diſcuſſed fairly and accurately, and certainly has clearly ſhewn, that although the executive power is in effect lodged in the king alone, yet the legiſlative is not, but in him jointly with the ſtates.

The ſtates conſiſt of the four houſes: 1ſt. of nobles, 2d. of the clergy, 3d. of citizens, and 4th. of peaſants: of each of theſe reſpectively, and the manner in which they are repreſented, Mr. Coxe has given a diſtinct and accurate account.

The prerogatives of the king of Sweden are certainly of ſo extenſive and pervading a nature, as to leave the legiſlative authority but little room for action; and in proportion as the laws and regulations, as ſettled at the revolution in 1772, are adequate to the purpoſes of government, the legiſlative authority becomes of leſs account; but whenever it ſhould be neceſſary to add, or amend the laws and regulations now in force, to alter old taxes, or propoſe new ones (and upon other occaſions), the ſupreme legiſlative authority muſt certainly interpoſe; and perhaps no ſyſtem of legiſlation can ever long remain without the neceſſary intervention of the legiſlature to abrogate or amend its own laws, and to ſupply new ones.

Mr. Coxe has given a very full and circumſtantial account of the univerſity of Upſala (formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal reſidence) of its ſtudents, its curioſities, its regulations, and the characters of the different kings of Sweden who lie buried there. In addition to his account of the univerſity, he has added biographical memoirs, and remarks on the writings, of ſome of its moſt celebrated profeſſors,

profeſſors, viz. of Linnæus, Wallerius, Cronſtedt, and Bergman. The chapter which ſpeaks of the three laſt of the above perſons, is a communication of Dr. Pulteney's to the author.

An accurate deſcription, accompanied with a chart, is given of the inland navigation of Sweden, in which is explained the projects formed for a regular junction of the different lakes and rivers with the German ocean; ſtating how far, and by what means, they have been carried into execution.

Our author concludes with Denmark; and although comparatively but a ſmall portion of his work is allotted to this laſt object of his travels, yet it includes a variety of matter. In ſpeaking of the palace of Cronborg, at Elſinoor, where the late queen Matilda was impriſoned, he takes occaſion to relate an intereſting and affecting anecdote of that unfortunate princeſs: "In this palace (ſays he) was impriſoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk upon the ſide-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which had occaſioned her arreſt meditated ſtill more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſo ſurprized with the unexpected intelligence, that ſhe inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, the miniſter propoſed, that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board of a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment, ſhe had been delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and ſhe had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. All theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated to her, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes upon this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child, that had been ſo long her only comfort, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made but little way during night, at day break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible; and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the faintеſt glimpſe of the battlements.

It is well known that her majeſty reſided at Zell, where ſhe was carried

ried off, by a ſcarlet fever, in the ſixteenth day of her illneſs.

"Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent ſhe made repeated enquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment, often apoſtrophized them as if they were preſent*, and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner."

The revolution of 1660, which changed the conſtitution of Denmark, from an elective and limited, to an abſolute and hereditary, monarchy, is detailed at large; and a ſuccinct account given of its population, finances, army, navy, and clergy. Mr. Coxe has alſo taken a review of the ſtate of Daniſh literature, under which head the Icelandic writers in former ages made a conſiderable figure. The peculiar bent and genius of the various Daniſh authors, which are now extant, and worthy of our admiration, ſeem chiefly to turn upon hiſtory, natural hiſtory, and antiquity.

The intended inland navigation, from the Baltic into the German ocean, acroſs the dutchy of Holſtein, by the canal of Kiel, and the river Eyder, of which Mr. Coxe has given an engraving, and an accurate deſcription, is a work of the greateſt importance; to uſe his own words—"The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inſpection of the map of Denmark. At preſent even the ſmalleſt veſſels, trading from any part of the Daniſh dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, muſt make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by oppoſite winds. This navigation is ſo tedious, that goods ſhipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unuſually ſent by ſea only to Lubeck, and from thence by land to Hamburgh. But the completion of this canal will enable veſſels of a certain burden to paſs immediately from the Baltic into the German ocean; proceed without unlading to Hamburgh; or ſail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great ſupplies of ſugar, and other Weſt Indian commodities, from Denmark."

Travels in the Two Sicilies, *by* Henry Swinburne, *Eſq. in the years* 1777, 1778, 1779, *and* 1780. *In two vols.* 4*to.*

THESE Travels have undoubtedly a conſiderable degree of merit, and prove the author to be a man of letters and of information. A ſubject which has ſo much, and for ſo long time, as Italy, attracted the attention and labours of the learned in all branches, and of all denominations, requires more than ordinary obſervation and talents to make new, deſired, and valuable to the world.

* I received this anecdote from a perſon at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting ſcene.

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In the courſe of his account of the preſent ſtate of the Two Sicilies, Mr. Swinburne frequently and happily enough inſerts as well the ancient and claſſical, as the more modern hiſtory of the ſeveral places which fall under his obſervation. This mode of writing is peculiarly well adapted, and congenial to the country treated of, which continually recalls to our memory ſcenes embelliſhed, adorned, and rendered memorable, in the works of the ancient poets and hiſtorians.

The author commences his Travels from Naples; of which city, and of the character and manners of its inhabitants, an account may be ſeen in an extract from this work, in the Annual Regiſter for 1782, and which ſeems to be drawn from a more minute attention to the real diſpoſitions of the people, than is generally to be met with in the writers of travels.

From Naples Mr. Swinburne proceeds to Taranto, the Tarentum of the ancients. The relation of this journey is interſperſed with a variety of claſſical and hiſtorical remarks, at the ſame time that it contains a conſiderable degree of information relative to the preſent ſtate of the country; a few extracts of this latter ſpecies, with reſpect to Taranto *, its environs, and inhabitants, we ſhall lay before our readers. On his approach to Taranto, he ſays—

"I next reached a delicious vale, called Le Citrezze†, where a ſtream riſes in a baſon about three hundred yards from the ſea. The waters occaſion a perpetual verdure in the meadows, and groves of aged olive trees defend them from the ſcorching ray, and from all winds but the ſoft zephyrs that play upon the ſurface of the Mare Piccolo. I alighted to enjoy the charms of this ſweet ſequeſtered ſpot, and while my eyes ranged over the beautiful landſcape, ſuffered my imagination to wander into a chain of melancholy reflections on the general viciſſitudes in the fate of empires, and on the deſtiny of Taranto in particular. All was then ſtill in that port, where the trading veſſels of half the world rendezvouſed. One ſingle fiſhing-boat diſturbed the boſom of thoſe waters, where the mighty navy of Carthage once diſplayed its flag. Of all the temples, gmynaſia, theatres, and other monuments of glory and opulence, not ſo much as a ſingle column riſes upon the hill where Tarentum once ſtood: the paultry buildings of ſome mean convents, inhabited by the moſt inſignificant of friars, mark its ancient ſituation; while the modern city, crowded into a narrow iſland, holds the place of the old citadel, and ſtill reſembles a fortreſs more than an emporium of trade. But in deſpite of this change in its fortunes, the appearance of Taranto is replete with wonderful beauties. At my feet, the Mare Piccolo rolled its gentle waves,

* An account of the Mare Piccolo in the Bay of Taranto, of its ſhell fiſh, of the Pinna Marina, and of the Tarantula, may be ſeen in the Ann. Reg. for 1782.

† The Tarentines call this the Galeſus; D'Anville and Zannoni give that name to a river that diſcharges itſelf into the Mare Grande. The ſpring of the Citrezze is deep, and therefore anſwers Virgil's epithet of black. The very little extent of its courſe correſponds with the ancient opinion of its being the ſhorteſt of all rivers; but ſtill I cannot underſtand how ſo trifling a rill could be deemed a river, and be called Eurotas by the Parthenii, from its reſemblance to the river of Lacedemon; or how numerous flocks could wander on its banks, and be waſhed in its waters.

waves, ſtretching from eaſt to weſt, in the ſhape of an oval lake, divided into two unequal bays by a narrow promontory; olive woods clothe the fore-ground on both ſides, and the oppoſite hills appear rich in orchards and corn-fields. Over the city, the Mare Grande, or outer port, ſome ſhips at anchor, iſlands, capes; and behind all, the blue mountains of Baſilicata complete the proſpect. A long bridge of ſeven arches joins the city to the continent on the north ſide; through them the tide flows with great impetuoſity, and nothing now but ſmall boats can be admitted by this paſſage, which was formerly the entrance of the harbour. But even in the time of the Romans, I think it evident from what Appian ſays, that there were drawbridges, by which the garriſon of the citadel preſerved a command over the veſſels in port. Had the mouth been quite free, the Tarentine fleet in the ſecond Punic war could not have been ſo completely blocked up, as to render all attempts to break through utterly fruitleſs. At each arch is fixed a frame for hanging nets to intercept fiſh as they run up into the little ſea with the flow, or fall back with the ebb; and upon this bridge is carried the aqueduct that ſupplies the town with water.

"Tolita king of the Goths is ſaid to have been the firſt that erected an aqueduct on this north ſide; others attribute it to the Emperor Nicephorus. It was built in the preſent form and direction in 1543. The ſources lie twelve miles diſtant from Taranto, in the mountains of Martina, where many grooves and cuts in the heart of the rock collect the ſtraggling rills and filtrations, and bring them together at a ſpot called Valdenza; from thence the waters run to Triglio, where they fall into immenſe reſervoirs, and then paſs under ground to the deep ciſterns at Tremiti. At La Follia they riſe to day, and keep an open courſe for ſeven miles, till they enter an arcade of two hundred and three arches, in very bad repair, overgrown with ivy, and oozing at every joint; the water is conveyed through hollow ſtones, each of which has a ſpout that fits into the next.

"The ſhape of Taranto has been likened to that of a ſhip; of which the caſtle at the eaſt end repreſents the ſtern, the great church the maſt, the tower of Raymund Orſini the bowſprit, and the bridge the cable. It ſtands upon the ſite of the ancient fortreſs, but I believe occupies rather more room: it was formerly joined to the continent by a narrow neck of ſand, which occaſioned William of Puglia to ſay, That Tarentum would be an iſland, but for a ſmall riſing ground.

Inſula mox fieret modicus ni collis adeſſet.

"Ferdinand the Firſt being apprehenſive of an attack from the Turks, ordered the iſthmus to be cut through, and the ſea to be let in. Philip the Second cauſed the paſſage to be widened and deepened ſo as to admit veſſels; but it was afterwards choaked up with ſand and filth, and, by the ſtagnation of its waters, became a great nuiſance. The air of Taranto was grievouſly affected by it till 1755, when it was again cleared out by the king's directions. The ſtreets are remarkably dirty and narrow, eſpecially the Marina, which runs along the Mare Piccolo, and is, without diſpute, the moſt diſguſtful habitation of human beings in Europe, except, perhaps

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the Jewiſh Ghetto at Rome. The only tolerable ſtreet is a terrace above the ſteep rocks that hang over the Mare Grande, and prevent all acceſs on that quarter. The cathedral, dedicated to Saint Cataldus, whom the legend calls a native of Raphoe in Ireland, has little merit: it is a melancholy conſideration, that the chapel of the patron has been decorated at the expence of almoſt every monument of the ancient city. The granite columns, taken from its ruinated fanes, are aukwardly crouded under the ill-proportioned roof of this church. The ſquare near the bridge is the only opening of any extent, and the general reſort of the citizens in ſummer, when they ſit round the fountain to enjoy the ſoft evening breeze, and refreſh themſelves with the fanning of the balmy air. But modern Taranto cannot boaſt of that degree of ſalubrity at all ſeaſons, which rendered the ancient city the delight of voluptuaries and valetudinarians. A failure of cultivation, and of attention towards keeping the paſſages for water free, cauſes ſome degree of malignity in its climate during the hot months; but there is great reaſon to hope theſe inconveniencies will be removed by the patriotic and judicious endeavours of the preſent archbiſhop Monſignor Joſeph Capecelatro, who has abandoned the road that leads to the purple, and other objects of eccleſiaſtical ambition, in order to devote his life and talents to the welfare of his flock, and the improvement of his native country.

"I was lodged at the Celeſtine convent, a neat houſe, built upon the ruins of a temple. The prior received me with great politeneſs, and at ſupper treated me with the moſt varied ſervice of ſhell-fiſh I ever ſat down to. There were no leſs than fifteen ſorts, all extremely fat and ſavoury; eſpecially a ſmall ſpecies of muſcle, the ſhell of which is covered with a velvet ſhag, and both inſide and outſide is tinged with the richeſt violet-colour. I taſted of all, and ate plentifully of ſeveral ſorts, without experiencing the leaſt difficulty in the digeſtion."

His character of the inhabitants is as follows:

"The inhabitants neglect the culture of their fields, and turn all their attention to fiſhing; a profeſſion hampered with fewer incumbrances, leſs continual labour, and affording greater certainty of ſucceſs. Their lands are cultivated, their corn reaped, by Calabrians; their paſtures covered with Abruzzeſe ſheep and ſhepherds; while the modern Tarentines, as much at leaſt as their poverty will allow them, ſeem to copy the gentle, indolent manners of their forefathers, citizens of *Molle Tarentum*. They are ſtill paſſionately fond of amuſements, and eager only in the purſuit of pleaſure. Their addreſs is affable, and pleaſing to ſtrangers; their pronunciation liſping, and ſofter than that of the natives of the neighbouring provinces. Here women bring forth children with little difficulty; and treat as a ſlight inconvenience thoſe dangers and pains, which are ſo dreadful to their ſex in moſt other countries. Here it is impoſſible to cite an inſtance of a perſon's dying in childbed."

The next diviſion of Mr. Swinburne's journey is from Taranto to Reggio, his route lying altogether along the coaſts of the Gulf of Taranto, and of the Ionian Sea, and round the ſouthern extremity of Calabria

labria Ultra. In this portion of his Travels he paſſes through the places where the famous Grecian colonies of the Sybarites, the Crotoniates, and the Locrians flouriſhed, and enters at large into the former grandeur, riches, extent, and power of their reſpective ſtates. As this coaſt, from the author's account, ſtill ſeems to poſſeſs, in a great meaſure, the capability of re-aſſuming its former conſequence and ſplendor, one cannot but lament that the internal bad government of the Two Calabrias ſhould ſo completely thwart and render abortive every exertion of kind and luxuriant nature, and that by improvident and inefficacious taxes, and impoſts, the induſtrious huſbandmen ſhould be driven back from the fruitful ſhores into the mountains, and converted into a gang of robbers.

The following extract, relative to a moſt curious appearance, ſometimes reflected from the ſurface of the ſea in the Faro of Meſſina, we ſhall lay before our readers:

"I enjoyed ſeveral delightful walks along the beach. Wherever a hole is made in the ſands, though within a foot of the ſea, freſh-water bubbles up. The views on every ſide are enchanting, equal to the charming ones of the Neapolitan gulf, and ſuperior to all others that I have ever ſeen. Meſſina riſes out of the waves like a grand amphitheatre; and the Faro, lined with villages and towns, ſeems a noble river, winding between two bold ſhores.

"Sometimes, but rarely, it exhibits a very curious phænomenon, vulgarly called *La Fata Morgana* *. The philoſophical reader will find its cauſes and operations learnedly accounted for in Kircher, Minaſi, and other authors. I ſhall only give a deſcription of its appearance, from one that was an eye-witneſs. Father Angelucci is the firſt that mentions it with any degree of accuracy, in the following terms:

"On the fifteenth of Auguſt, "1643, as I ſtood at my window, "I was ſurpriſed with a moſt wonderful, delectable viſion. The "ſea that waſhes the Sicilian ſhore "ſwelled up, and became, for ten "miles in length, like a chain of "dark mountains; while the waters near our Calabrian coaſt "grew quite ſmooth, and in an "inſtant appeared as one clear poliſhed mirror, reclining againſt "the aforeſaid ridge. On this "glaſs was depicted, in *chiaro ſcuro*, a ſtring of ſeveral thouſands "of pilaſters, all equal in altitude, "diſtance, and degree of light and "ſhade. In a moment they loſt "half their height, and bent into "arcades, like Roman aqueducts. "A long cornice was next formed "on the top, and above it roſe "caſtles innumerable, all perfectly "alike. Theſe ſoon ſplit into "towers, which were ſhortly after "loſt in colonnades, then windows, "and at laſt ended in pines, cypreſſes, and other trees, even and "ſimilar. This is the *Fata Morgana*, which, for twenty-ſix years, "I had thought a mere fable."

"To produce this pleaſing deception, many circumſtances muſt concur, which are not known to exiſt in

* The name is probably derived from an opinion, that the whole ſpectacle is produced by a fairy or a magician. The populace are delighted whenever the viſion appears, and run about the ſtreets, ſhouting for joy,—calling every body out to partake of the glorious ſight.

any other ſituation. The ſpectator muſt ſtand with his back to the eaſt, in ſome elevated place behind the city, that he may command a view of the whole bay; beyond which the mountains of Meſſina riſe like a wall, and darken the back-ground of the picture. The winds muſt be huſhed; the ſurface quite ſmoothed; the tide at its height; and the waters preſſed up by currents to a great elevation in the middle of the channel. All theſe events coinciding, as ſoon as the ſun ſurmounts the eaſtern hills behind Reggio, and riſes high enough to form an angle of forty-five degrees on the water before the city,—every object exiſting or moving at Reggio will be repeated a thouſand fold upon this marine looking-glaſs; which, by its tremulous motion, is, as it were, cut into facets. Each image will paſs rapidly off in ſucceſſion, as the day advances, and the ſtream carries down the wave on which it appeared.

"Thus the parts of this moving picture will vaniſh in the twinkling of an eye. Sometimes the air is at that moment ſo impregnated with vapours, and undiſturbed by winds, as to reflect objects in a kind of aërial ſcreen, riſing about thirty feet above the level of the ſea. In cloudy, heavy weather, they are drawn on the ſurface of the water, bordered with fine priſmatical colours."

From Reggio Mr. Swinburne returns back to the Terra de Otranto, by a veſſel bound to Gallipoli, in that province; and from thence to Naples by Brindiſi (the ancient Brunduſium) and Bari, and afterwards by a more inland route.

The ſecond volume of this work commences with Mr. Swinburne's excurſions in the neighbourhood of Naples. His view and deſcription of that city, taken from the caſtle of St. Elmo, we ſhall lay before our readers. From this eminence, he ſays, "the whole city and ſuburbs, with every object that hitherto had partially engaged my attention, were now brought under my inſpection in one collective picture.

"As from an advanced poſt, I here reconnoitred all the quarters of Naples, and formed an exact idea of its general outline, as well as its particular ſituations. The ſea before it is ſcalloped into two ſemicircles divided by a promontory, and imitating the Arabic figure of three. The promontory runs out from the hill of Saint Elmo, ſinking gradually towards the Caſtel dell' Uovo with a gentle curve. The eaſtern bay does not approach ſo near to the hills as that of Chiaia, but leaves a capacious vale for the city and ſuburbs, which extend very irregularly over the hills, and run up ſeveral narrow dales. On this account it is difficult to obtain the juſt dimenſions of Naples. King Roger cauſed it to be meaſured, and found it to be two miles and ſix furlongs in circumference, but it was then only upon a footing with many other cities of his dominions, and not the metropolis. Another meaſurement was taken in 1500, which amounted to nine miles in circumference. Its walls are no longer of any real defence, and of courſe the ſafety of Naples depends upon the force of its armies. To repel hoſtile attempts by ſea, which, from its ſituation, maritime powers might be tempted to make, it has to the weſt the Caſtel dell' Uovo, a confuſed pile of ancient buildings, and ſome modern batteries; the rock this fortreſs ſtands upon was originally

originally called Megara, then Lucullanum, and muſt have been conſidered early as a place of ſtrength, for Romulus Auguſtulus, the laſt Roman emperor of the weſt, was ſhut up here in 475. His father, Oreſtes, had inveſted him with the imperial purple, but Odoacer, king of the Heruli, defeated his army, and put an end to the empire. Hither alſo the ſon of king Manfred was transferred from Puglia, and lingered out a tedious life of miſery. Along the line of the ſhore towards the eaſt are ſome batteries on the points of land, the baſtions of the arſenal, and above it the loſty wall of the Caſtel Nuovo, erected by Charles the Firſt. Its inner gate is decorated with a triumphal arch raiſed in honour of Alphonſus the Magnificent, a work of great effect, though not perfectly correct in taſte and architecture. This fortreſs has uſually been the refuge of the ſovereigns and viceroys in all civil wars and tumults, and for that reaſon they have long fixed their reſidence near its walls. A block-houſe and batteries defend the mouth of the harbour, and at the eaſtern extremity of the town is the Torrione del Carmine, better known by the figure it made in the rebellion of 1647, than by its extent or military ſtrength. The caſtle of Saint Elmo, where I ſtood to view the city, commands Naples in every direction, and is in reality calculated rather to annoy and awe the citizens, than to defend them from foreign invaders. King Robert firſt ſaw the propriety of fortifying this poſt, and the emperor Charles the Fifth reduced the old works to a regular pentagonal form.

"The dock-yard and magazines for the gallies are ſpacious; the harbour where ſhips of war and merchantment lie rather too confined: it is entirely the work of art, being formed by the projection of a crooked mole firſt laid by Charles the Second, and after many additions, compleated by the preſent king of Spain. A loſty pharos points out the entrance of the harbour in the night; but as the hill behind riſes very high, theſe lights are eaſily confounded with thoſe of the town.

"Naples contains ſome fine ſquares and large ſtreets; of the former the Largo Caſtello and Spirito Santo are the moſt extenſive. Toledo is the principal among the latter, inferior to few in Europe, for length and buildings. In the heart of the city the ſtreets are narrow, and, on account of the great elevation of the houſes, gloomy and cloſe; they are paved with ſquare ſtones of dark-coloured lava, dug out of quarries, or rather ſtagnated torrents formerly vomited by Veſuvius or the Solfatara. It is ſaid that this matter muſt be many centuries old ere it acquire a ſufficient degree of hardneſs for the purpoſe of paving; but I am inclined to believe it very ſoon becomes as compact as it ever will be: paving-ſtones are contracted for at two carlini a piece, and, in great thoroughfares, muſt be renewed in leſs than three years.

"All parts of Naples are copiouſly ſupplied with water by an ancient aqueduct, which has more than once over-balanced its ſervices, by affording a paſſage for beſiegers to enter the city: through it Beliſarius introduced ſoldiers that ſurpriſed the Gothic garriſon; Alphonſus the Firſt repeated the ſtratagem with ſucceſs. Many fountains

tains retail the ſupply, ſome few of which are decorated in a good ſtyle.

" The Neapolitan architects are too laviſh of ornament, and too frequently run into a falſe and barbarous taſte: the edifices of Rome have in general more grandeur and chaſtity of ſtyle, except thoſe which have been executed upon the plans of Borromini and his ſcholars: they indeed exceed in wanton violation of propriety all the flights of Gothic architecture. Moſt of the churches of Naples are crowned with cupolas; a few ſlender ſteeples break the line, and add variety to the picture, but there is a want of ſome venerable pile to tower above the reſt; the cathedral is not ſufficiently pre-eminent. I ſcarce know a church without ſome good paintings, but very few in which the architect has ſhewn a pure noble taſte. Two columns of a temple dedicated to the Dioſcuri and the city of Naples, are the only remarkable monuments of ancient architecture remaining. The portico to which they belonged was overturned by an earthquake in 1688; they ſtand before the door of a church, conſecrated to St. Peter and Paul; this temple was erected by Tiberius Julius Tarſus, and Pelago the freedman of Auguſtus; the apoſtles who were united in their miſſion and martyrdom, have been ſubſtituted for the twin brothers Caſtor and Pollux. Santa Chiara, a rich monaſtery of noble dames, founded by king Robert, and the place of ſepulture for the royal family, has a church repaired and painted by Conca, in ſo gay and airy a ſtyle, that it exhibits more of the elegance of a ball-room than of the awful ſolemnity of a temple. The chancel of Saint Philip Neri is the beſt ſample of eccleſiaſtical architecture in Naples; large columns of antique granite divide it from the iſles in a moſt majeſtic manner, though ſome of the uſual proportions are not critically obſerved. The Carthuſian convent of Saint Martin, adjoining to the caſtle of Saint Elmo, is, I believe, the beſt ſituated monaſtery in Europe; every thing appertaining to it correſponds with the ſublimity of the view; immenſe ranges of buildings, a ſtately church, ſuperb halls, and a noble collection of pictures. To ſupport this great eſtabliſhment, and a large family of aſcetic members, that neither beg nor earn their livelihood, the ſociety enjoys a moſt princely income; the overplus of it is employed in the pernicious charity of feeding beggars, and the rational one of portioning out the female relations of the monks; it is reported, that government intends ſhortly to take upon itſelf the charge of appropriating this balance. The relics of Saint Januarius form the principal boaſt of the cathedral. The Carmine calls to mind the bloody cataſtrophe of thoſe royal youths, Conradine and Frederick of Auſtria, butchered before its door; whenever I traverſed that ſquare, my heart yearned at the idea of their premature fate, and at the deep diſtreſs of Conradine's mother, who, landing on the beach with her ſon's ranſom, found only a lifeleſs trunk to redeem from the fangs of his barbarous conqueror. In the cloyſter of the Carmine, Maſſaniello was murdered by the companions of his revolt, a victim to his want of conduct.

" The ſacred edifices of Naples abound with ſepulchral monuments

of diſtinguiſhed perſonages; the chapel of the San Severo family exhibits many very extraordinary ſtatues; the art with which the ſculptor has ſurmounted the difficulty of repreſenting human bodies wrapped up in cloths or entangled in the meſhes of a net, is truly wonderful; but the piece of ſtatuary which appeared in my eyes to poſſeſs the moſt real merit, is a Chriſt in the ſhroud, by San Martino, a living Neapolitan artiſt; undoubtedly a fine performance.

"The dwellings of the nobility are grand. In 1597, when Morriſon travelled, there was no glaſs in any windows of Naples, nor is it above forty years ſince the uſe of glaſs became common. While the Neapolitans languiſhed under the oppreſſive and almoſt hoſtile government of a viceroy, they ſeem to have felt little for the honour of their country; the comforts of life were imperfectly known, and all emulation appeared dead among them; the revival of elegant arts, the introduction of numberleſs improvements in public and private life, the adorning of the city, and a more convenient mode of furniſhing their dwellings, all date from the æra of the conqueſt of Naples by Don Carlos.—A ſovereign of their own then came to reſide among them, they felt once more that they were a nation, and had a glory and intereſts worth conſulting.

"The royal palace, begun in 1600 by the count of Lemos, after the deſign of Fontana, preſents a very handſome front, a ſtaircaſe in the nobleſt proportions, and apartments ſuitable to the rank of the inhabitants; theſe rooms have, however, loſt ſome of their ſplendor, by the removal of the Farneſian collection of pictures; thoſe valuable paintings are now ſhewn at Capodimonte, a palace erected upon the hills to the north of the city, by the king of Spain, but left unfiniſhed, from the difficulty of procuring water; the ground upon which it ſtands is undermined in various and numberleſs directions; theſe caverns were either left in the original formation of the hill, and chiſelled into ſhape by the hand of man, or were quarries gradually extended as the materials were wanted for building; though we are not certain in what manner they were excavated, we know that they long ſerved both heathens and chriſtians as repoſitories of the dead; they ſurpaſs the catacombs of Rome in extent, but for many ages have ſeldom been uſed for funeral purpoſes; ſimilar vaults under the churches in the town, being more at hand, are now the uſual places of burial. It is a cuſtom here, on All Souls day, to throw open the charnel-houſes, lighted up with torches, and decked out with all the flowery pageantry of May-day; crowds follow crowds through theſe vaults to behold the coffins, nay the bodies of their friends and relations; the floors are divided into beds, like a garden, and under theſe heaps of earth the corpſes are laid in regular ſucceſſion; the place is perfectly dry, for the ſoil is rather a pounded ſtone than earth, and parches up the fleſh completely in a twelvemonth; when that period is elapſed, the body is taken up, dreſt in a religious habit, and fixed like a ſtatue in a niche; many retain a horrid reſemblance to what they were when animated, and ſome ſhew ſtrong marks of agony in their diſtorted features. They are much better

better preſerved than the mummies of Toulouſe, which paſs for ſuch ſingular curioſities.

"The Albergo de Poveri, intended as a refuge for the poor from all parts of the kingdom, is an extenſive hoſpital, but, like moſt works planned upon a ſcale that ſtrains the ſinews of the public revenue, remains unfiniſhed.

"The theatre of San Carlo is one of the moſt capacious in the world, and when illuminated the moſt magnificent.

"The Studii is a ſhowy edifice decorated with ancient ſtatues brought from Cuma. There is a plan under conſideration at court, for removing the contents of the muſæum hither from Portici, in order to place that inеſtimable collection at a greater diſtance from Veſuvius; the day may otherwiſe come, when another ſtream of fire ſhall bury theſe treaſures again for ages. But is Naples itſelf a place of ſecurity? Its ſafety depends upon the wind that blows during an irruption; if that ſhould happen to direct the aſhes to the north-weſt, Naples would be expoſed to the fate of Pompeii; beſides, its foundations reſt on hollow ground, and earthquakes may deſtroy the pillars that ſupport them; were I admitted to counſel on the occaſion, I ſhould prefer a removal to Caſerta, but think it ſtill more adviſeable to leave the antiquities where they are. They would ſuffer ſo much damage and derangement in the package, and remain for ſo many years unopened and unclaſſed, that the preſent generation of learned and curious perſons would probably never be gratified with a ſight of them."

In the courſe of his excurſion to Pæſtum, Mr. Swinburne gives an account of the celebrated ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

From Naples Mr. Swinburne ſails to Palermo, the capital of Sicily. Out of the numerous and reſpectable letters of recommendation given him at Naples, only two were here paid any attention to, viz. thoſe which he brought to prince Lancelotti, of Torremuza, and to Monſignor Severino, of Naples, archbiſhop of the united ſees of Palermo and Monreale. That any prejudice of this ſort ſhould reign in the Sicilian metropolis, nay, be confined to it alone, is very extraordinary: for from the kind attention of the archbiſhop of Palermo, Mr. Swinburne ſeems in every other part of the country to have met with the moſt perfect hoſpitality.

In this journey through Sicily, beginning with Palermo, and ending with Meſſina, Mr. Swinburne has for the moſt part kept the ſea-coaſt, encircling in his route nearly the whole iſland, excepting the north ſide of it, towards the Mediterranean. Girgenti, with the ruins of the ancient Agrigentum, Syracuſe, Mount Ætna, and Meſſina, are the chief objects in his account, and we could wiſh the limits of our work admitted of our entering more at large into his deſcription of theſe places.

From Meſſina Mr. Swinburne paſſes over to Tropea, in South Calabria, and returns by land to Naples; having, to uſe his own words, completed a tour, by ſea and land, of 914 computed miles.

The deſcription of his route thro' the Two Calabrias, combines in it every ſpecies of beauty that a country can poſſeſs.—"Sed quantum "mutatus ab illo,"—with what a

mixture of horror and regret do we turn from ſuch a picture, to the repreſentation of it after the earthquakes in 1783! a ſhort deſcription of which Mr. Swinburne has given in a note; but as Sir William Hamilton's account, which is more at length, is inſerted in the Annual Regiſter for the year above-mentioned, we ſhall refer our readers to that relation.

From Naples, Mr. Swinburne proceeds to Rome; but as he confines himſelf to the Two Sicilies, ſays nothing with regard to that city. His Travels conclude with a ſhort excurſion from Rome, a little way into the two moſt northern provinces of Naples, called the Abruzzos; his route lies through Alba, Avezzano, by the lake of Celano, of which he gives a full and minute deſcription, and thro' Sora and Iſola.

Near Sora, on the banks of the river Fibreno, ſtood the houſe of M. T. Cicero, which, Mr. Swinburne ſays, ſtill retains ſome traces of the beauties aſcribed to it by that orator; but no veſtige or monument of the villa or its appendages remain.

We ſhall conclude, by giving Mr. Swinburne's account of the preſent ſtate of the Two Abruzzos, and of the character of its inhabitants.

"As theſe provinces are the moſt northern, they are alſo the coldeſt in the kingdom, being exceedingly mountainous. The chain of the Apennines, without any interruption, but that of ſome narrow vallies formed by the waters of the numerous rivers that ruſh down from the heights, continues in a ſlight declivity to the edge of the Adriatic ſea. But the rigour of the climate is not ſo great as to prevent the country from producing in abundance every thing requiſite for the ſupport of life. Vegetables, fruits, animals, and numberleſs other articles of ſuſtenance, not only furniſh ample proviſion for the uſe of the natives, but alſo allow of exportation. There is ſo large a quantity of wheat reaped, that many thouſands of quarters are annually ſhipped off. Much Turkey wheat is ſent out, and the province of Teramo ſells a great deal of rice little inferior in goodneſs to that of Lombardy. Oil is a plentiful commodity, and wines are made for exportation on many parts of the coaſt; but wool has always been, and ſtill is, their ſtaple commodity: the flocks, after paſſing the whole ſummer in the fine paſtures of the mountains, are driven for the winter into the warm plains of Puglia, and a few ſpots near their own coaſt, where the ſnow does not lie; there are no manufactures of woollens in the province, except two ſmall ones of coarſe cloth, and the greateſt part of the wool is ſent out unwrought. No ſilk is made here, though mulberry-trees would grow well in the low grounds.

"Formerly the territory of Aquila furniſhed Italy almoſt excluſively with ſaffron, but ſince the culture of that plant has been ſo much followed in Lombardy, it has fallen to nothing in Abruzzo. In the maritime tracts of country the cultivation of liquorice has been increaſed of late years, but foreigners export the roots in their natural ſtate: in the province of Teramo there is a manufactory of pottery-ware, for which there is a great demand in Germany, by the way of Trieſte, as it is remarkably hard and

and fine, but even this is going to decay, by being abandoned entirely to the ignorance of common workmen. It is not to be expected that any improvements will be made in arts and manufactures, where the encouragement and attention of ſuperiors is wanting, and no pains taken to render the commodity more marketable, or to open better channels of ſale for it. The only advantages theſe provinces enjoy, are the gift of benevolent nature; but ſhe has ſtill greater preſents in ſtore for them, and waits only for the helping hand of government to produce them. This whole coaſt, one hundred miles in length, is utterly deſtitute of ſea-ports; and the only ſpots where the produce can be embarked are dangerous inconvenient roads, at the mouths of rivers, and along a lee-ſhore: the difficulty of procuring ſhipping, and of loading the goods, frequently cauſes great quantities of them to rot on hand, which damps induſtry, and prevents all improvements in agriculture. The huſbandman is a poor diſpirited wretch, and wretchedneſs produces emigration: the uneven ſurface of the country occaſions it to be inhabited by retail, if I may uſe the expreſſion, rather than in large maſſes, for there is not a city that contains ten thouſand people, and the moſt of them would find it difficult to muſter three thouſand. Villages, caſtles, and feudatory eſtates, are to be met with in abundance, but the numbers of their inhabitants are to be reckoned by hundreds, not thouſands; in a word, the political and ſocial ſyſtem of the province ſhews no ſigns of the vigour which nature ſo remarkably diſplays here in all her operations.

"The antiquary and the naturaliſt may travel here with exquiſite pleaſure and profit; the former will find treaſures of inſcriptions, and inedited monuments appertaining to the warlike nations, that once covered the face of the country: the natural philoſopher will have a noble field for obſervation in the ſtupendous monuments that riſe on all ſides. Monte-corno and Majella are among the moſt intereſting; the firſt is like an aged monument of nature, bald, and horribly broken on every aſpect; from various appearances, it is evident that its bowels contain many valuable veins of metallic ore, but the great difficulty of acceſs renders the ſearch of them almoſt impracticable. Majella has other merits, and of a gayer kind:—nature has clothed its declivities and elevated fields with an infinite variety of her moſt precious plants; vulnerary herbs grow there in as great perfection as on the Alps of Swizzerland, and are applied by the natives to wounds with equal ſucceſs.

"The character of the inhabitants varies a little among themſelves, according to ſituation and climate, but eſſentially from the diſpoſition of the natives of the more ſouthern provinces. This proceeds from a difference of origin; for the Lombards, who were barbarians, but not cruel; poor, but hoſpitable; endowed with plain honeſt ſenſe, though poſſeſſed of little acuteneſs or ſubtlety; remained peaceable proprietors of theſe mountainous regions, till the Normans, who were accuſtomed to a ſimilar climate, came, and diſpoſſeſſed them. The Greeks, who retained almoſt every other part of the kingdom under their dominion, never had any ſway here. For this reaſon the

Abruzzeſi ſtill bear a great reſemblance to their northern progenitors or maſters; to this day, one may trace in them the ſame goodneſs of heart, but great indolence, and repugnance to lively exertions, a fault that proceeds rather from a want of active virtue, than a diſpoſition to wickedneſs. Hence it comes that in theſe provinces, where the proximity of the frontier almoſt inſures impunity, fewer atrocious and inhuman deeds are heard of, than in other parts of the realm. Remnants of ancient northern cuſtoms exiſted here ſo late as the beginning of this century, and, among the mountaineers, very evident traces of the Frank and Teutonic languages may be diſcovered."

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